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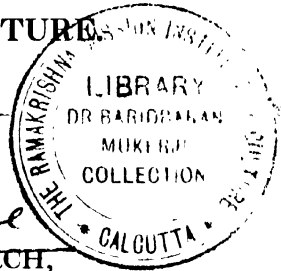
THE

ORIENTAL HERALD,

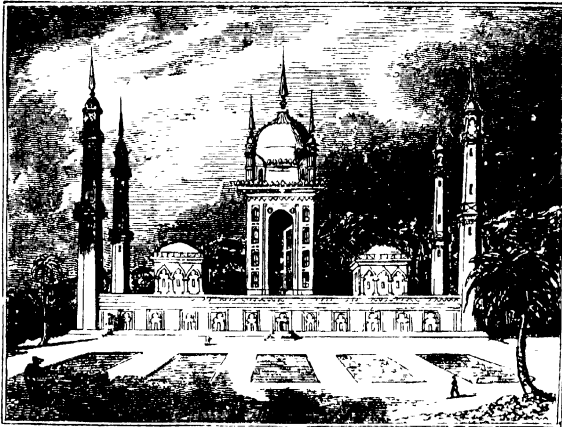
AND JOURNAL OF

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JANUARY TO MARCH,



1825.



LONDON:

J. M. RICHARDSON, 23, CORNHILL.

MDCCCXXV.

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B. BENSLEY, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET

No. XVI.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD

ADVERTISER.

For Passengers only—to Sail the middle of April,

FOR MADRAS AND CALCUTTA, the Superior Teak-built SHIP MARY ANN, Burthen 500 Tons, M. O'BRIEN, Commander. Lying in the City Canal. To Passengers anxious for despatch, this Vessel offers a very desirable opportunity, she having performed some of the most rapid Voyages ever known to India; and her accommodations are fitted in a Style equally combining comfort and convenience.

For Passage apply to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House; to Messrs. FAIRLIE, BONHAM, and CO. Broad-street Buildings; to THOMAS FERGUSON, Esq. 6, Birchin Lane; or to EDMUND READ, No 1. Riches'-Court, Lime-street.

Positively to Sail from Gravesend in all April,

FOR CALCUTTA, with leave to land Passengers at MADRAS, the New River-built Ship CESAR, Burthen 700 Tons, THOMAS A. WATT, Commander. Lying in the City Canal. This Ship is built expressly for the Conveyance of Passengers, having the Moulds of a Frigate; Height in the Poop, 6 feet 8 inches, and Tween-Decks, 7 feet 2 inches. Will carry a Surgeon.

For Freight or Passage apply to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House, or to Wm. ABERCROMBIE, 4, Birchin Lane.

To sail from Gravesend 10th April,

FOR CALCUTTA, with leave to land Passengers at MADRAS, the remarkably fast-sailing River-built SHIP, SIR EDWARD PAGET, A. L., Burthen 600 Tons, JOHN GEARY, R. N. Commander, lying in the City Canal. The excellent qualities of this Ship are well known; her Accommodations are of a superior order; and carries an experienced Surgeon.

For Freight or Passage apply to Captain GEARY, at the Jerusalem Coffee House; or to ANSTICE and THORNHILL, Old South Sea House, Broad-street.

To sail immediately,

FOR BATAVIA and SINGAPORE, direct, the fine Fast-sailing SHIP WILLIAM PARKER, A. L., Burthen 230 Tons, H. B. BROWN, Commander, lying in the City Canal. For Freight or Passage, apply to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House; or to EDMUND READ, 1, Riches'-court, Lime-street.

To Sail in all April,

FOR MADRAS AND CALCUTTA, the Ship WOODFORD, Burthen 600 Tons, ALFRED CHAPMAN, of the Honourable Company's Service, Commander.

For Freight or Passage apply to Messrs. PETRIE and CHAPMAN, No. 6, St. Martin's Lane, Cannon Street; or Messrs. JOHN CHAPMAN and COMPANY, No. 2, Leadenhall Street; or the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House.

*For Passengers only—positively to Sail from Portsmouth on the
15th April,*

FOR MADRAS AND CALCUTTA, the very Fast-sailing new SHIP ROYAL GEORGE, Burthen 550 Tons, WILLIAM REYNOLDS, Commander, (of the Hon. Company's Service,) Lying in the West India Dock. This Ship has a double Stern, and is in every respect most completely fitted for Passengers.

Apply to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House; or to EDMUND READ, 1, Riches'-court, Lime-street.

To Sail by the first week in April,

FOR BOMBAY, the Fine Teak SHIP, JAMES SIBBALD, Burthen 700 Tons, JAMES KEITH FORBES, Commander, (of the Honourable East India Company's Service,) lying in the East India Dock. Has very superior Accommodations for Passengers, and carries an experienced Surgeon.

For Freight or Passage apply to Messrs. INGLIS, FORBES and CO., 2, Mansion-House Place; or to Mr. HENRY BLANSHARD, 1, Old Broad-street.

To Sail positively in the First Week in May,

FOR MADRAS AND CALCUTTA, the Teak-Ship LORD HUNGERFORD, A. I. Burthen 700 Tons. C. FARQUHARSON, Commander. Fitted expressly for Passengers, and has an experienced Surgeon.

For Freight or Passage apply to Messrs. COCKERELL, TRAIL, and CO. Austin Friars; Mr. HEATHORN, 10, Coleman-street; or at the Jerusalem Coffee House.

To Sail from Gravesend 25th April, and Downs 1st May,

FOR MADRAS AND BENGAL, the SHIP WILLIAM MILES, Burthen 600 Tons, SAMUEL BEADLE, Commander, lying in the East India Export Dock. Has very superior Accommodation for Passengers.

For Freight or Passage apply to Captain BEADLE, Jerusalem Coffee House; or BOLTON and KELHAM; 40, Lime-street.

To leave Gravesend on or before the 23d April,

FOR BATAVIA AND SINGAPORE, the Fine Fast-sailing Chartered Brig, MARIA, A. I. WILLIAM JOHNSTONE, Commander. Burthen 220 Tons, lying in the West India Export Dock. The Cabins are commodious, and the best arrangements have been made for the comfort of Passengers.

For Freight or Passage apply to W. D. DOWSON, 39, Old Broad-street.

Positively to Sail the First Week in May,

FOR BENGAL, with leave to touch at MADRAS, the KINGSTON, 500 Tons, W. A. BOWEN, Commander, lying in the City Canal. For Freight or Passage apply to Messrs. COCKERELL, TRAIL and CO., Austin Friars; the Commander; or to ANSTICE and THORNHILL, Old South Sea House, Broad-street.

Will Sail for Calcutta in all May,

FOR INDIA, Steam Vessel ENTERPRIZE, 500 Tons, LIEUT. I. H. JOHNSTON, R. N. Commander.

The above superior Vessel is fitted for Passengers only, and will carry a Surgeon. Her Machinery is of the best description; she will be calculated for either sailing or steaming, and will start for Calcutta, positively in all May, to touch at the Cape and Madras. The calculations hold out every prospect of her arrival in Calcutta within Two Months.

Applications for Passage to be made to Mr. R. J. SAUNDERS, Agent, Old South Sea House, Broad-street; to the undermentioned Houses of East India Agency: Messrs. BAZETT, FARQUHAR, CRAWFORD and CO.; COCKERELL, TRAIL, and CO.; FLETCHER, ALEXANDER and CO.; PALMERS, MACKILLOP and CO.; and also to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House.

To Sail, with or without Freight, early in April,

FOR BOMBAY, the SHIP **BRITANNIA**, A. 1., Burthen 550 Tons, W. BOURCHIER, Commander. Lying in the City Canal. This Ship carries a Surgeon.—For Freight or Passage apply to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House; Messrs RICKARDS, MACKINTOSH and CO., 15, Bishopsgate-street; Mr. ROBERT TAYLOR, 10, Tokenhouse-yard; or to EDMUND READ, 1, Richey-court, Lime-street.

The Accommodations of this Ship are particularly calculated to ensure the comfort of Passengers.

To Sail the first Week in April,

FOR BENGAL, with liberty to Land Passengers at MADRAS, the fast-sailing Teak Ship **LADY FLORA**, THOMAS M'DONNELL, Commander. Burthen 700 Tons. Lying in the East India Export Dock. This Ship carries a Surgeon, and is elegantly fitted up for Passengers.

For Freight or Passage apply to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House; to Messrs COCKERELL, TRAIL and CO., No. 8, Austin-Francis; or to JOHN S. BRINLEY, No. 14, Birch-lane, Cornhill.

To sail in May.

FOR BOMBAY direct, the Teak SHIP **TRIUMPH**, of 600 Tons, Captain THOS. GREEN, H. C. S., fitted expressly for Passengers.

The following tribute was paid to Captain GREEN, of the Ship Triumph, by his Passengers, on his arrival at Bombay from England. Arrangements for the Cargo of this Ship being already in progress, she will leave this Country again for Bombay, about the end of May.

Plans of the Accommodations may be seen on application to EDMUND READ, 1, Richey-court, Lime-street.

To Captain THOMAS GREEN, Commanding the East India Ship Triumph.

DEAR SIR,—We, the Undersigned Passengers, by the Triumph, from England and the Cape of Good Hope to Bombay, on bidding you Adieu, feel ourselves called upon to express to you the high sense which we entertain of the disposition you have constantly evinced to ensure our Comforts on the Voyage, in the liberal application of the ample means you possessed, and in your personal attention to us.

Wishing you every success,

We are, dear Sir, yours very truly,

(Signed)

J. T. FITZGERALD, Col. and Lieut.-Col. H. M. 24th Regiment.
ROBERT PHIMAN, Lieut.-Col. Bengal Army.
VINCENT KINSELL, Lieut. of 11th Bombay Native Infantry.
D. GREENHILL, Company's Service.
DAVID CRAW, Surgeon, Bombay Establishment.
EDWARD GEORGE, Cadet.
WILLIAM MELKE, Cadet.
CHARLES WALKER, Marine Service.
R. EMBLEBY, Bombay Marines.

To Sail the middle of June.

FOR CALCUTTA direct, the Teak SHIP **EXMOUTH**, Captain SAMUEL OWEN, H. C. S. 800 Tons. Fitted expressly for Passengers.

Plans of the Accommodations may be seen on application to EDMUND READ, 1, Richey-court, Lime-street.

The UPTON CASTLE, Captain Thacker, daily expected to arrive from Bombay, will be despatched from London, on her return to Bombay,

On the 1st July at latest.

FOR BOMBAY, the Teak Ship **UPTON CASTLE**, 600 Tons, JOHN THACKER, Commander, (of the Hon. Company's Service.) This Ship has been newly fitted in a most commodious Style for the Accommodation of Passengers, and carries an Experienced Surgeon.

For Freight or Passage apply to Messrs. INGLIS, FORBES and CO., 2, Mansion House Place; to Messrs GLEDSTANES, DRYSDALE and CO., White Lion Court, Cornhill; or to W. ABERCROMBIE, 4, Birch Lane, Cornhill.

Warranted to Clear out on or before the 15th April, or forfeit Freight, direct

FOR the ISLE of FRANCE, the fine new Fast-sailing Brig **MARIA**, A. I. Burthen 300 Tons, (instead of the Ship **CERES**) **DAVID THOMSON**, Commander. Lying in the London Docks. Has excellent Accommodations for Passengers. For Freight or Passage apply to **ISBISTER and HORSLEY**, 11, Leadenhall-street.

A Constant Trader, direct

FOR BOMBAY, the fast-sailing coppered Ship, **MULGRAVE CASTLE**, **JAMES RALPH**, Commander, Burthen 450 Tons, lying in the City Canal. This Ship has excellent Accommodations for Passengers.

For Freight or Passage apply to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House; or to **JOHN LYNEY**, Jun. Sworn Broker, 24, Birchm-lane, Cornhill.

FOR BENGAL, to sail on the 1st of June from Portsmouth, the teak-built Ship, **ORIENT**, Captain **WHITE**, of the Hon. East India Company's regular Service, Burthen 659 Tons; lying in the East India Export Dock. Has very superior accommodation for Passengers, and carries an experienced Surgeon.

Apply to Captain **WHITE**, at the Jerusalem Coffee House, Cornhill; or to the owners, Messrs. **S. MARJORIBANKS & CO.**, King's Arms Yard, Coleman Street.

To Sail in May,

FOR CALCUTTA, (with leave to land Passengers at Madras,) the remarkably fast-sailing coppered A. I. Teak Ship, **NEPTUNE**, **JOHN CUMBERLEGE**, Commander, (late of the Honorable East India Company's Service,) Burthen 600 Tons, lying in the East India Docks. This Ship has a Double Stern, with the accommodations of a regular Indianman, and will carry an experienced Surgeon.

For Freight or Passage apply to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House; to Messrs. **FLETCHER, ALEXANDER and CO.**, Devonshire Square; or to **JOHN LYNEY**, Jun. Sworn Broker, 24, Birchm-lane, Cornhill.

Has half her Cargo of Government Stores engaged, and will Sail in April.—A Constant Trader.—Direct

FOR the ISLE of FRANCE and CEYLON, (with leave to call at Madeira,) the fast-sailing coppered Ship, **ORPHEUS**, **THOMAS FINLAY**, Commander, Burthen 150 Tons, Lying in the City Canal. The Ship has good Accommodation for Passengers.

For Freight or Passage apply to **W. W. TERRINGTON**, 5, Great Winchester Street; or to **JOHN LYNEY**, Jun. Sworn Broker, 24, Birchm Lane, Cornhill.

DIRECT FOR CALCUTTA, under Special Agreement to embark her Passengers at Portsmouth, on the 20th of May, the remarkably Fast-sailing Teak-built Ship **THALIA**, A. I. **WILLIAM HENRY BIDEN**, Commander, of the Hon. Company's Service. Lying in the City Canal. Burthen 760 Tons. Has a Poop and superior Accommodations for Passengers, and will carry an experienced Surgeon.

For Freight or Passage apply to the Commander, at the Jerusalem Coffee House, Cornhill; to Messrs. **BAZETT, FARQUHAR, CRAWFORD**, and **CO.** 71, Broad-street; or to **ROBERT F. WADE**, Broker, 14, London-street, Fenchurch-street.

Is entered outwards and receiving Goods.

To Sail on or before the 1st of May,

FOR BOMBAY and the MALABAR COAST, the fine fast-sailing Coppered Ship, **ALACRITY**, burthen 300 Tons, **GEORGE FINDLAY**, Commander. Lying in the City Canal. Has excellent Accommodation for Passengers.

For Freight or Passage apply to Capt. **FINDLAY**, Jerusalem Coffee House; Messrs. **ISBISTER and HORSLEY**, 11, Leadenhall-street; or to **WILLIAM REDHEAD**, Jun. 22, Birchm-lane.

Will be despatched in a few Days, having the greater part of her Cargo engaged, and Shipping.

FOR VAN DIEMEN'S LAND and NEW SOUTH WALES, the remarkable fine fast-sailing coppered Ship, **ANDBOMEDA**, A. 1. Burthen 400 Tons, **JAMES MUDDLE**, Commander, lying in the London Dock. This Vessel, having a Poop, and lofty 'tween Decks, has superior Accommodations for Cabin and Speerage Passengers, and will carry an experienced Surgeon.

The Commander has made two voyages to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales, and can give all necessary information to Passengers respecting the state of these Colonies.

For Freight or Passage apply to Capt. MUDDLE, at Lloyd's Coffee House; to Mr. JOHN BINMER, No. 19, Nicholas Lane; or to ANSTICE and THORNHILL, Old South Sea House, Broad Street.

INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL.

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION, by Mr. ORPWOOD, at Garraway's Coffee House, 'Change Alley, Cornhill, on Monday next, the 4th inst. at Twelve o'Clock, in various Lots; Reversions to 84*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*; and 4,805*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* 3 per Cent. Consols; 2,072*l.* 11*s.* and 7,250*l.* New 4 per Cents.; and to 15,000*l.* sterling: an Annuity of 1,000*l.* per Annum; a 1,000*l.* Post Oblit Bond; and Freehold and Leasehold Property, comprising Houses, Ground, and Improved Rents, and Building Ground, at Poplar, Linchouse, Mile-end, Islington, Spa-fields, and the West End of the Town.

Printed descriptive Particulars may be had at Garraway's; and of Mr. ORPWOOD, Auctioneer, and British and Foreign Estate Agent, opposite the London Commercial Sale Rooms, Mincing-lane.

THE MAGNIFICENT EFFECTS OF A SPACIOUS MANSION,

CONTIGUOUS TO

BERKELEY SQUARE.

TO be SOLD BY AUCTION, by Mr. ORPWOOD, without Reservation, at Mr. CLARK'S Great Room, Holles Street, Cavendish Square, on Tuesday, May 31st, 1825, and Five following Days, (Sunday excepted) commencing at Twelve o'Clock, the Whole of the Very Excellent Splendid Furniture, displaying Insurpassable Specimens of Beautiful King, Tulip, Satin, Rose, Zebra, Mahogany, and Oak Woods, exquisitely formed in the First Style of Elegance into Central, Loo, Sofa, Dejeuner, Library, Work, Writing, Dining, Card, and Pembroke Tables; Drawing Room, Dining Room, Library, Reading, Chamber, and Hall Chairs; Couches, Fire Screens, Ottomans, Library Cases, Cabinets, Writing Desks, Commodes, Sideboards, Cheffonières, Winged and Plain Wardrobes, Chests of Drawers, Presses, French, Four-post, and other Bedsteads, &c.

Several Suites of Elegant Window Curtains, with costly Appendages, Capital Goose Down, and Feather Beds, and corresponding Bedding; Turkey, Brussels, and other Carpets, Rugs and Carpeting; several superbly framed Brilliant Plate Mirrors, and Pier, Chimney, and Cheval Glasses, of large dimensions, Box and Pole Glasses, Noble Marble Tables and Commodes, Candelabras, Lamps, Fine Household Linen, valuable Diaphanous Porcelain, richly cut Crystal and Glass, an extensive Service of Massive Chased Plate, a few dozens of singularly fine Wines, some surprising efforts of the most favourite Painters, a small but remarkably choice Library, Musical Instruments, Printed Music, Astronomical and Geographical Apparatus, Fowling and Angling Appendages, subjects of Natural History in high preservation, Carvings, Bronzes, Figures, Antique Coins and Medals, a Portfolio of Original Drawings and Proof Prints, Scarce Autographs, a casket of costly Jewellery, French and other Clocks, a Chariot, two set of Harness, and various other Items—the whole have been recently valued at 21,000*l.* and are the Genuine Property of a Distinguished Personage.

To be viewed the day preceding and Mornings of Sale, when the Wines can be tasted; Catalogues may be had Seven Days previous, at Garraway's; the Auction Mart; at the place of Sale; and of Mr. ORPWOOD, Auctioneer, Universal Estate Agent, and Valuator, opposite the London Commercial Sale Rooms, Mincing Lane.

GENERAL OUTFITTING WAREHOUSE,

No. 23, Haymarket, St. James's.

F. ROPER & CO. flatter themselves that their very reduced prices, as hereafter stated, for Ready Money only, cannot fail to give satisfaction to those Gentlemen who are solicitous to combine the very essential qualifications of dress—economy, elegance of cut, style of workmanship, and superior quality of cloth.

DRESSES.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
Superfine Olive Dress Coat	from	2	15	0	to	3	10	0
Best Saxony Superfine Black Ditto		3	10	0		3	15	0
Best Saxony Blue, extra fine		3	3	0		3	16	0
Second Ditto		2	5	0		2	10	0
Olive Frock Coat		3	3	0		3	15	0
Blue Ditto		3	10	0		4	0	0
Marseilles Waistcoats		0	10	0		0	12	0
Toilet Ditto		0	12	0		0	16	0
Kerseymere Ditto		0	14	0		0	16	0
Black Silk Waistcoats		0	18	0		1	4	0
Double-milled Kerseymere Breeches		1	4	0		1	10	0
Patent and Cotton Cord or Velvet		1	0	0		1	8	0
Cloth Pantaloon or Trowsers		1	2	0		1	10	0
Ditto extra Kerseymere Ditto		1	12	0		1	16	0
Ribbed or Plain Stocking Pantaloon		1	4	0		1	8	0
Plain Suit of Livery made to order		4	4	0		5	5	0

READY-MADE LINEN.

Gentlemen's Calico Shirts, 2s. 30s. and 36s. per doz.—Ditto with Linen Collars and Wristbands, 36s. 40s. 48s. to 60s. per doz.—Ditto with Frills, 42s. 54s. 60s. to 96s. per doz.—Gentlemen's Linen Shirts, 4s. 60s. 90s. to 102s. per doz.—Ditto very fine with French Cambric Frills, 7s. 6d. 8s. 6d. to 12s. each.—Ditto made of Scotch Holland, an article much admired for its whiteness in colour and softness in texture, 14s. 16s. 20s. and up to 2s. each.—A great Assortment of Gentlemen's ready-made Dressing Gowns, from 16s. to 21s. each. Every Article in Fancy Trowsers, from 8s. to 38s. per pair. Suits made to order on moderate Terms.

HOSIERY AND GLOVES.

	per doz.
Gentlemen's White Cotton Hose	from 14s to 24s
Ditto Brown Cotton	12s 24s
Ditto, Angola, for Summer	15s 36s
Gentlemen's Brown Half-Hose	6s—7s 6d—9s 12s
Ditto White Ditto	6s 6d—8s 6d—10s 14s
Ditto Coloured	6s—7s—8s—9s 12s
Ditto Angola	8s 6d—10s 14s
Ladies' White Cotton Ditto	12s—14s 18s
Ditto three-thread Ditto	16s—20s 30s
	SILK HOSE.
	per pair.
Ladies' Black or White Silk Hose	from 4s 6d to 8s]
Gentlemen's Ditto Ditto	7s 14s
	per doz.
Gentlemen's Tan Gloves	from 10s 6d to 15s
Ditto Beaver	12s 18s
Ditto Tan Woodstock	14s 21s
Ditto Tan or White Doe Skin	24s 36s
Ditto Silk Gloves	24s 36s
Ladies' Beaver Habits	10s 6d 15s
Ditto Buff Limerick	9s—10s 16s
Black and Coloured Kid	10s—14s 24s
Black and Coloured Silk	16s 30s
Children's Hose and Gloves of every size and quality.	
Ladies' and Gentlemen's Foot Socks in Cotton, Worsted or Leather.	
Gentlemen's Silk Caps for Travelling.	

Ladies or Gentlemen that are going to India, or elsewhere, may be accommodated with Cots, Mattresses, Sheets, Blankets, Counterpanes, Pillow-Cases, &c. 20 per Cent. under the usual Prices of any other House in London, at **ROPER & CO.'s**, No. 23, Haymarket, St. James's.

5, Coventry-street, Haymarket, (Late of Orange-street, Bloomsbury-square.)

S. R. WATERS and CO. FASHIONABLE and MILITARY
TAILORS, beg most respectfully to return their grateful thanks to the Nobility and Gentry, for the very liberal encouragement they have received; and at the same time invite their attention to their superior and entirely new method of Cutting on Scientific Principles, founded on the Anatomical and the Geometrical Proportions of the Human Shape, and which has obtained so decided a superiority over every other mode now in use.

The claims of this new invention rest upon the adaptation of the science to fit the most disproportioned, as well as the most regular, form; and the success attending the application of its principles, has been such as to merit the warmest approbation.

The following is a List of Prices for Cash:

	£. s. d.		£. s. d.
Gentlemen's Second Cloth Coats.....	from 2 0 0	to	2 12 6
Superfine ditto.....	2 15 0		3 3 0
Black and Blue Saxon Wool ditto	3 3 0		4 0 0
Fashionable Marselles Waistcoats	0 12 0		0 14 0
Superfine Toilettette and Valencia ditto	0 7 0		0 14 0
Black, Scarlet, and Buff Cassimere ditto	0 12 0		0 18 0
Fine Milled Cassimere Breeches	1 1 0		1 10 0
Fashionable Cloth Trowsers	0 18 0		1 5 0
Real West of England Cassimere Trowsers ..	1 8 0		1 16 0
Gentlemen's Box Coats, with Capes of superior double-milled water-proof Cloth	2 15 0		6 6 0
Ladies' Chaise Coats	2 10 0		4 14 0
Ditto Riding and Walking Habits	4 0 0		6 0 0
Gentlemen's Driving Coats, upon an improved principle, with shifting water-proof Capes ..	3 3 0		5 5 0
Gentlemen's Second Cloth Great Coats	2 2 0		3 3 0
Ditto with Silk.....	2 12 6		3 13 6
Ditto Superfine with Silk	3 18 0		4 10 0

Scotch Plaid, Camblet, and Cloth Cloaks from 2l. 10s. upwards.

Liveries, &c. equally Cheap.

Gentlemen supplied with Clothes by Contract on the following Terms:

	£. s. d.
Six Suits a year for	31 10 0
Five ditto ditto	26 5 0
Four ditto ditto	22 2 0
Three ditto ditto	17 0 0

The old ones to be returned.

Letters by Post punctually attended to.

ELEGANT COATS, cut and made in a superior manner, from the very best Saxony Cloth, from 3l. 3s. to 3l. 10s.; a good West of England superfine, 2l. 10s. to 3l.; best Second 2l. to 2l. 10s.; Great Coats, faced with silk, &c. 3l. to 3l. 18s.; Kerseymere Breeches, 18s. to the very best double Milled, 28s.; fashionable Trowsers, from 18s. to 1l. 10s.; Waistcoats, 5s. to 15s. The above prices are for garments made complete to measure, warranted in point of fashion, cloth, workmanship, and materials, equal to any house at the West end of the town. To Merchants, Captains, and others, who are in the habit of taking out a quantity of clothes, a considerable reduction in prices will be made. A large and fashionable assortment of Gentlemen's and Boy's clothes, constantly on sale, at J. ALBERT'S Clothes' Warehouse, 47, Fish Street Hill, seven doors from the Monument, for ready money only.

OFFICERS in the King's or Hon. East India Company's Service, and Civilians proceeding to Tropical Climates, are informed that they can lay in the **WHOLE** of their **OUTFIT** for the Voyage, and supply for arrival, at the whole-sale prices—say, white jean and satteen trowsers, from 5s. to 10s.; ditto waistcoats, 4s. to 5s.; ditto jackets, 7s. to 11s.; Russia drill trowsers, 5s. to 12s.; when made to order, 10 per cent. extra; full-sized plain cotton shirts, 2s. 9d.; good at 4s.; and excellent at 5s. Ladies may be furnished with their Outfits on similar terms. Shipping information given to persons going abroad. **SILVER and CO.** (late Arrowsmith and Silver), 9, Cornhill, near the Mansion-House, London.

LADIES and GENTLEMEN going to INDIA, or any other part of the Globe, may obtain the WHOLE OF THEIR OUTFITS on the lowest Wholesale Terms, and prevent themselves the trouble of going to a variety of Houses. Calico Chemise, beginning at 1s. 10d.; Cambric Slips, with Bodies, 5s.; White Morning Dresses, 10s. 6d.; Coloured ditto, 13s.; Millinery, Caps, &c.; Gentlemen's Calico Shirts, from 2s. 3d. to the finest Quality; White Jean Trowsers, 5s. 6d.; Jackets, 6s. 6d.; Waistcoats, 4s. 6d.; Cravats, Dressing Gowns, Towels, Table Linen, Sheets, Hostery; superfine Blue and Black Cloth Coats, 50s. to 75s.; Trowsers, 12s. to 30s.; Fancy Waistcoats, 6s. 6d. to 10s. 6d.; Sea Bedding; single and double Ship Sofas; Tables to form Wash Stands, fitted up complete; and every Article of Cabin Furniture, Trunks, &c. at S. UNWIN'S, 57, Lombard-street.

CADETS are supplied with **EQUIPMENTS** for the **EAST INDIES**, at the shortest Notice, and on Wholesale Terms. Articles of the very best Quality are constantly in readiness suitable for the Voyage, and for their use in India; every information is given respecting their Equipment, and of Ships sailing; and the Baggage shipped, without any trouble to the Parties, by **JOHN PRINCE & Co.** 11, Leadenhall-street, near the India House.

ECONOMY IN DRESS, at the **EMPORIUM OF FASHION, 171, FLEET STREET**, opposite Sergeant's Inn; Elegant Great Coats, Dress Coats, &c. cut upon scientific principles, and made equal to any house at the West End, at the following low terms for cash: Superfine Great Coats from 2l. 12s. to 3l. 15s.; Dress Coats from 2l. 12s. 6d. to 3l. 3s.; Black or Blue 2l. 15s. to 3l. 13s. 6d. Kersey-mere or Cloth Trowsers, 21s. to 30s.; Waistcoats from 7s. to 14s.; Box, Curicle, and Driving Coats; Opera and Travelling Cloaks; Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, plain or braided by the most experienced Workmen, and every other Article of Fashionable Dress, at such low prices as will ensure a repetition of Orders.—A Suit of Livery complete from 4l. 4s. to 4l. 10s.

J. CHARLES begs to state, that in consequence of making his purchases with Cash, and always keeping an extensive Stock, he is enabled to defy competition.

Observe the Emporium of Fashion is 171, Fleet Street. Gentlemen waited upon at their own Houses by addressing a Letter post-paid.

WATCHES, PLATE, AND JEWELLERY.

THOSE Persons in want of any of the above Articles, are invited to inspect the Stock of **J. ACKLAM**, where several Hundreds of the best Watches are now on Sale, of every Description and Price; among them are the Workmanship of **MCALL, ELICOTT, MOSS, GRIMALDE, JOHNSON, &c.** warranted for Twelve Months; likewise Plate in every diversity of Articles, Richly Chased Tea Sets, Twenty-five Guineas per Set, King's Pattern Spoons and Forks, 2s. 3d. per ounce; and every item of fashionable Jewellery equally cheap. Some real Amethyst and Garnet Suites at Fifteen Guineas. Old Plate, Watches, Diamonds, &c. taken in exchange.—423, Strand, corner of Bedford-street.

IMPERIAL TWINE CLOTH.

By his Majesty's Royal Letters Patent.

THE NOBILITY, FAMILIES, and MERCHANTS, are very respectfully informed, that the **IMPERIAL TWINE CLOTH** can now be obtained exclusively at the sole Patentee, **MILLARD AND CO.'S EAST INDIA AND COMMISSION WAREHOUSE**, for the sale of Foreign and British Price Goods, No. 10, Regent Street, Pall Mall; and *no where else* whatever, stamped with the Name, No. of the Warehouse, &c. in cases for exportation, and by the Piece, of 26 to 52 yards each, at 1s. 6d., 2s., 2s. 6d., 3s., and 3s. 6d. per yard; and in wide widths for sheeting.

Its utility and consequent demand having induced various imitations to be substituted; in order to prevent which, families in the country are requested to send their orders addressed as above. The advantage derived from its wear in the East and West Indies, as well as in this and the colder climates, is found to be superior to that of every other sort of cloth.

VINER'S GENUINE DRIED YEAST. Warranted to make Light WHOLESOME BREAD, cause fermentation in Malt Liquor, or work Spruce Beer, &c. &c. FOR SEA SERVICE.

E. V. respectfully acquaints Merchants, Captains, and Planters, that, after considerable exertion and expense, he has brought to perfection his GENUINE DRIED YEAST, an article of great utility on board of Ship, as well as for our Colonies in the East and West Indies, &c., whereby Persons using it can always depend upon Sweet Wholesome Bread. It is well known that the acidity which belongs to leavened Bread is very disagreeable to most Persons, and to those who have weak stomachs *extremely prejudicial*; it must follow that to have the Staff of Life (as Bread is justly called) Light, Sweet, and Wholesome, must be extremely desirable to all Persons who may be going abroad, as well as to Residents in the British Colonies, &c.

The Dried Yeast affords this advantage: it will keep in any Climate, and Ships making a voyage, however long, may, by laying in a small quantity, always secure a certainty of good sweet Bread at any time; and it will readily be admitted that this is a very great consideration as it regards the Health and Comfort of the Officers and Passengers on board of Ships.

Sold by appointment of the Proprietor by C. Stokes, No. 42, Fenchurch-street, Davies and Son, Oil and Italian Warehouse, Leadenhall-street, Day and Co. Gracechurch-street, Hale and Co. in the Poultry, and Metcalfe, No. 71, East Smithfield.

INVALUABLE ARTICLES of FOOD for the EAST and WEST INDIES, &c.

BY HIS MAJESTY'S ROYAL LETTERS PATENT.

ROBINSON'S PATENT BARLEY and PATENT GROATS, for making superior Barley Water and Gruel in a few Minutes, are respectively, as an alternative, the finest Food ever offered for Infants and Invalids. The PATENT BARLEY is also in high estimation for making a Light and Delicious Pudding. These Patent Preparations are recommended by upwards of Five Hundred Medical Men of the highest reputation in the Metropolis, and the Beverage or Food is produced at one half the expense of the common Pearl Barley or Groats, independently of their superior quality, and facility in making.

Sold in Packages of 1 lb. for home consumption, and in Canisters of 2 lbs. for Families at home or abroad. Warranted to keep in any Climate. To be had of all respectable Druggists, Grocers, &c. in Town or Country; and Wholesale and for Exportation of the sole Patentee, MATTHIAS ROBINSON, No. 64, Red Lion-Street, Holborn, London.

* * Be careful that each Package bears the words "Robinson's Patent," and also the Signature of "Matth. Robinson," as there are several vile imitations.

PRESERVED MEATS, SOUP, FRESH SALMON, &c.

MORRISON and CO. (sole Patentees) respectfully beg leave to recommend to the Public their PATENT PRESERVED PORTABLE MEATS, &c. consisting of *Beef, Veal, and Mutton* (Roasted as well as Boiled) *Mixed Collops, Soup and Bouillie—Turtle, Green Pea, Asparagus* and all other *Soups—Salmon—Cod—Lobsters—Oysters—Milk and Cream, and Vegetables* of all kinds.

To be had in jars or tins of various sizes, which, being hermetically sealed, their contents will retain their freshness and flavour, in any climate and for any length of time. The *Salmon* is as fresh as when caught, and is expressly made up for the *Indian market*, in which it is already well known, and highly approved of, as the greatest luxury ever offered there. M. and Co. beg also to recommend their PORTABLE SOUP, in rolls of the form and appearance of a sausage, a *single slice* of which, dissolved in boiling water, gives a pint of excellent Brown or Gravy Soup, without the least trouble whatever. On long Voyages, and in stormy seasons, these Meats will be found a great acquisition, being ready dressed and fit for immediate use, without the trouble of cooking, which in bad weather is often impossible for days together; besides being free from the casualties attendant on live stock.

To be had at MORRISON and Co's Warehouse, No. 4, White Lion Court, Cornhill, or at their Manufactory, 24, Sidney-place, Commercial-road, London.

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

SAMUEL HICKSON and CO. export to the above places, Hams, Tongues, Sauces, Pickles, Marmalades, Jellies, Jams, and other Preserves, Portable Soups, Foreign and English Cheeses, &c. &c. And Persons going out, or wishing to send Articles to Warm Climates, are informed, that having had many Years experience in sending Goods to the East and West Indies, S. H. & Co. are well acquainted with the QUALITY of Articles suitable, as also the best METHOD of PACKING them.

Foreign Warehouse, 72, Welbeck Street.

N.B. As long a period as possible should always be given for the preparing of Foreign Orders, that greater care may be taken in getting them ready.

JOSEPH BOUGHEY, 25, BISHOPSGATE-STREET WITHIN, near the City of London Tavern, is the Original and only Manufacturer in the United Kingdom, of the beautiful Lisbon Rappes, Fino Princeza, and Meio Grosso. J. B. embraces this opportunity to return his warmest acknowledgments for the very liberal and extensive patronage bestowed on his manufacture. Merchants and Captains supplied on liberal terms for cash.

BRITISH PAINT MANUFACTORY, 64, Queen-Street, Cheap-side, London.—**UPTON and Co.** Chemical Colour Manufacturers and Oilmen, beg most respectfully to recommend to the Public the following established Paints and Oils:

The ORDNANCE ANTI-CORROSION PAINT, in Powder.

This paint is of lead, stone, and copper colours, at 54s. per cwt. It has been used generally in most departments of the state, and so entirely in the Ordnance, that every gun in his Majesty's service, for the last twenty years, has been painted with it. The Vauxhall Bridge, the West India and Liverpool Docks, are among the many public works that have proved its imperishable nature. It is applicable to every description of wood, iron, and stone work exposed to the weather, and is equally effective in the extremes of hot and cold climates.

DURABLE OIL PAINTS.—These Paints, being finely ground in oil, are suitable for inside or outside work. They are very ornamental and durable.

Invisible Green, per cwt. 40s.	Stone, per cwt. 40s.
Olive 76s.	Chocolate 36s.
Bright Green 112s.	Bright Red 30s.
Lead 40s.	Dark ditto 22s.

REFINED MINERAL TAR PAINT, at 15s. per cask, containing 140lbs.—This paint is of a handsome dark chocolate colour, and jet black. Being entirely mineral, it is insoluble in water, and therefore suited for weather-boarding, barns, sluice gates, &c. &c. where a cheap and durable covering is wanted. Being fit for use, it is but little more than 1d. per lb.

N. B. Genuine White Lead, Linseed Oil, Boiled Oil, and Turpentine; Grass Greens, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per lb.; Rectified Sperm Oil, 4s. 6d. per gallon. This Oil has the brilliancy of the best gas, gives more light than other oils, and from its extreme purity is without waste. Other Sperm Oil, pale Whale, &c. &c.

* Empty casks and bottles allowed for, as charged.

AROMATIC SPIRIT OF VINEGAR. This agreeable perfumed liquor (the original invention of Mr. Henry) which is of well-known efficacy in relieving faintness and headach, and in counteracting the effects of overheated, close, or infected air, continues to be prepared, in the greatest perfection, by Messrs. THOS. and WM. HENRY, Manufacturing Chemists, Manchester. It is sold, wholesale and retail, by Messrs. Bayley, Blew, and Chapman, Perfumers, Cockspur Street; price 2s. 9d. the bottle; the names of the above preparers are engraved on the Government Stamp, which is fixed over the cork of each bottle. Proper Sponge Boxes are sold by Bayley, Blew, and Chapman, Perfumers, Cockspur Street, as usual.

As above, may also be had, authenticated by a similar Stamp, HENRY'S Calceined Magnesia, in bottles, at 2s. 9d. or with glass stoppers at 4s. 6d. each.

CAUTION.—ROBINSON, TAYLOR, and Co. (Successors to

M^r Adam and Co.) beg to caution the Public against the use of any Paints purporting to be MINERAL PAINTS, which are not supplied from their Manufactory, or furnished by their appointed Agents, as many persons are imposing upon the Public the refuse of the Gas Works, (which has been proved by the highest authorities to be most injurious, particularly as a covering for wood-work,) by pirating the name of their Paints, which have for upwards of twenty years (notwithstanding the great and open competition) received such extended patronage from Government, who still continue to use it; and the certificates, granted by the highly distinguished Officers in his Majesty's service, will fully prove its durability and economy, notwithstanding the apparent cheapness of these spurious and inefficient imitations. The ingredients these Paints are composed of are manufactured at the Works erected and conducted under the late Earl of Dundonald's Patent, to which no other houses have access.

The Mineral Paints are a cheap and durable coating for all out-door work, such as wooden, iron, and canvas roofs, sheds, barns, outhouses, fences, palings, gates, boat and barge bottoms, ships' sides and upper works, wood and iron bridges, docks, chain cables, and all wood and iron work under water, or exposed to the weather; for tiles on roofs, to prevent them imbibing water and being injured by frost; and for coating brick walls, to prevent damp. No wood, coated with these Paints, will be worm-eaten; nor will insects or vermin of any kind inhabit hot-bed frames, or other places, coated with them; and they will be found an effectual cure for the dry rot: being composed entirely of mineral substances, they are insoluble in water; and thereby resist moisture in a manner superior to all other Preparations.

PRICE, READY FOR USE:—

Mineral Green Paint.....	3d. per lb.
Mineral Brown Paint.....	2½d. per lb.
Mineral Black Paint.....	2½d. per lb.

Manufactured and sold by Robinson, Taylor, and Co. (Successors to M^r Adam and Company) Mineral and Chemical Colour Manufacturers, Willow Wharf, 87, Bankside, London, and of their Agents in most provincial towns.

Government certificates of the cheapness and durability of Messrs. Robinson, Taylor, and Co.'s Mineral Brown Paint, granted to Messrs. M^r Adam and Co.:—

“Barrack Office, March 14, 1814.

“We hereby certify, that the wooden Barracks in Great Britain have been, for several years past, covered with Messrs. M^r Adam and Co.'s Mineral Brown Paint, for the preservation of the weather boarding, and it has fully answered the purpose for which it was applied.

(Signed)

“JOHN SANDERS, Architect,
“THOMAS JEANS, Architect.”

“The above certificate made by order of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Barracks.

“Plymouth Lines, May 26, 1807.

“JOHN STAPLETON, Sec.”

“This is to certify, that by order of General Mercer, at the desire of Messrs. M^r Adam and Co. we made experiments with their preparations of Mineral Brown Paint, in April and September, 1806. The situation of the wood and iron work made use of in this experiment is very high, and entirely exposed to the wind from the Channel, where it is difficult to find any coating able to resist the weather. The Paint, after having withstood the winter in the above situation, has formed a very hard and compact body on both wood and iron work; the wood, when cut, is hard and very dry; the iron free from every appearance of rust. From the present appearance of the Mineral Brown Paint, its hard, solid, and impenetrable state, there is every reason to believe that it will defend the wood and iron work for years against the effect of weather and the moisture of the atmosphere; and we give it as our opinion, that it is a useful coating for wood and iron work exposed to the weather or to damp, and consider it to be cheaper than any other that can be procured.

“Certified by HENRY SIMMONS, } Overseers of the Works.
“JOHN PHILLIPS, }

“ROBERT WAKEMAN, Serj. Maj. Master Carpenter.
“JAMES MOIR, Serj. Master Smith, R. Artificers.”

“Plymouth Lines, May 26, 1807.

“I confirm the above certificate or statement.

“ALEXANDER MERCER,
“Lieut.-General Commanding Royal Engineers.”

“Royal Engineers' Office, Plymouth Dock, May 9, 1815.

“We hereby certify, that Messrs. M^r Adam and Co.'s Mineral and Brown Paint has

continued in general use in this Department, for all kinds of fences, since the date of the above certificate of May 26, 1807; that it has also latterly been used on sentry boxes, travelling magazines, side-arm racks, carts, and other wood work exposed to the weather, with every probability of success: we therefore, after nearly eight years' additional experience, have no hesitation in confirming that certificate, as to the general good qualities of the Paint in question, for the preservation of wood and iron work.

"BEN. JONES, Clerk of Works.
"JAMES SHIRRAH, Overseer."

"Royal Engineers' Office, Portsmouth, May 15, 1815.

"We hereby certify, that the Mineral Brown Paint, prepared and sold by Messrs. McAdam and Co., has been used in the Ordnance Department at this station, for three years, for purposes similar to those before-mentioned; and we are of opinion that it has fully answered the purposes for which it was applied.

"JOHN HASSARD, Lieut.-Col. Royal Engineers, Commanding.
"G. BUCHANAN, Captain, Royal Engineers.
"JACOB OWEN, Clerk of Works.
"JOHN OWEN, Assistant Clerk of Works.

"Messrs. McAdam and Co."

Innumerable other certificates may be seen upon application.

Patent bright Greens, genuine White Lead, Oils, Varnishes, and Colours, dry and ground, of every description.

ALSO,

MANUFACTURERS of Mr. McADAM'S IMPROVED ROAD IMPLEMENTS.

Improved Pointed Gravel Shovels.	Mud Scrapers.
Square-Mouthed Shovels, all sizes.	Sledge Hammers, London Steeled.
Navigation Shovels.	Small Breakers, Ditto.
Ditto or Grating Tools.	Crow Bars, Ditto.
Gravel Sieves.	Mattocks, Ditto.
Sorting Ditto to any Mash.	Barrows, Iron Wheels, &c. complete.
Strong Rakes, Wood Heads, 12 Teeth.	Ditto Ditto Painted.
Ditto Ditto 10 Ditto.	Improved Cast-Iron Mile Stone Facings.
Ditto Ditto 8 Ditto.	

Water Carts with Patent Distributors, Horse and Manual Gravel Carts, Iron Pipes for Drains, Posts, Hurdles, &c. &c.

Complete Sets for Private Use.

CAUTION—The ACKNOWLEDGED EFFICACY of GIFFORD'S LOZENGES for COLICHS, HOARSENESS, and SORE THROATS, and the recommendation of them by the Faculty for these complaints, render it necessary, at this season, to caution the Public against the numerous inefficacious preparations offered for Sale under the name of Fruit Lozenges, and to inform them that none are genuine without his name and address on the boxes. Gifford's Lozenges possess, in a pure and highly concentrated state, all the medical properties of the recent fruit; in Fevers they are cooling, and in Sore Throats and Coughs, whether proceeding from recent Colds, or peculiar to Asthmatic or Consumptive habits, are particularly beneficial; they allay Inflammation, promote expectoration, and may be taken by advantage by the most delicate constitution.—Prepared and sold (only) by J. Gifford, Chemist, 101, Strand, in Boxes, at 1s 1½d and 2s each; Retailled also by most Venders in the Kingdom.—GIFFORD'S FAMILY PILLS, also, as above, which are without exception one of the most valuable, safe, and effectual opening Medicines known, for removing Nervous, Gouty, Rheumatic, Bilious Affections, Indigestion, Pains and Giddiness in the Head, Sickness, &c. and all disorders of the Stomach and Bowels, in Boxes at 1s 1½d. and 2s. 6d. each.—Please to ask for "Gifford's Lozenges," and "Gifford's Aperient Pills."

under the Patronage of the PRINCE and PRINCESS ESTERHAZY, the PRINCE and PRINCESS POLIGNAC, the EMPEROR of PERSIA; and many Distinguished Personages, and recommended by the most Eminent Physicians.

ROWLAND'S KALYDOR, powerful of effect, yet mild of influence.

This admirable Specific possesses balsamic properties of surprising energy. It eradicates FRECKLES, PIMPLES, SPOTS, REDNESS, and all cutaneous Eruptions, gradually producing a delicately clear soft skin; transforms even the most SAL-LOW COMPLEXION into RADIANT WHITENESS; resists the scorching rays of the Sun, successfully opposes the attacks of inclement weather, and renders the harsh and rough Skin beautifully soft, smooth, and even; imparts to the NECK, FACE, and ARMS a healthy and juvenile bloom; diffuses a pleasing coolness, and, by due perseverance in the application of ROWLAND'S KALYDOR, produces a beautiful Complexion.

ROWLAND'S KALYDOR is equally indispensable in the Nursery as at the Toilet. Perfectly innoxious, it may be used by the most delicate Lady with the assurance of safety and efficacy, possessing softening and healing properties. To MOTHERS NURSING their OFFSPRING it gives, in all cases of incidental inflammation, immediate relief; cools the mouth of the Infant, and enhances maternal pleasure in the act of administering alimentary nourishment.

To GENTLEMEN whose Faces are tender after SHAVING. A great infelicity which attends the operation of Shaving is the irritation of the Skin; ROWLAND'S KALYDOR will be found excellent beyond precedent in ameliorating and allaying that most unpleasant sensation.—It removes unpleasant harshness of the skin, occasioned by intense solar heat or cold winds; and thus to the Traveller, whose avocations expose him to various changes of weather, proves an infallible Specific—a prompt resource—and, as conducing to comfort, a pleasing appendage and invaluable acquisition.

Sold in Pint Bottles, at 2s. 6d. and in Half Pints, at 1s. 6d. each, duty included, by the sole Proprietors, A. ROWLAND and SON, No. 20, Hatton Garden, Holborn, London; and, by appointment, by most Perfumers and Medicine Venders, who vend their celebrated MACASSAR OIL.

* * To prevent Imposition, ask for Rowland's Kalydor, and observe the Signature, in Red Ink, on the Label,

“A. ROWLAND and SON.”

RE-ANIMATION.—When the most important functions of life are suspended, and those who are invalids by inheritance or imprudence are reduced to the most deplorable state of Nervous Debility, it is not in despair that relief is to be found.—The genuine AROMATIC LOZENGES of STEEL are the best, if not the only remedy for this species of debility; so diffusely salutary, that while they restore tone to the nerves, and health and vigour to the entire frame, they impart a genial warmth through every fibre, and exhilarate the animal spirits in such a manner, that they may fairly be said to reanimate nature. In all cases of relaxation and weakness of the system, in either sex, proceeding from dissipation, excess, or unpropitious climate, or any cause whatever, these lozenges are a certain and effectual remedy. When aversion to exercise, loss or depravity of appetite, and pallid countenance indicate approaching consumption, the delicate female will be preserved and restored to health and society, by the benign influence of this medicine. Prepared by J. P. Seddon (sole proprietor), and sold by his agent, Mr. Gifford, 104, Strand, in boxes, at 7s. and 22s. each; also, by most respectable vendors in the kingdom. To prevent imposition, each box is signed by the proprietor, J. P. Seddon, in his own handwriting, without which none can possibly be genuine.

NEW BRITISH AND INDIAN NEWSPAPER.

THE TELESCOPE, Sunday Newspaper, price 7d., embraces every topic of interest connected with our Oriental Empire. Published by E. LIVERMORE, 11, Crane-court, Fleet-street. Orders will be received by all the Newsmen and Postmasters throughout the Kingdom.

Communications to be addressed (post-paid) to the Editor, at the Office of the Paper.

MAPS OF INDIA AND THE BURMAN EMPIRE.

This Day are published, by G. and J. CARY, 86, St. James's Street ; and
J. M. RICHARDSON, 23, Cornhill;

A NEW MAP OF INDIA, on Six large Sheets, exhibiting its natural and political Divisions, constructed from original Materials, liberally supplied by Lieut. Col. VALENTINE BLACKER, C. B. Surveyor-General of India. Price, in sheets, 2l. 8s.; mounted on rollers, or in a paper case, 4l. 4s.; in a Russia case for travelling, 5l.—Also,

A MAP OF THE BURMAN EMPIRE, showing the present Seat of War, price 3s. on a sheet; or 5s. in case.

ELASTIC IRON and WIRE FENCE for PARKS, PLEASURE GROUNDS, and ORNAMENTAL WALKS, Iron Hurdles, Gates, Verandas, Balconies, Galleries, and Bedsteads, with every Article in Iron and Wire, ornamental and useful, manufactured by THOMAS CATO and SONS, 29, Holborn Hill, opposite St. Andrew's Church.

The Nobility and Gentry are respectfully informed, Specimens are submitted for inspection in Wire Works for Libraries, Aviaries, Pleasantries, Dairies, Larders, and Store-house Windows; improved Wire Blinds, Portable Wire Coops to protect Pheasants, Poultry, &c. from rats and vermin. Variety of Brass Wire Fire Goods applicable to all Gates.

Noblemen and Gentlemen favouring Messrs. CATO with orders will have them executed with punctuality and despatch.

LADIES and GENTLEMEN in GREAT BRITAIN and other nations, ought to be acquainted, as it is well known in Russia, that Bears' Grease is too harsh for the hair, and makes the hair turn grey and fall off; this is well known, as the Emperor Alexander and persons of distinction lost their hair at an early age, through using Bears' Grease; therefore, whoever recommends Bears' Grease for the hair must do it from unprincipled motives, or be ignorant how hurtful it is to the hair. In short, in the northern countries, Bears' Grease is not even used for making candles, as it is too harsh and rank, and only used for greasing the wheels of carts; and Ladies and Gentlemen must be sensible that Bears' Grease is injurious to the hair, and of course ought to be careful not to be persuaded to use it for their hair. A wise man will soon observe, if Bears' Grease were of any service to the hair, the great Emperor Alexander would have a hundred bears killed in a day. A wit remarked, all the Bears in Russia are now coming over to England, as there are bears hanging up in most of the hair-dressers' shops in London and the country, as the Bears prefer their grease shall sooner be on the heads of Ladies and Gentlemen in England, than pinched between the cart-wheels of Russia. But PRINCE'S ORIGINAL THICK RUSSIA OIL, is now acknowledged the wholesomest and best Article for dressing, preserving, and promoting the hair of ladies, gentlemen, and children, and is warranted not to contain any Bears' Grease whatever, nor perfumed spirits or spices, which are also injurious to the hair, but consists of the purest, choicest Oils in the universe, is a sure nourisher and preserver for the hair; therefore, if they want the genuine Russia Oil in Petersburg, the capital of Russia, or in any other part of the globe, they must send to A. PRINCE, No. 9, Poland-street, London, for it.

HUNDREDS of LADIES and GENTLEMEN have declared, after trying various articles for their hair, to have found PRINCE'S Original Russia Oil, after all, best for preserving and promoting the hair of Ladies, Gentlemen, and Children, and if used constantly, not a hair will fall off or turn grey, and is such a nourisher to the Hair, that if it has begun to turn grey, will restore it again to its natural colour. Is the pleasantest for ladies to dress their own or false hair; will make it always look elegant, soft, glossy, and will curl beautifully any way; clears the scalp, and keeps the head and hair clean, and by using it regularly for a few months, will restore the hair on the bald part, if the least signs of roots are remaining, which has been proved by hundreds.

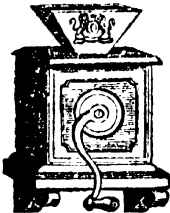
Ask for Prince's Russia Oil. The ounce bottle five shilling; a large bottle, containing five ounces, one pound, which is a saving. Sold by the sole proprietor, A Prince, No 9, Poland-street, Oxford-street, London; and by most principal perfumers and medicine venders. Be particular, and observe his address, "A Prince, 9, Poland-street, Oxford-street, London," on the cover of each bottle; without, it is not genuine, and cannot answer the purpose.



**NEWLY-INVENTED, SELF-ACTING, PORTABLE
WATER CLOSET.**

The Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and the Public, are respectfully informed that His Majesty's Royal Letters Patent have been obtained for an **IMPROVED PORTABLE WATER CLOSET**, which, from the simplicity of its construction, portability, durability, convenience and neatness, will be found the most perfect and useful article of the kind ever submitted to their consideration. The principle of this invention is, a Self-acting Air-tight Valve, which, with a copious supply of water, prevents any unpleasant exhalation; it is therefore particularly deserving the attention of Private Families, Hotels, and Tavern Proprietors; it will also be found an essential requisite for Sick Chambers, Ships, Hospitals, and Public Establishments generally.

Merchants, Captains, and Supercargoes, will find them well adapted for a Foreign Market. N.B. The Public are cautioned against Spurious Imitations of these Portable Water Closets, and to observe, that none are upon the Improved Patent Principle, but such as have the address,



*New Invented & Improved
Gardened & Improved
Corn Mill, which will enable
every Family to grind their
own Flour Malt, Rice, &c. and
which for persons emigrating
to Foreign Settlements will be
found an invaluable requisite
to their comfort and convenience.
Price 4.5 5s. Made
of soft iron, £3. 4s. But cannot
be warranted,*

**167,
FLEET STREET,
London.**



*The Unerring Newly-Invented
Portable Hydraulic
Weighing Machine, requiring
no Weights; decidedly superior
to the Dial Weighing Machines
acting upon Springs, at less
expense, and cannot be put out
of order.*

*To be had of all Upholsterers
and Ironmongers in the
Kingdom.
Manufactory, 167, Fleet St.*

THE
CROWN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,
INSTITUTED FOR
THE ASSURANCE OF LIVES,
THE GRANTING OF
Immediate and Deferred Annuities, Deferred Sums,
AND
ENDOWMENTS FOR CHILDREN,
AND ALSO
For the Purchase of Contingent and Reversionary Property,
No. 33, BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS,
LONDON.

CAPITAL £1,500,000.
In 30,000 SHARES of £50 each.

DIRECTORS.

WILLIAM PEATT LITT, Esq. Chairman.
JOHN WELLS, Esq. M.P. Deputy Chairman.

Wm. Richard Cosway, Esq. James Colquhoun, Esq. James Colvin, Esq. Captain I. W. D. Dundas, R.N. James Farquhar, Esq. M.P. Thomas Harrison, Esq. George Henry Hooper, Esq. John Kirkland, Esq.		Major Moody, Royal Engineers. Sir Francis Ommanney, M.P. Thomas Solly, Esq. Alexander Stewart, Esq. John Wilson, Esq. Wm. Whitmore, jun. Esq. John Wilson, Esq.
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AUDITORS.

John Joseph Harrison, Esq. Isaac Solly, jun. Esq.		Henry Stock, Esq.
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TRUSTEES.

John Wells, Esq. M.P. James Farquhar, Esq. M.P. Sir Francis Ommanney, M.P.		George Henry Hooper, Esq. Alexander Stewart, Esq.
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BANKERS.

Messrs. Whitmore, Wells, and Whitmore, Lombard-street.

Standing Counsel—Charles Ellis, Esq.

Physician—Dr. James Johnson, Physician Extraordinary to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence.

Surgeon—James Watdrop, Esq. F.R.S. Ed. and Surgeon Extraordinary to the King.

Solicitor—Thomas Hadden, Esq. | Actuary—Mr. I. M. Rainbow.

Secretary—Mr. Thomas G. Conyers.

THE Ordinary Premiums of Life Insurance with this Society are calculated on the most equitable scale, and all Persons who are Shareholders, and also assured for the whole Term of Life, will, by the Deed of Settlement, be entitled to participate in the whole Profits of the Society.

In addition also to the usual Privileges granted by other Offices upon ordinary risks of Life Insurance, this Society extends the privilege to the Assured of passing to and from British Ports, and any Foreign Ports between the Elbe and Brest, both inclusive.

In all cases the Directors are authorized to refer any disputes to Arbitration.

As previously advertised, the Company has been established, having for its objects, beside *The Ordinary Business of Life Insurance*, the Insurance of the Lives of Officers in his Majesty's Army, Navy, and Royal Marines (both at home and upon actual service), in the Military and Maritime service of the Honourable the East India Company, and in the Merchant Service of the United Kingdom, and the Insurance of the Lives of Individuals intending to reside abroad, either permanently or for shorter periods, and of *Persons proceeding upon Single Voyages to any quarter of the Globe, or remaining at Sea*, at Premiums proportionate to the actual risk, and calculated upon unquestionable and ascertained data.

WELSH IRON AND COAL MINING COMPANY.

CAPITAL, £250,000,

In 10,000 SHARES of £25 each.

DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS.

Chairman.—PETER MOORE, Esq. M.P.

Deputy Chairmen.—WILLIAM KERSHAW, Esq.; S. B. M. BARRETT, Esq. M.P.

DIRECTORS.

The Hon. R. Bingham.	Adolphus Kent, Esq.
John Dent, Esq. M. P.	The Right Hon. Lord Viscount
The Right Hon. Earl of Donough-	Palmerston, M. P.
more.	William Newman, Esq.
General Gascoyne, M. P.	Philip Perring, Esq.
John Gray, Esq. (Resident Director.)	The Right Hon. Lord Teynham.

AUDITORS.

John Horlor, Esq.	William Prater, Esq.
Jackson Perring, Esq.	William Venning, Esq.

TREASURERS.

Messrs. Sir John Parring, Bart. Shaw, Barber, and Co.

Standing Counsel.—J. Evans, Esq., J. Hildyard, Esq., J. Rowe, Esq.

Solicitors.—Messrs. Wilks and Verbeke.

Mine Superintendent.—Thomas Jones, Esq. (Pla. Grono.)

Mine Surveyor.—R. Cooper, Esq. Bilston.

Secretary.—John Lawford, Esq.

REPORT.

The deputation appointed by the Board of Directors to examine the works at Coed Tallon, purchased by the Company from Messrs. Jones, for 65,000*l.*, and also appointed to examine other works in North Wales, offered to the Company, and others advertised for sale by auction, having made the surveys directed by the Board, beg leave to submit the following observations as their report:—

Before, however, they proceed to submit their remarks on this important subject, they beg leave to call the attention of the Board to the liberal policy adopted by his Majesty's Government, in the reduction of the duty on Swedish iron. Far from anticipating any evil as likely to result from such reduction, the deputation expect that the consumption both of Swedish and English iron will be thereby much increased, since in proportion to the diminished rate of duty will be the desire of consumption. In addition to this general principle, as applicable to all reductions on the duty upon foreign commodities, the deputation confidently anticipate that even should the reduction of duty on Swedish iron increase its consumption to a greater degree than the anticipated increased consumption of British iron, yet that, for the following reasons, they anticipate that the iron made by this Company will always in future be an object of great demand, particularly by the neighbouring manufacturing towns, and therefore will always ensure for it a fair and remunerative price.

1st. Because the iron is universally admitted to be of most excellent quality, the iron stone yielding upwards of 25*l.* percent., and being peculiarly adapted at one mine for all fine machine work, and the other mine, about to be referred to, for all strong and lasting purposes.

2dly. Because from the adjacency of the works to the great manufactories of Birmingham, Sheffield, Shrewsbury, Stafford, and other places, the iron of this Company can readily be procured, and also can be so obtained for exportation from Liverpool, being only 30 miles from town.

3dly. Because the rate of carriage must be so considerably less than that from a foreign country, that the manufacturers will necessarily prefer it.

4thly. Because from the adjacency beforementioned, iron can always be relied on by the manufacturers with certainty at stated fixed periods, without being subject to the disappointments, detentions, and losses of sea navigation; and

5thly. Because notwithstanding the reduction of the duty on Swedish iron, yet the necessary price of that article, even after such reduction, will enable this Company at the reduced prices to clear 75 per cent. per annum, and even should the price be reduced below that 25 per cent. to average a profit of 50 per cent.

Having made these observations, which the deputation hope will be satisfactory to the Board, they will now proceed to state the result of their visit to Wales.

1st. With respect to the works at Pont Blithen, Leeswood, and Coed Tallon.

The deputation, accompanied by Mr. Cooper and Mr. Jones, proceeded to examine these iron works and collieries. The iron they found peculiarly fluid and plentiful; one blast furnace they found at full work, and a second nearly completed. When that shall also be put into active operation, and when an increased weekly quantity of iron stone is raised constantly to supply additional furnaces, the deputation recommend that four more should be erected on the freehold ground belonging to the Company. The present make of 35 tons per week will then be extended to 210 tons, and even in the course of a month, the make will be increased from 35 to 70 tons per week.

The deputation examined, with much pleasure, a horse level which has been driven into the estate, about 1,400 yards, and by means of which the mines are kept free from water. This object is of the first importance, and had cost the late proprietors many thousand pounds to accomplish, prior to the purchase of the works by this Company.

With respect to the coals, the Brassey coal, which is used for the furnaces, and which is of very excellent quality, is abundant, and must be preserved for the purposes of blasting. The main coal, which is 15 feet thick, is well adapted for domestic and general purposes; and, with other coals of various thicknesses and qualities, amounting to twelve in number, are readily saleable at good prices, and to almost any extent.

The colliers and miners on this estate are about 200; but as the accommodation is inadequate for them, the deputation recommend that 100 cottages should be immediately erected on part of the freehold ground, and when so erected, should be let at low rents. The proposed arrangement will give to this Company a decided advantage over others who take mineral ground, and who then have to sink shafts, drive levels, and then procure, if possible, colliers and miners to colonize on the property. The profits from this estate, the deputation beg to report, have belonged to this Company from the 29th day of January. The books are opened. the first monthly account the deputation now lay on the table of the Board. the accounts are to be rendered monthly: the moneys are to be paid through the hands of Messrs. Jones, Lloyd and Co. to the credit of Messrs. Knight of Mold, and out of the stock of iron on hand in January, and made since that time, or to be made at these and the other works of the Company hereafter mentioned. A contract for the sale of 300 tons of iron to be delivered on the 31st instant, has been entered into with a highly respectable house at Manchester at 10½ 5s. per ton, to be paid for in cash. Other applications for iron have also been made to the deputation; and at the present prices, any quantity can be sold by the Board which they may feel warranted or inclined to sell. The deputation, with pleasure, report that a new turnpike road just completed through the estate has much increased its value, and if the present Flint Railway Bill, now pending in Parliament, should pass into a law, the present rate of carriage to Flint, and also to Chester, will be diminished 50 per cent. This measure indeed appears to the deputation not only to be highly important to this Company, but also beneficial to the mining interests of the vicinity, and likely to prove very lucrative.

In fine, with reference to the works at Coed Tallon, provided the Board shall be disposed to adopt a subsequent recommendation in this report of appointing a resident director, the deputation are of opinion, that the works at Coed Tallon will be found as profitable and eligible as any iron works in the united kingdom.

2d. The deputation having fully examined the works before-mentioned, proceeded, on a subsequent day, to look over the Llwynion works, situate in the parish of Ruabon, in the county of Flint. With the activity, good arrangement, and general appearance of these works, the deputation were much pleased; and, having carefully examined the coals and iron stone, and also the surface, extending altogether some miles, and having ascertained the situation and circumstances of the works, recommend the Board to purchase the same for 45,000*l.* being the price agreed on by the present proprietors, and to receive the profits and produce of the works and collieries from the 6th of March. The deputation have arrived at this conclusion, from finding two blast furnaces in full work, making together 70 tons per week: the iron so made being of most excellent quality and much sought after. Nor is this the only

circumstance which has induced the deputation to arrive at this conclusion; for, in addition to the iron works, the collieries here are very productive, and the sales of coal numerous, regular, and profitable. Nor does it appear to the deputation, that much is required to be done with reference to these works; since the miners and colliers are adequate in number, and the cottages for their occupation sufficient. To the active superintendence of Mr. Jones, our Mine Superintendent, they would recommend the Board principally to commit these works, and in a short time it may be expedient to consider, whether any additional furnaces should be erected. In addition to the other advantages connected with these works is the fact, that for several years bricks and tiles have been made from the clay taken out of the mines, upon the principle lately adopted by the Patent Brick Company; and the deputation are persuaded, that if this branch of revenue is well attended to, it will be adequate to meet most if not all of the expenses of the works. The deputation have accordingly made arrangements for the early supply of 50,000 bricks and tiles to London, with a view of having them examined by competent judges, and of selling the sample at the best price which the Board can procure for the same. Nor does the carriage to London supply any obstacle to this measure, since the cheap rate of freight from Flint, and the contiguity of the works to that sea-port town, will well admit of the small additional charge on the commodity. There is also another circumstance which the deputation cannot omit to mention, which is, that both at the works at Coed Tallon and Llwynion, free stone may be procured, in great abundance, at a very small cost, and which will enable the directors, from time to time, to erect buildings for a comparatively small amount. The bricks also before-mentioned are fire bricks, which are used for the furnaces and other works, and are much more valuable than common bricks.

3d. The deputation beg to report, that they next proceeded to examine the works advertised for sale, lately the property of Mr. Rowland, at Acre-fair. These works the deputation having not only examined themselves, but having also been aided by the prior survey of Mr. Cooper, and by the information and assistance of gentlemen well acquainted with the works, are decidedly of opinion would require a much greater proportion of the capital of this Company to purchase and to work them than actually remains. Far, however, is it from the intention of the deputation to state but that capital might be well employed in such purchase and operations, provided certain contiguous collieries could be purchased and connected with them. Yet, inasmuch as this would alone be adequate to employ the full capital of a Company, the deputation recommend that these works should not be purchased by this Company. They are additionally induced to offer this advice for two reasons—first, because the works already purchased at Coed Tallon, and those which the deputation advise that the Board should take at Llwynion, will, if well and amply worked, employ the capital of the Company, which, at present, it would be very inexpedient to increase; and, secondly, that the works at Acre-fair, having to be put in order and working, would not, like the Coed Tallon and Llwynion works, yield an immediate revenue, but would, in a considerable degree, for the next 12 months, diminish from the anticipated profits of the Company.

4th. The deputation advert to the situation of the works at Coed Tallon, and to a former part of this Report, beg to suggest that the Board should appoint a resident director; and that an unfinished house, belonging to Col. Wardle, situate within a quarter of a mile of the works at Coed Tallon, should be taken by the Board, and finished fit for his habitation. And the deputation beg further to report, that Mr. Gray, one of their number, has consented to undertake such direction, and to reside near the works. The deputation can then confidently state that, assisted by Mr. Jones, the Mine Superintendent (of whose character and conduct the deputation cannot speak too highly, and from whose abilities and integrity they expect much benefit will arise to the Company), the works, both at Coed Tallon and Llwynion, will be adequately superintended, and no further important assistance will be required to render the establishments all that the deputation, the directors, and the proprietors can desire.

To conclude, the deputation confidently anticipate that with any of the new institutions which have been established for the employment of British capital, and for the improvement of the trade and manufactures of this country, the Welsh Iron and Coal Mining Company need not fear to be compared, since from such comparison its advantages and prospects will appear as valuable and certain as they do appear to the deputation.

40, Broad street Buildings,
Dated March 10th, 1825.

(Signed)

JOHN GRAY,
W. KERSHAW,
JOHN WILKES, JUN.

MEDWAY LIME AND COKE COMPANY.**CAPITAL 100,000*l*.****IN 2000 SHARES OF 50*l* EACH.****DIRECTORS.**

Peter Moore, Esq. M.P. Chairman.
 S. B. M. Barrett, Esq. M. P.
 N. Denny, Esq.
 John Gray, Esq.

William Kershaw, Esq.
 Philip Perring, Esq.
 A. A. Surtees, Esq.
 Adolphus Kent, Esq.

AUDITORS.

William Aston, Esq.
 James Jones, Esq.

John Mendham, Esq.
 Jackson Perring, Esq.

Treasurers—Messrs. Sir Wm. Kay, Bart. Price, Marryatt, and Coleman.

Solicitors—Messrs. Wilks and Verbeke.

Secretary—Henry T. Ryde, Esq.

Accountant—James Mitchell, Esq.

THIS COMPANY has been established for the purpose of working some very valuable Lime Works, situate at Upper Halling, near Rochester, already purchased by the Company. These works consist of a freehold of eleven acres of very excellent graystone chalk, pure and unmixed with refuse, and of immense depth, on which one kiln is at present erected, but on which twenty are to be built.

Lime is an article for which there is almost an unlimited demand for the purpose of building, rebuilding, and repairing of houses.

Lime is also of almost unlimited demand for the purposes of agriculture, particularly for such rich and heavy soils as in Essex.

The Lime in most general use is that formed from white chalk.

Graystone Lime is of very superior quality, but is a scarce commodity. The Government get it from Dorking, in Surrey.

It is superior in building, as it will take up nearly twice as much sand in making mortar, and readily hardens under water.

It is more effectual in answering the purposes of Lime in agriculture, and its effects on the land are of longer duration.

Messrs. Jolliffe and Banks have an establishment of eight common kilns for making gray Lime, on the banks of the Medway, near those purchased by this Company, and have bound down the Proprietor of the soil not to grant any lease to any other person. They use the Lime for the public works at Sheerness, and other great undertakings.

Mr. Vazie reports, that the estate purchased, consists of more than 100 feet deep; but from a well having been sunk, it is ascertained to be upwards of 150 feet deep.

This estate will therefore contain, as from the following calculation:—

One acre	4,810	square yards
	11	
Eleven acres	53,240	square yards
Depth	50	yards
	2,662,000	solid yards.

The following are extracts from two Reports made on these works:—

Extract from Mr. R. Vazie's Report:—"The chalk stone is more than 100 feet in depth, with only four feet spoil beneath the surface, at a distance, not exceeding a mile and a quarter from the river Medway, having thereto, nearly the whole way, a moderate descent. This chalk appears fully equal in quality to a quarry in full operation by Messrs. Jolliffe and Banks, at not more than half a mile distance. This is a scarce article, much superior to the white chalk of the country generally, both for building, and dressing of land."

Extract from Mr. John Wicking's Report:—"The chalk stone, of which the estate appears to contain an inexhaustible supply, from the very great depth of the strata,

is the best I have seen for burning what is technically called Grayscale Lime, now so much in demand in London."

A solid yard of chalk made into lime, forms what is called a hundred, which sells for about 15s.

The above quantity then, made and sold, would yield 1,996,500l. nearly 2,000,000l. sterling, and occupy twenty kilns, constantly at work for seventy years.

There is, therefore, rough materials sufficient for forming an establishment for burning lime.

The situation is convenient, being about 4 miles above Rochester, and only 1 mile and a quarter from the banks of the Medway, which is navigable for barges at all times of the tide, and for a certain period every tide is navigable by very large vessels.

The descent to the Medway is gradual, being about 1 foot in 50. There is a parish road, and at the river side there is a public wharf: the charge for landing coals is 3d. a chaldron, and for exporting lime 2d. a ton.

To facilitate conveyance, a railway might be made, either for waggons drawn by horses, or by loco-motive engines, from the works to the Medway; and it is expected that the parish would readily consent to allow such a railway to be made, in order to get free of the expense of repairing the parish road.

The burning of the lime may be effected in such a way that the coke produced will more than pay the expense of the coals.

The work is conducted in an elevated building, filled from the top with blocks of chalk; at the lower part of it are iron bars, which support the chalk. The whole heat, flame, and smoke of the coal during its transformation into coke, ascend upwards through the chalk, and burn it to lime. Gradually, as the lime is burnt, it falls down, and is taken through the iron bars to the bottom, from whence it is carried away. As the quantity subsides, new blocks are put on at the top, and thus the process goes on for ever.

By this process, from the quality of the gray chalk, there is no refuse: neither is there any expense of screening the lime. It is at once obtained in its finest and most perfect state.

The coke obtained by this process is very superior to the coke made at the gas works, as its strength is not so much exhausted.

Twelve chaldrons of coal will make seventeen chaldrons of coke.

The coke will sell from 31s. to 32s. per chaldron.

Coals may be purchased at Rochester from 26s. to 30s. per chaldron.

The expense of erecting a lime-kiln, together with the coke oven, would be from 350l. to 400l. supposing all the materials to be purchased and brought from a distance; but as lime and sand are to be had on the spot, and bricks also in the immediate neighbourhood, the expense will be less. Fire-bricks and iron must be brought by water from London.

Mr. Heathorn's charge for license to erect one kiln is 100 guineas. If several be erected, the charge per kiln is much less. Mr. Heathorn himself superintends the erection, and guarantees that it shall burn from 37 to 38 hundred of lime, London measure, weekly, and save the expense of the whole fuel by the small coal being converted into coke.

The quantity of coke made by a kiln weekly, will be about seventeen chaldrons.

If a common railway be constructed, it may be done economically by means of old ship timber, which is always to be had at a cheap rate at Rochester, which may be covered with a surface of iron.

Cottages for the workmen, and stabling for the horses, must be erected on the ground.

It will be the interest of the Company to employ its own barges.

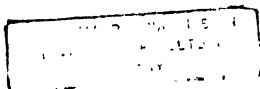
What may be obtained for selling the lime at some of the basins of the Regent's Canal.

The capital required to purchase the works, and make all the necessary arrangements for 20 kilns, will be 40,000l.; but to guarantee the directors against the possibility of any deficiency of capital, the capital has been made 100,000l.

A deed of settlement for the regulation of the Company will be immediately prepared, which, when approved of by the directors, shall be deemed the proper deed of settlement under which the affairs of the Company will be conducted.

HENRY T. RYDE, Secretary.

4 0 5.



• TROPICAL FREE-LABOUR COMPANY.

CAPITAL, £4,000,000.

PRESIDENT.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

William Wilberforce, Esq.

Right Hon. Lord Calthorpe.
Thomas Babington, Esq.
Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P.
Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. M. P.
William Evans, Esq. M. P.

Stephen Lushington, Esq. D.C.L. M. P.
William Smith, Esq. M. P.
James Stephen, Esq.
Daniel Sykes, Esq. M. P.
W. W. Whitmore, Esq. M. P.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.

William Allen, Esq.
T. G. Babington, Esq.
T. G. Babington, Esq.
Edward Carroll, Esq.
James Cropper, Esq.
Henry Drummond, Esq.
William Fry, Esq.
Luke Howard, Esq.

G. G. Larpent, Esq.
R. Maculay, Esq.
Henry Pownall, Esq.
W. F. Reynolds, Esq.
Anthony Robinson, Esq.
Thomas Sturge, Jun. Esq.
Joseph Trueman, Esq.
Henry Weymouth, Esq.

BANKERS.

Sir P. Pole, Bart., Thornton, Fice, Down, and Scott, Bartholomew Lane; and
Messrs. Drummond and Co., Charing Cross.

SOLICITORS.

Messrs. Tilson and Preston, 29, Coleman Street.

SECRETARY.

John Dongan, Esq, 12, King's-Arms Yard, Coleman Street;—to whom all
Communications, and Applications for Shares, may be addressed.

THE object of this Company is to promote, within the British Dominions, the
growth of the several articles of Tropical Production by means of FREE
LABOUR.

With respect to INDIGO, this object has been already accomplished. It was once
produced solely by the labour of slaves in the West Indies and America. In conse-
quence of the application of British skill and capital to its production, nearly the
whole of that article which is now consumed in Europe, amounting in value to
about Four Millions sterling, is raised by free labour, and almost entirely in British
India.

A similar effect might have been expected with respect to COTTON, had the same
means been employed in the same quarter to extend its culture and to improve its
quality. This, however, has not been done; and therefore the Cotton Trade of our
Asiatic Dominions continues to labour under many disadvantages. Such neverthe-
less, was the impulse given to the importation of East India Cotton, on the opening
of the trade with that country, that in a few years its price throughout the world was
reduced to nearly half its former amount.

On this extraordinary fall of price, the Cotton of India, which is of the lowest
quality, was neglected, and no further attention was paid, by Europeans, either to
its culture, or to the improvement of its staple. Had a contrary course been pur-
sued, it cannot be doubted that the present alarming increase in the price of that
article might have been prevented. It is now the more important to provide an
effectual remedy for such an inconvenience; and for this, India seems to hold out the
only certain and permanent resource.

The official value of the Cotton Goods exported from Great Britain in 1824,
amounts to a sum exceeding Thirty Millions sterling. The continued and progres-
sive prosperity, therefore, of the vast interests which are connected with our Cotton
manufactures, and which obviously involve most deeply the interests of the nation at
large, requires that a vigorous effort should be made to enlarge the importation,
from British India, of Cotton Wool of superior quality, if possible, to any which is
now grown there. Without such an effort, our manufacturers are likely to be

reduced to very serious difficulties from that enhanced price of this indispensable article, which must be the effect of an increasing consumption without a corresponding increase in the supply; while a new impulse will be given to the extension of the Slave Trade and Slavery in the possessions of Foreign Nations.

It will not be denied that much may be done, by an Association like the present, to counteract these evils, by stimulating the increased growth of Cotton in India, and by facilitating and encouraging the substitution of superior descriptions of that article, for the low, and comparatively worthless kinds, which are now grown there. To this truly national object the attention of the TROPICAL FREE-LABOUR COMPANY will be particularly directed.

Another main purpose for which this Company has been formed, is to promote the production of SUGAR by FREE LABOUR.

The British Dominions in Asia are well adapted to the growth of this article, and are capable of supplying it to an indefinite extent; but, from the unskillfulness of the natives in the process of manufacturing it, combined with their want of capital, and the fiscal restrictions to which it is subject, little progress has hitherto been made in introducing the Sugar of that part of the world into general consumption. If effectual means, however, were adopted of obviating these disadvantages, the Sugar Trade of British India could not fail rapidly to increase.

The requisite means to this end have been fully pointed out, in a small pamphlet published by Hatchard, and entitled "East India Sugar; or, an Inquiry respecting the Means of improving the Quality and reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies." The statements contained in it are taken from authentic documents, officially furnished to the East India Company, and by them laid before the public. That East India SUGAR may be made a profitable article of culture, even under all the disadvantages with which it has to contend, no one, who candidly examines the evidence there produced, will doubt. What is chiefly required is, that British intelligence and British capital should be employed to give an impulse and a right direction to the industry of the natives; by encouraging the more extensive cultivation of SUGAR; by improving the mode and lessening the expense of its manufacture; and by thus, generally, raising its quality, and diminishing its cost, so as to render it an article of more enlarged and more beneficial commercial intercourse with our Asiatic possessions than it is at present.

The TROPICAL FREE-LABOUR COMPANY proposes, therefore, to direct a large share of its attention to the objects of promoting the cultivation and manufacture of SUGAR by FREE LABOUR in British India, and of facilitating its admission into general use, not only in the United Kingdom, but in all other parts of the World. This will be chiefly effected by introducing into India improved modes of manufacture; and by making such safe and judicious advances to the manufacturers, and, through them, to the cultivators of the soil, as may be necessary to promote the increase of production. Such advances as may be made from year to year, with the view of promoting the growth or manufacture of Sugar, or of any other article of tropical growth, will be annually liquidated by the consignment of the produce thus raised to the Company; whose profits will arise from the usual Commissions on the sale of such produce, and the Interest chargeable on its advances.

The course which it is intended to pursue in this respect, has had the sanction of lengthened experience. It is precisely that course which has been uniformly pursued in similar cases by the East India Company, and by the Capitalists of British India; and which has already proved so signally successful in promoting the cultivation of Indigo, and in otherwise developing the faculties of that vast and fertile region.

Proceeding on the data already referred to, and which stand fully confirmed by other satisfactory testimony, it appears that the whole advance which can be required for the production, for example, of a ton of Sugar would be from twelve to about fifteen or sixteen pounds, even on the supposition, which is a very improbable one, that the manufacturer possessed no funds of his own. To ensure, therefore, the production of 10,000 tons of Sugar annually, the utmost advance that could be required would not exceed 160,000*l*. And it is obvious, that, if the success of the Company should be such as may fairly be expected, it would be possible greatly to enlarge its efforts. An additional supply of 10,000 tons of Sugar might be raised by every fresh advance of 160,000*l*.; until a sufficient amount of capital should be employed, fully to meet that growing demand for Sugar, which may be anticipated from the combined effect of the diminished cost of its production and the increasing prosperity of the Empire.

The advantage which would accrue to the Commercial Interests of Great Britain, and still more of Ireland, by the extensive creation of fresh means of making returns, to meet the rapidly increasing demand of our manufactures on the part of the immense population of British India—to say nothing of the benefits which would thus be conferred on that population—is too obvious to need to be insisted on. But it will not be the least powerful recommendation of the scheme to multitudes, that,

if it should succeed, it must eventually tend to extinguish Slavery in Foreign as well as in British Colonies, and to put a final period to the Foreign Slave-Trade, which still prevails on the coast of Africa.

Although the preceding statements have an especial reference to British India, yet the TROPICAL FREE-LABOUR COMPANY does not intend to confine its views to that quarter, but to extend them, as fair openings may occur, to the British Dominions in other parts of the world, and particularly in Africa and the West Indies.

The capital of the TROPICAL FREE-LABOUR COMPANY is fixed, for the present, at Four Millions of Pounds Sterling, to be divided into Eighty Thousand Shares of Fifty Pounds each.

The conduct of its affairs will be intrusted to a Board of Directors in London, to be chosen by the Subscribers; but at each of the Outports of the United Kingdom, where subscriptions shall be received to the amount of 100,000*l.*, a Subsidiary Board will be appointed, to receive consignments and effect sales at such port. In the meantime, a Provisional Committee has been named, for the purpose of carrying into effect the proposed plan: and to them it is left to take the necessary measures for legally constituting the Company; to frame laws and regulations for its government; to collect further information; to establish agencies, and otherwise to promote the objects contemplated by the present prospectus.

To enable the Committee effectually to prosecute these objects, the sum of One Pound per share will be required to be paid by the Subscribers to one or other of the Bankers named above, as soon as they shall have received notice of the shares that have been appropriated to them.

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TO THE FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

We regret, as sincerely as any of our readers can possibly do, the necessity of reverting to a subject to which we would fain hope we shall never again have occasion to recur: we mean the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of including all that the nature of our publication renders it a duty to lay before its supporters, within the limits originally assigned to each separate Number.

We are so strongly attached by habit, as well as by a sense of its advantages, to regularity in size and price, to uniformity in arrangement of materials, and to consistency in advocating public principles, all of which ought to characterize a public journal ambitious of public approbation, that we witness any departure from the one with reluctance, and from the other with indignation. For the latter, indeed, no sufficient cause could ever happen, and no sufficient reason ever be assigned: but of this we feel ourselves in no danger of being accused. For the former, however, we have had many and very urgent causes; yet rather than deviate from the scale of charge originally fixed by the publisher, unless driven to such a step by a necessity beyond our power to overrule, we have continually exceeded, by several sheets, the size originally fixed for each Number, so as to incur an extra expense in the printing of the work, sufficient to absorb, entirely, even the necessary remuneration of the subordinate assistants, and leaving to the proprietor and conductor no return whatever, either for the capital or labour required in the undertaking.

The sacrifice on all such occasions being voluntary, we have neither a right nor an inclination to advert to them with regret. Those who have watched the progress of this publication from its first commencement to the present period, will, we are certain, bear witness to the total absence of all allusion to this subject, except as an indication of our earnest zeal in the pursuit of higher and nobler ends than mere remuneration. From the 1st to the 15th Number of the work, the last issued from the press, not less than 1000*l.* sterling has been expended in mere *extra* disbursements for labour and materials, over and above what a strict adherence to the original scale of size and price would have required: but it has been incurred cheerfully, because a hope was entertained that such exertions would be met by a reciprocal spirit of extensive and zealous support on the part of those interested in the good government of India; and because it

was also believed that the pressing emergencies which required this extra expenditure would be but temporary.

This hope, though long indulged, has been uniformly disappointed by every successive month: for the eve of publication has never yet arrived, without our being embarrassed as to the choice of articles to be left out or deferred to the following; and one postponement has succeeded another, till the interest of the subject has entirely passed away.

A climax of these embarrassments led to the necessity of our issuing with the last regular Number (already five sheets, or eighty pages, more than the stipulated size) a Supplement, to include such of the Hyderabad documents as appeared to us essential to a correct understanding of the case. The same, or if possible, a still greater necessity impels us (as much against our wishes as it is unfortunately against our interests) to repeat the same course in the present month; a proceeding which nothing but a deep sense of duty to our supporters would induce us to adopt, as the pecuniary sacrifice which we make in determining on this step, will be more than many months of ordinary sale will repay.

We entered on our career, with the determination that the subscribers to the Oriental Herald should be presented with the earliest, the fullest, and the most accurate information on Indian affairs that zeal and labour could furnish, or money could procure: and at the risk of all we now possess, we have hitherto redeemed that pledge. We feel, however, that the period is arrived when some arrangement of a more permanent nature than the present must be determined upon. We feel, perhaps even more keenly than any of our readers, the force of all the objections that may be raised to the irregular issue of Supplementary Numbers: to *them* they are productive only of a temporary irregularity, and a very trifling additional expense, which they, however, have the option of avoiding if they choose: to *us* they are productive of much certain additional labour, and much certain additional cost, from neither of which can we shrink, without making such omissions as would destroy the character of the work for fullness and fidelity as an impartial record of Indian affairs.

The reports of the last three days' debates at the India House, on the Hyderabad transaction, are of themselves *more than sufficient*, though printed in the smallest type that can be read with ease or pleasure, to fill the whole of the space allotted to a regular Number; so that if the usual variety of information were to be given, these debates could not be printed at all; or if we confined ourselves to the publication of these debates alone, we could issue nothing else. Yet the facts developed in these discussions are undoubtedly of the greatest public importance; and the circumstance of their extending through a period of six days, with successive adjournments, the last day pressing close upon midnight before the debate was ended, as well as the crowded audiences and numerous speakers in each, warrant our considering them also of the highest public interest. We can assure the reader that their accuracy and fidelity may be relied on: and in the preliminary article which introduces the whole discussion, as well as in the notes affixed to the most remarkable portions of every Gentleman's speech, by

which we have endeavoured to enliven and enrich this Supplementary Number, we feel persuaded he will find that which will render the whole more intelligible, as well as more agreeable to read, than the mere dull report of any India House debates can ever be made, without appropriate comments on the facts and opinions disclosed in them.

There remains, however, besides this, all the late and deeply interesting news from India, equal in importance to any intelligence ever received from that country, as well as the indispensable details of various other matters connected with those branches of information, by which the variety of our publication is maintained. No alternative seems to be left, therefore, but that of making a separate Supplemental Number of the India House debates, to which nothing more than a preliminary article on the same subject has been attached; and including all the rest of the materials, which could neither be suppressed nor postponed, in the regular Number of the month; issuing each at the same price, and giving to purchasers, as before, the option of taking one or both, as may be most agreeable to themselves.

We have already stated our determination, that NO MORE SUPPLEMENTS SHALL BE ISSUED, and our conviction that some plan must be at once determined on, which shall enable us to keep pace with the increasing interest of Indian affairs, without making any irregular demands on our Subscribers by an augmentation of charge for whatever additional matter may be required to be printed. The only way in which this can possibly be done is, to increase the size of each Monthly Number from its present standard of 150, to an enlarged standard of 200 pages, and to make the price Five Shillings. This increase of limits will make the work extend to four volumes in the year, instead of three, one volume being completed every quarter.

As a reference to existing standards of quantity and price is at once the fairest and most intelligible way of ascertaining whether the charge for any publication be beyond the ordinary standard or not, it may be well to mention that the average number of pages in the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews is about 250, and the prices six shillings: the average of the Retrospective Review 190 pages, and its price five shillings per number. The charge for the Oriental Herald, when fixed at 200 pages for the last named sum, will be, therefore, at least, as moderate as in either of the preceding publications; with this essential difference in its favour, that 200 pages of the sizes of type and close manner adopted by our printer, will cost to us, in their preparation, even more than the 250 pages of the two first Reviews, and will contain, for the reader, as much as 300 pages of the last, so as to be relatively *much cheaper* than either of them, as far as the mere labour and expense of printing, paper, &c. is concerned: while the two former possess a steady circulation of 12 or 15,000 copies each, which would enable them, if necessary, to bear twice or thrice the expense that their preparation, at present, involves.

It deserves especial consideration also, that the very nature of the subjects to which the pages of the Oriental Herald are principally devoted, must limit its

interest to certain circles of society, and consequently render it impossible for it to attain more than a fourth part of the circulation enjoyed by the great *Reviews* adverted to. These being, however, almost exclusively the property of men in trade, and managed on trading principles alone, are made to produce a profit of five or six thousand a year. But, without discarding altogether the desire of that return without which no publication can be maintained, we hope we have given sufficient proofs of a better spirit, in other countries, to obtain credit for its continued influence on our views in this; and, in this spirit, we shall hope to effect as much practicable good as may be consistent with an exemption from loss; being willing to give our labours, in what we deem a good cause, on conditions with which no mere writer for gain, whose heart was not in his subject, would be content.

We trust that this explanation of our motives for making the augmentation proposed, and of the grounds on which the calculation has been made, will remove all possible doubt as to its entire disinterestedness. The labour and the risk to us will certainly be much greater; the profit will not, even if the proposition is well received, be more than at present. In expressing a hope, therefore, that the share we sustain in this undertaking, will be met with that ready and cordial acquiescence and support, without which no public enterprise can avail, we are only giving our friends and supporters credit for the same zealous and ardent aspirations after the improvement of India, by which we feel ourselves to be actuated in endeavouring to rouse the attention of our countrymen, in England, to the thousand objects that deserve their serious consideration, connected with the fate of their countrymen and fellow-subjects in the East.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 16.—APRIL 1825.—VOL. 5.

SPEEDY COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA—CANALS ACROSS THE ISTHMUS OF SUEZ.

A Bill is now passing through the House of Commons, for the incorporation of a Company, whose purpose is to make a passage for ships from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, through the narrow country which connects North with South America. The immense advantage arising from such an undertaking, must be apparent to every one who looks at a map of the world. * * * There only wants now a canal through the Isthmus of Suez, and then the two great desiderata for which all geographers have sighed, would be accomplished, and little of circuitous navigation left in the world.—EXAMINER, *March 13, 1825.*

THE readers of our earliest Numbers will remember, that about twelve months ago, March 1814, we devoted an article to the subject of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and after a full development of all the details that could be given in illustration, concluded with venturing to predict that this important undertaking would, ere long, receive that serious consideration to which it is so justly entitled. We are gratified at seeing that the expectation was well-founded, and to learn that it is thus already fulfilled. From the consideration of this subject, the mind is naturally impelled towards an inquiry into the practicability of a similar union between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; the Isthmus of Suez and that of Darien being constantly associated, in our recollection, from their similarity in size and position, and the impediment which each offers to a more speedy communication between distant quarters of the globe. In the very first Number of *The Oriental Herald*, we drew the public attention to the difficulties of steam navigation by that route to India, a project which was then seriously entertained, but which has since been judiciously abandoned. The same objections do not apply, however, to the hope of shortening the route of navigation for sailing vessels, such as are now in use, between Great Britain and her Indian empire; but more especially for vessels of a smaller kind, which would then maintain a speedy and uninterrupted intercourse between all the European, Asiatic, and African ports of the Mediterranean, and those of Arabia and Abyssinia in the Red Sea.

At the present moment, when capital is so superabundant as to be seeking channels of profitable employment in every country under the sun, we shall perhaps render an acceptable service to merchants and capitalists, as well as to our literary and geographical readers, and, above all, to the cause of humanity,—the best interests of which are most effectually promoted by undertakings that unite hostile nations in the bonds of reciprocal interest,—by devoting a portion of our work to the consideration of

the subject proposed. The period for such a discussion is favourable, from another circumstance also, and one of even still greater importance than the abundance of unemployed capital, namely, the present state and condition of Egypt, and the enlarged views and enterprising character of its present celebrated ruler. We learn, by advices received from Alexandria, during the past month, that the commerce of Egypt was rising to a degree of splendor which astonished all the European residents in that country; and the government of the Pasha is said to have been spoken of with the same respect as that of the most enlightened in Europe. A number of intelligent Europeans were already in the service of this prince; the government monopolies were giving way to free-trade; an insurance company had been established, an institution never before known under a Mohammedan government; a public journal was on the point of being established; and every other indication of the spirit and feeling of the country manifested a thirst after improvement, and a zeal among all classes in the pursuit of great undertakings, which has never been witnessed there since the days of the Caliphs.

The independence of Egypt, which most persons acquainted with its present state, regard as not very remote, may perhaps be thought still wanting to secure the success of any great project undertaken for its benefit: but, although there is always a greater degree of insecurity under despotic than under free governments, yet even this insecurity is often effectually counteracted by the powerful claims of self-interest, which, in such a case as we are supposing, would compel even the despot to promote the stability of relations that could never be interrupted without greater injury to himself than to others. We proceed, however, to the immediate object of our inquiry:—

In tracing the history of the communication by water, which formerly existed between the Mediterranean and the Red Seas, it is curious to observe the discrepancies that occur with respect to it in the testimonies afforded by the Greek and Roman writers. That a canal did once exist from the Nile to the Red Sea, sufficient to establish such a communication, is evident, not only from the express words of Arabian authors, but also from the vestiges of it which yet remain; but at what era it commenced, and under whose auspices it was finally completed, is still open to considerable doubt. Herodotus, the earliest author who notices it, asserts that this canal, known at a later period by the denomination of *Fossa Regum*, was first contemplated by Pharaoh Necos; that it was begun by him, and that one hundred thousand Egyptians perished during the progress of the work; that he desisted from it on being warned by an oracle, that all his labour would turn to the advantage of a barbarian; and that it was afterwards undertaken by Darius, who completed it. He expressly states that it commenced at Bubaste on the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, and that it terminated in the Red Sea; and describes the length of it as extending to a navigation of four days, and its breadth as sufficient to admit two triremes abreast.

A testimony so explicit, from an intelligent observer who visited Egypt very shortly after the period assigned by him for the completion of the canal, and whose description almost implies that he was an eye witness of its operation, would appear entitled to the most implicit confidence, were it not that we find Aristotle, who passed over the same spot only a century later, completely contradicting it. This writer declares that the

Pharaohs and Darius, who had promised themselves great advantages from the completion of the canal, had at length given over the work, after having ascertained that the Red Sea was higher than the soil of Egypt, which would, consequently, have been overflowed and destroyed had the canal been opened as proposed. Diodorus agrees with Aristotle in his account of the cessation of the enterprise, and in the reasons assigned for it; and then proceeds to state, that Ptolemy Philadelphus had not been deterred by the former failures, but had again undertaken the works, and had succeeded, by means of a new canal, furnished with sluices, to be opened and shut as occasion required. With this statement, that of Strabo coincides, who adds, that in his time the merchants of Alexandria found an issue from the Nile to the Red Sea, to penetrate into India; but, varying from all the other authorities, he places the junction of the canal with the Nile at Phaccusa, nearly thirty miles lower down the river than Bubaste.

According to Pliny, with whom concludes the list of Roman writers who notice this navigation, it was open from the Nile only as far as the Bitter Lakes; and he assigns for its stoppage at this point, the same reason that was previously given by Aristotle; adding to it another, that if the waters of the Red Sea were poured into the Nile, those of the latter, of which alone the Egyptians drink, would be spoiled. He then proceeds to describe the routes of commerce across the Isthmus, three in number, which were pursued by caravans; and would thus appear to conclude the question as to the state of the canal at that time, did he not afterwards mention the river of Ptolemy, which passes to Arsinoë (Suez), which could scarcely have been any other than that portion of the artificial communication immediately adjoining the Red Sea.

To reconcile these differences, it has been suggested by Major Rennell, in his excellent and valuable work, 'The Geographical System of Herodotus examined and explained,' that the canal formed by Darius had become early choked up, from a want of attention to the backwater, at its opening into the Red Sea; and that it might thus either have been forgotten, or that Ptolemy, on re-opening it, might have wished to discredit the belief of the fact, from a desire of having attributed to himself the whole glory resulting from the undertaking. If such, however, were his ambition, the same cause probably operated to render his own canal of equally short duration, since we may collect from Plutarch that this also was not open in the time of Cleopatra, her vessels having been drawn across the Isthmus, a distance of thirty-six miles, probably from the Bitter Lakes to Suez.

At a subsequent period another work was undertaken by Adrian, which has also been regarded as having reference to the same object,—that of commerce. The Trajanus Annis, as it was denominated by that Emperor, in honour of his predecessor and adoptive father, may, however, have been rather intended, in common with numerous other canals which intersect the soil of Egypt, for the purposes of irrigation, since it is mentioned by Ptolemy the geographer, who lived at the time of its formation, but who does not even allude to any navigable canal. It extended from Cairo as far as the Bitter Lakes, and must in its course have fallen into the line of the older canal, near the site of the modern Belbeis. Major Rennell conjectured that this communication, from a higher part of the Nile, had become necessary to keep open the canal, as

the small fall obtained from the older point of conjunction rendered it liable to be continually obstructed. In this point, however, from the absence of actual surveys at the time at which he wrote, he was completely in error; observations having since proved that no fall could exist in the absence of the inundation, the level of the Nile, even so high up as Cairo, being, in its low state, fourteen feet below the high-water mark at Suez; consequently, all conjectures founded on such a supposition must be incorrect.

Up to this time, therefore, it will have been seen, that we are far from possessing any proof of the existence of a navigable canal so positive as to preclude the possibility of doubt. During the periods in which Egypt was possessed in succession by the most powerful monarchs of the earth, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman, the enterprise was either not completed, or remained open only during a very brief space. In the year 622, however, it appears from the historical details given in El-Maqryzy, and in El-Makyn, that the navigation was actually opened by the Arabians. Under the reign of the Caliph Omar, Amrou, his general, re-opened a canal of older date in the neighbourhood of Cairo, conducted it to join the Amnis Trajanus, between Hank and Belbeis, cleared this as far as its junction with the Fossa Regum; and having thus re-established a communication with the Bitter Lakes, completed the junction of the seas by forming a canal from these lakes into the Red Sea. The canal thus opened, remained navigable for upwards of a century; and although, during this period, it had doubtless suffered much damage, owing to the inattention and unsettled habits of the people to whose care it was intrusted, vessels still continued to pass through it, until it was at length closed on the sea side by order of the Caliph Giafar el Mansour, with the view of cutting off the supplies from a rebel at Mecca, who was aiming at becoming independent.

Since this period upwards of a thousand years have elapsed without any attempt at the restoration of this important communication with the East; and their course has witnessed the progress of the destruction which has overwhelmed it. Among the various causes which have contributed to its ruin, perhaps the most injurious has been the shifting nature of the sands through which a considerable portion of it passed; nor have the inundations of the Nile contributed less to its subversion in those parts which were exposed to their annual influence. From the basin of the Bitter Lakes, evaporation has been equally active in withdrawing the water which formerly covered it, and this portion of it is now, consequently, incapable of navigation; while, at the opposite extremity, that adjoining the Nile, nearly the same effect has been produced by the filling up of the Pelusiac branch, from which the canal originated.

But though the work of destruction has been thus active during many succeeding centuries, there yet remain throughout nearly the whole course of the canal traces sufficient to mark its general direction, which have been repeatedly adverted to by travellers who have casually visited its different parts. To no one, however, of these intelligent individuals did it ever occur to enter into a detailed investigation of the facts which yet remained as authenticating evidences of the testimonies of ancient writers with respect to it; nor, indeed, was such a task at any time within their power, until the invasion of Egypt, at the close of the last century, by the French army. To secure the command of the shortest

and most expeditious channel of communication between Europe and the East, formed, in fact, a leading object of that expedition; and no sooner had its active and enterprising leader established himself sufficiently in Egypt, than his powerful mind seized upon the opportunity which presented itself for instituting an extensive inquiry, with a view to the re-opening of the canal. In the commencement of the labours of the engineers and scientific men, to whom the investigation was committed, he personally shared; and when compelled to quit them, in pursuance of his military duties, he made every arrangement for the safe continuance of their researches. To these we are indebted, not only for a detailed account of the course pursued by the ancient canal, of the various soils which it traversed, of the means by which it may be restored, and of the expense to be anticipated in re-opening it, but also for an examination of the sources connected with the country itself, whence considerable funds might be derived, as well as of the profits which might be expected to result from it. On all these points our information may, therefore, be regarded as at least approaching nearly to the truth, inasmuch as the report was prepared by some of the most able engineers, at the express order and under the eyes of Napoleon, whose deep and declared interest in the undertaking must have induced them to take every possible means of assuring the correctness of their calculations.

According to their admeasurement, the whole length of the navigation from the Nile to the Red Sea, extended to about thirty-three French leagues; and commencing from the Pelusiatic branch, which flowed into the Mediterranean, near the modern Tineh, may be regarded as composed of four principal parts. The first of these, about five leagues in length, is situated between the opening from the Nile near Bubaste, and the commencement of the Ras el Wady. Its direction is towards the east, and the soil through which it passes being alluvial, is consequently extremely fit for working, and well adapted to preserve the form to which it may be excavated. This portion is annually covered by the Nile, and considerable remains of the old canal are still occasionally cleared to retain the waters after the inundation has ceased, for the purposes of irrigation.

The second portion of the canal comprised the whole length of the Wady, in a direction prolonged also towards the east. This valley, which probably formed, at some remote period, one of the numerous channels through which the Nile discharged itself, is, in extent, about fifteen leagues; and through its course may be perceived traces of the canal, amounting in the whole to about thirteen leagues. In several places these are of considerable depth, and may readily be restored, as they are filled only by the deposits of the Nile, which render its bottom so fruitful that it is cultivated even by the Arabs. Towards the eastern extremity of the Wady, the sand-hills of the desert begin to appear, and particularly on its southern side. That these were partially present even at the periods at which the canal was proceeded in, is evident, from its being turned in this part towards the north, out of its usual direction. Since that time they have, however, much increased; and those parts of the canal which are not now to be traced in this portion, have been overwhelmed by these shifting masses, which would present a formidable difficulty in keeping open a channel. This may, however, be effected, by a proper introduction of rushes and other plants adapted to fix moveable sands, the bene-

ficial effects of which are visible on all sandy coasts, and which have even been successfully employed, in several instances, to recover these from the sea, and render them useful.

The third portion of the navigation, about eight leagues in length, traversed the Bitter Lakes in a south-easterly direction. Their basin is, in some parts, from two to three leagues in breadth, and is at present almost entirely deprived of water. It consists principally of a loose crust, covering cavities, many of which are sufficiently deep to swallow a man, intersected by a few rills; and along the centre there exists a mere channel. The water contained in these is intensely bitter and salt, and its flavour is communicated to the surrounding soil.

The fourth and last portion of the canal passed in a direction towards the south, from the southern point of the Bitter Lakes, to the northern extremity of the Red Sea, near Suez. Its length was about five leagues, crossing an isthmus composed entirely of sands, which have succeeded in more generally and completely obliterating its traces than in the other portions. Notwithstanding, however, the successive accumulation of the shifting materials which surround them, the vestiges of its course are very evident. It appears probable, that at an early period the isthmus was less elevated than at present; and the French engineers have even conjectured that a communication may have existed between the sea and the lake at high tides, and in very heavy rains; thus forming a natural gutter, which may have given the first idea of enlarging it, by art, into a canal. If this did ever exist, it seems, however probable, that the overflow of the Delta must have ensued, unless the progress of the sea had been prevented by locks or dams at the northern extremity of the lake; and as such an occurrence never took place, it seems fair to conclude, that no communication was ever open until it was effected by art, after the necessary precautions had been previously adopted.

Such are the leading features at present existing of the canal of communication; and if to these it is added, that both the Trajanus Amnis and the canal of Kaliub are still maintained in the neighbourhood of the Nile, and that they may be traced along their course, through the alluvial soil, as far as the junction of the former with the Fossa Regum at Belbeis, a general idea will be obtained of the whole of the actual remains connected with the ancient navigation.

To renew this is represented as the most desirable course to be pursued in re-opening the communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and particularly so in a commercial point of view. The flatness of the shores of the former sea, along the northern part of the Isthmus of Suez, presents an insurmountable obstacle to the formation of a settlement suited for a mercantile depot; for which Alexandria seems to be almost the only position along the coast that could be selected. To re-open the old canal would also be especially beneficial to the internal commerce of Egypt, since a communication would thus be formed between its principal stations and Suez; but the point of junction with the Nile should rather be near Atrib or Bubaste, than at Cairo; as this latter would compel vessels to ascend the river to an inconvenient height, if they were destined to Alexandria, Rosetta, or Damietta; with each of which places the communication from the former point would be easy, either by means of canals, or by the branches of the Nile.

In treating of the plan to be adopted for again rendering navigable the

ancient canal, it will be most intelligible to refer to it, as consisting of the four principal portions already adverted to, each of which will form a distinct level. The first of these is recommended to be excavated to the level of the low state of the Nile; and as it should be capable of receiving the whole of the inundation, its banks must be raised about twenty two feet, or four feet above the highest rise. As the height of the water contained in it will be variable, a lock will be required at its junction with the second level, to enable vessels to ascend or descend from it. In this range will be included such portions of the relics of the old canal as by their depth and direction may be rendered serviceable, which will produce at once a saving both of time and expense.

The bed of the second level should also correspond with the low state of the Nile, in order that it may be left dry when necessary during the annual stoppage of the navigation, for the purpose of being cleaned. Its greatest depth need not exceed eighteen feet, and its supply of water should be derived by an upper canal from Cairo, to be formed by re-opening the Trajanus Amuis. The navigation of these levels will commence only when the Nile has risen six feet, and cease when it has decreased to the same point; it will consequently be practicable for seven or eight months during the year, or from about August to March. It would be useless to attempt to prolong this time, since the navigation of the Nile itself scarcely exceeds this term. As their waters will be lower than those of the Bitter Lakes, until the Nile is fully swelled, it will be necessary to have also at their junction a lock, which must be furnished with a sluice to carry off any occasional mixture of the brackish water into the lower parts of the desert.

The vast basin of the Bitter Lakes will form the third level, which will require no excavation, as its bed is upwards of fifty feet below the waters of the Red Sea. This should at first be filled through the former levels from the inundation of the Nile, and the same means may be annually had recourse to, to remedy the successive lowerings by the lock, which will, however, be but trifling, on account of its great extent. Its waters should be maintained on a level with the low water at Suez, which will render it navigable in every part; and to guard against any obstacle which may occur to navigation from their being lower than those of the succeeding portion, which will vary with the state of the tide, a lock will be required at their junction also.

The fourth level will comprise the canal to be re-established between the lake and the Gulf of Suez. Its bed should be ten feet below the level of the low tide, and its banks must be sufficiently raised to enable it to receive, in very high tides, six or seven feet of sea-water, which will be extremely serviceable in keeping up a head-water to assist in the navigation of the Road of Suez. For this purpose it will also require to be furnished with a lock and with tide-gates.

For the profiles to be given to the different sections of the canal, no general rule can be laid down, as these must depend on the nature of the soil to be excavated; a less slope being obviously required in the alluvial districts than in those where the loose sand would be likely to slip into and impede the channel. The breadth of the canal will, therefore, vary considerably, as will also its depth in the respective levels. The length to be opened will be about twenty-five leagues; the remaining eight being occupied by the Bitter Lakes, which require only to be

furnished with an adequate supply of water to render them at once navigable.

Sufficient, however, will not yet have been effected to render this canal accessible to Europeans. To Cairo it will, indeed, be highly advantageous, as that city will thus be enabled to receive direct the goods of the East; but to reach Alexandria, and consequently, the Mediterranean, it will be afterwards necessary to clear a portion of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and the canals of Fara'ouyeh, and of Alexandria, as well as to improve the navigation of the boghazzes of the Nile generally. That these works are also beneficially practicable we have the same authority for stating, but into their details it is at present unnecessary to enter. Of the whole of them, including every possible charge, and giving to the works of art, to the bridges, and to the fortifications necessary to protect them, a degree of elegance and solidity corresponding with the general importance of the enterprise, the estimated expense will amount to less than 1,200,000*l*. A considerable deduction may be made from this in consequence of the works undertaken by the present enlightened governor of Egypt, for the restoration of the canal of Alexandria, which would amount, if this were effected, to nearly 300,000*l*. The requisite number of labourers could be readily procured from Cairo and the adjoining country; and if ten thousand men were kept constantly employed, the whole of the works would be completed, and the navigation between the Mediterranean and the Red Seas open throughout, in about four years.

As, however, it is obvious, that much of the advantage to be derived from this outlay of capital will be peculiar to Egypt alone, not only in the improvement of her internal traffic, but also in the barrier which it would secure for her against the incursions of the Arabs; to compensate for the benefit the undertakers would be justified in demanding from her government, at not a share of the expense, at least a territorial right to all such land as might be recovered by them in the progress of their labours, whether from the sands or from the waters, and particularly the whole extent of the Wady or valley. This, which includes about 10,000 acres of land capable of cultivation, of the real value of at least 25*l*. per acre, may be regarded as productive of an annual profit from the richness of the harvest, of one-tenth of this sum, or about 25,000*l*. The deserts to the north and south of this valley are also well adapted for planting certain trees, particularly figs, which, from the excessive dearthness of fuel in Egypt, would speedily become very productive; and the re-establishment of the banks in rendering navigable the necessary canals in the Delta, would at once recover upwards of 100,000 acres of land, which might be immediately thrown into cultivation, as it would require no previous clearing. The fishery of the canal and of the lakes would also prove another source of advantage; that of Lake Menzaleh having returned into the treasury upwards of 2500*l*. per annum; and when to these are added the tolls on vessels passing along the canal, it will be evident that the proceeds must furnish a source of considerable profit. Some idea may be formed of the extent of the commerce between Cairo and Suez, from the fact asserted by Volney, that upwards of 20,000*l*. are annually paid to the Watat and Ayady Arabs for the escort of caravans and merchandise.

A distinct yet most important part of the subject has been hitherto un-

noticed, as being entirely unconnected with any portion of what had been attempted at an earlier period ; it is that which relates to a direct canal from Suez across the Isthmus to the Mediterranean Sea. The impossibility of forming on the flat shore of the latter a mercantile depot, has already been adverted to, as presenting an obstacle to commercial communication ; and the difficulties of its navigation are also considerable, in consequence of the numerous projecting points, and banks caused by the deposits of mud brought down by the Nile. But, notwithstanding these impediments, a canal, capable of navigation at all periods of the year, is so extremely desirable, that it is gratifying to find that the physical features of the Isthmus present every facility to such an undertaking. The most direct course would be, to open a channel from the Bitter Lakes, in a northern direction, which passing along the eastern side of Lake Menzaleh, would fall into the Mediterranean near Tineh. In this line, however, sufficient levels have not been taken to enable a decided judgment to be formed ; but in one lying parallel to it, at a short distance to the west, from Mouffar to the point of Lake Menzaleh, nature herself seems to have taken the first steps towards effecting the desired communication, by means of a long strip of low salt ground, forming a continuation of the Wady, and which has undoubtedly, at some distant period, afforded an outlet to the waters of the Nile. Along its sides the desert rises sufficiently to confine in almost every part the waters which might be let into it, and few banks would therefore require to be constructed : an ample supply of water being readily to be obtained from the Bitter Lakes, from which this channel is, in fact, separated only by an artificial mound. The expense of forming a canal in this line, practicable for merchant vessels, and which might even be rendered sufficiently deep to carry frigates, has been estimated at 103,000*l.* ; and if to this sum be added 86,000*l.* for the level, locks, &c. between Suez and the Bitter Lakes, the whole amount of expenditure, for a distinct and independent communication, would be about 200,000*l.*

In many respects such a canal would be more valuable than one connected with the Nile. Its navigation would not be interrupted during the low state of that river, and thus advantage might be always taken of the season favourable for quitting the Red Sea, which, in the medium time of the monsoons, does not sufficiently correspond with the late swellings of the Nile. It would also be free from the deposits of mud left by the inundations ; and as the reservoir from which it would be supplied would be inexhaustible, a current might be constantly kept up sufficiently strong to carry off the sand brought by the wind from the desert : its force might also be so confined by jetties at its exit into the Mediterranean, as to keep the roads constantly open and deep. Such a plan would therefore seem, on many accounts, the most desirable to be adopted : there exists, however, one grand objection in the dangers to be apprehended from the incursions of the Arab tribes who surround it. Into this question, however, and into others connected with the subject, it is impossible now to enter ; but sufficient grounds have already been adduced to prove, that this great undertaking is, in many respects, more worthy of general attention than most of those which at present agitate the public mind.

THE HOUSE OF ATREUS.

ABASHED before the Bard, the royal dame
 Of Agamemnon stood,
 But scarcely quelled her blood,
 Fierce-heated by a base flagitious flame;
 Save when he raised the strain
 What time the purple main
 Is sprinkled with the stars' uncertain light,
 Seen through the fading train of Day
 Swift sinking down the ocean way,
 Leaving the world to Ethiop-tressed Night :

But then his mighty numbers on her soul
 Fell like a rushing storm,
 And brought Atreides' form
 Back, swift-awakening passion's old control;
 Her best resolves awoke,
 And spurned the strengthening yoke
 Of guilty Eros, hoping none had known
 The conflict of her inward mind,
 Shook by the blast of every wind,
 And leaning to the wrong when left alone.

Still as the song went on, of lofty Troy
 Telling the stirring tale,
 And each propitious gale
 Invoking, to re-waft the chiefs, with joy
 And golden conquest crowned,
 And calling up around
 The sceptered shades of long-departed kings,
 To scent the steaming sacrifice,
 To feast on splendid spoil their eyes,
 And hear joy's notes burst from a thousand strings;

The beating heart of Clytemnestra rose;
 She saw her much-loved lord,
 With glittering helm and sword,
 Glorious returned, triumphant o'er his foes:
 Swift from her golden seat
 She started up to meet
 His fond embrace—Ægysthus met her eye!
 Gods! how she loathed the adulterer's form,
 And now with blameless passion warm,
 Fled from his sight with many a bitter sigh.

This roused his wrath; and when the bard divine,
 Raised by his theme, pursued
 The brightly rolling flood
 Of song, and prophesied that o'er the brine
 Atreides' lofty bark
 Its homeward course should mark,
 Crowned with heroic trophies of the field,—
 Impatient of the theme he fled,
 Deep-stung by new awakened dread,
 Or glimpses of his future fate revealed.

But vice is deaf to wisdom, and his eye
Blind to the coming cloud,
Driven by tempests loud,
Which fate gives forth across his path to fly:
Ægysthus doomed Apollo's priest
To death, nor, when his song had ceas'd;
Knew that the destinies would move along
With march as rapid and secure
As if his ears did still endure
The boding notes of that prophetic song.

Now half their course the stars had wheeled in heaven,
And heavy sleep had thrown
His spell on earth—alone
Ægysthus' breast by brooding ill was riven:
(The watchman on the tower
Had felt the mystic power,
And his light slumbering dog beside him lay;)
Shaking his drowsy ruffians then,
Like tigers from their midnight den,
They fell upon their unsuspecting prey.

High in Mycenæ's regal dome they found,
Seated beside his lyre
In purple bright attire,
The Bard, with fairly sculptured gods around:
Amid the founts of song,
Forgetful of his wrong,
The poet's soul was wandering light and free;
Or else upon the Trojan strand
His winged fancy took her stand
Where the Greek tents o'erlooked the chafing sea.

Seized, bound, and threatened, to the ready bark
The Muses' son they bore;
And from the much-loved shore
Launched out, ere yet the early rising lark
Had cooled her downy breast
Upon the wafting west,
Or shot up high to watch Aurora's car,
Brightening with its saffron wheels
The orient wave that first reveals
Her lamp, which dims so quick the morning star.

And now the cold wave foams against the prow,
Which cuts its brazen way
Along the dusky bay,
Swift as the sea-fowl scuds when tempests blow;
Indignant on the lofty stern
The early Naiads might discern
The Bard, his mantle waving in the breeze;
His eye upon the twilight hills
Of Argos bent, now slowly fills
With moistening tears that drop into the sea.

But soon the hoary main with purple light
 Was sprinkled by the dawn,
 While all the stars, withdrawn,
 Far in the west on raptures with routed Night.
 And Zephyrus, as sleep came out,
 And Zephyrus on the waves abroad,
 Winked on the deep, while on the galley flew,
 Till down the sky the sun,
 Put up to his' embarks run,
 And up crept Cynthia's light as soft as dew.

From out the deep-hushed silver main now rose
 A white-painted isle,
 Whence, bright in Dian's smile,
 Green mossy slopes and woody tufts disclose
 A scene of beauty, crowned
 With nodding rock, that frowned
 High topping overhead; while on the shore,
 Broken by many a Naad's cave,
 The rippling soft incessant wave
 Kissed light the smooth round pebbles, evermore.

Here moored the galley, here the minstrel lands;
 And hence at break of day
 The sailors steer away,
 While silent on the desert beach he stands.
 Nor man, nor savage beast
 The woody isle possessed,
 But climbing goats, wild birds, and timid deer;
 With these to herd, with these to roam,
 With these to feed and find a home,
 Was now his lot throughout the changing year.

But ere the second sun rolled down his light
 Beneath the western wave,
 Cloud-tending tempests rave
 O'er the wide sea, and round the mountain's height,
 Fastus' galley home
 With weeping crew forlorn,
 Before the driving wind now backward cast;
 Sought the minstrel's isle to gain
 To shelter life! but sought in vain:
 They perished near it in the howling blast.

The poet, touched with pity, saw them driven
 Along the mighty rock,
 Where from the tempest's shock,
 And rain, and fiercely drifting snows of heaven,
 He'd sought a cavern shade,
 That by the Triton made,
 Or scooped by Ocean, housed him from the wind.
 There the dreary years he told,
 And tamed the goats, and formed a fold,
 And struck the warbling lyre to sooth his mind;
 And there his eyes were closed by more than mortal-kind.
 BION.

**BARRACKPORE MASSACRE—BURMESE WAR—AND PRESENT STATE
OF THE NATIVE ARMY IN BENGAL.**

THE details which have already been presented to the British public on these important topics, few and imperfect as they appear, have nevertheless, been sufficient to excite a very deep and powerful sensation throughout all classes in England, and to make many tremble with apprehension for the fate of our Eastern Empire. The full and accurate information which has been transmitted to us from the very scene of action itself, extending to the latest possible date, has placed in our possession materials which no man dared to publish in India, and which few, perhaps, would venture to give at the length they deserve even in this country. They appear to us, however, of so much importance to a right understanding of the particular state of events and feelings in that distant quarter, that we avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity to lay them before our readers:—and that we may not in the slightest degree diminish the interest which we conceive they are likely to create in English bosoms, we present them in the words of the writer himself, describing the impressions of one on the spot, in a Letter transmitted to us from India, by the latest arrival from thence, under date of November 19, 1824 :

The miserable conduct of the present rulers of India, particularly exemplified in the management of the Burmah war, if it has been justly represented to the people of England, must have already fully prepared you to hear of fresh disgrace and misfortune to the British Empire in the East. But I am sorry to say that your most gloomy forebodings will come far short of the disasters which the wretched system of measures followed have now brought upon us. In the month of May last, we reckoned it a sufficiently dismal thing to live in the apprehension of a Burmese invasion, and of Calcutta itself being sacked by any part of the enemy which might happen to take advantage of the unprotected state of our frontier, discovered to them by the melancholy affair of Ramco. The month of November has commenced with a prospect far more extraordinary—the slaughter of our own troops in the very neighbourhood of the capital, and by order of Government; so that we have now at our own doors more than the horrors of war, in seeing our own arms turned against our native troops, on whom the British in India have hitherto depended for security and protection.

On Monday the 1st of November, Calcutta was filled with astonishment by the report of a *mutiny* among the regiments of Sepoys at Barrackpore;—by what occasioned, could not then be generally ascertained; and as the public press is compelled to be silent on such subjects, the darkness in which we were held increased the general anxiety. However, it soon began to be whispered about, that the troops destined to proceed against the Burmese refused to march on this service, until certain grievances they complained of (regarding draught cattle in particular) were listened to by Government. It was consequently expected that their claims, being brought to the notice of the supreme authority, would be inquired into, and every thing quietly settled; till, next day, a

rumour spread of the horrid catastrophe at Barrackpore. We were informed that the Commander-in-Chief had gone to the spot, and ordered the 47th Regiment Native Infantry, with part of the 26th, and also of the 62d, to be fired upon by the artillery; that they were, at the same time, surrounded by the cavalry of the body guards, and some regiments of the King's troops, who were also ordered to fall upon them; by which measures a great portion of them (amounting to several hundred men) were massacred in cold blood—blown to pieces by the artillery—or cut down by the hands of their fellow-soldiers!

I cannot express the horror felt among the inhabitants of Calcutta on the announcement of this bloody transaction; deplorable, if necessary; if unnecessary, still more lamentable for the sake of humanity and the British name;—a transaction which nothing but the most outrageous conduct on the part of the Sepoys could justify; and yet nothing was alleged against them, but that they had sought a redress of grievances, and requested certain small indulgences to be allowed them, some of them apparently reasonable, in setting out on a difficult and dangerous service. Even supposing their deserts to have warranted capital punishment, humanity shuddered at the effusion of so much blood—the blood of our own men, who had ever sustained a good character in our service, unless demanded by a necessity so overwhelming that it admitted of no other expedient. Yet it appeared they had been cut down in cold blood, defenceless and unresisting! Would not the punishment of a few, it was asked, have sufficed to strike terror into such a passive body of offenders, without introducing among them the hand of indiscriminate massacre? Nothing could explain so monstrous a transaction, but the supposition, that the evil genius of Amherst had given the finishing stroke to his administration, by turning the sword of our army against its own bosom. If this example was necessary to preserve the obedience of the native troops, how miserably precarious is the tenure of our authority! If it was not necessary, may God forgive those who have brought this stain upon the British name.

To enable you to form as correct an opinion on the subject as possible, I shall state whatever has come to my knowledge through the accounts published here, and the private reports which are best vouched for, and most generally received. But as the Government is so deeply interested in creating an impression on this subject favourable to itself, and from the measures taken to suppress such intelligence, those who know facts of a contrary complexion are prevented from making them public, I have no doubt that the efforts made to delude the people of England will be successful; since many of them have such erroneous ideas of this country, that they are ready to believe any thing told them by persons in authority, even when these are, as in this case, determined to be, as far as possible, the only historians of their own acts. To a few, at least, it will be satisfactory to know the impression made by these things on the disinterested inhabitants of Calcutta, who are near the scene of action, and are consequently enabled to judge for themselves.

After a dead silence had been preserved for some days, Government felt the necessity of giving some representation of the proceeding to the public, and a short paragraph accordingly appeared in the *official Gazette*, published by authority, extremely brief and unsatisfactory. A

day or two after a sort of demi-official account was published in the "Bengal Hurkaru," vouched for by the Deputy Judge-Advocate, as editor of that paper, who declares the former official statement to be by no means correct; and he himself, although, in some respects, very circumstantial, is obliged to slur over the most important parts of the affair, declaring that *into its CAUSES he CANNOT enter*. These, however, are absolutely necessary, to enable us to form any judgment at all on the subject; and it argues ill of the part acted by Government that it seeks concealment, and issues erroneous statements, as here averred and confessed, in its own Gazette.

This affair will be found to be connected with the very appointment of such a man as Lord Amherst to be Governor-General of India, with the view, as is understood, of making him the instrument of certain niggardly measures, which a high-minded Governor could not be found to carry into effect. The stand made by Sir Edward Paget, against the sweeping retrenchments meditated in the army, has postponed the evil day; but all who have reason to apprehend that the pruning knife of retrenchment will soon reach themselves, have regarded, with secret satisfaction, the remonstrance of the Sepoy troops at Barrackpore; because it will teach their masters that they may go too far, and repent when it is too late. The military officers see their brothers of the Civil Service wallowing in wealth, while every farthing is grudged to those arms by which it is acquired and secured. It might have been anticipated, that the pinching system, which, of late years, the Government is labouring to introduce, cannot fail to disgust every order in the army.

One of the innovations is to withhold from the troops, when marching, the assistance they had formerly received from the officers of Government in procuring carriage to transport their baggage. The troops at Barrackpore, when ordered to proceed against the enemy, complained that they could not get the necessary draught cattle. How far this grievance was well founded may be estimated from a few local circumstances which I shall here state:—The Government itself had found the difficulty of obtaining a supply of bullocks to be so great, that for several weeks before this period, its agents about Calcutta had been employed in seizing upon the people's cattle by force, paying what price they thought proper to the helpless owners, who must submit to lose their property, unless by a sufficient gratuity they could bribe the agents in this work to forbearance. It need hardly be remarked, that their known rapacity would not suffer such an opportunity to pass without reaping a rich harvest; and it may justly be doubted, whether a tenth part of the money charged against the Treasury for this purpose ever reached the pockets of the unfortunate men who were spoliated; many of whom, living by the labour of their bullocks, must have been besides deprived of the means of subsistence by these being taken forcibly away from them, under circumstances in which they could not be replaced. When Government felt it necessary to adopt such extraordinary measures, can we wonder that the Sepoys, who possessed no such extraordinary powers, felt it impossible to provide themselves with draught cattle, and were unwilling to proceed on an expedition without the means of carrying along with them the baggage and cooking utensils which the rules of their religion or their habits of life have made them consider necessary to their comfort and existence? In ordinary times, and in our own Indian territories, the

magistrates have found it necessary to afford their assistance in getting the troops carriage, notwithstanding the above resolution of Government to withhold the influence of their authority for this purpose: the difficulty must evidently be much greater in a time of scarcity, when advancing against an enemy. The reality of this grievance is, besides, acknowledged in the most unequivocal manner by the Government itself, which agreed to advance 3000 rupees to each regiment to assist in procuring carriage. But this failed of inducing them to march, since they declared the money insufficient for the purpose, and tendered it back, when they were told that if that sum would not do, they must do the rest themselves, or march without carriage. The proceedings of Government in appropriating what bullocks they wanted by force, shows that something more than money was required to supply such a want. Besides their baggage, the troops were desirous of carrying with them a certain number of days' provision, apprehensive of the scarcity prevailing on our eastern frontier, and, no doubt, further alarmed in consequence of the negligence displayed by Government in supplying our troops at Rangoon, the accounts of whose sufferings, well known in Calcutta, must have reached and dispirited the troops at Barrackpore.

The dearth of provisions, the high price of bullocks, with the other hardships and discouragements which the campaign threatened, led the men to think that, to balance so many unfavourable circumstances, they should receive double *batta*, the allowance that used to be made to the troops when in a hostile territory. It is well known that these men enter the army with the view of saving a portion of their pay to support the connexions they have at home; their object, in general, being to marry, and to retire and spend the remainder of their days in the bosom of their families. If they are led into a country where the expense of living is high, and their slender pay is to be further reduced by extra charges for carriage, it is evident that they must leave their wives and children, and others depending on them, to starve, being unable to save any thing, as usual, for their support, unless an increase of pay be allowed in such emergencies.¹ If it be argued that the Government are not obliged to attend to these considerations, it will, I believe, be equally difficult to prove that regiments, like the 47th N. I., *not raised for general service*, are obliged, by right, to be employed in an aggression on the Burmese territories. For this is as completely beyond the ordinary limits of the Company, and of Hindoostan, the usual theatre of war, as the empire of China; and if it be maintained, that our native troops, not enlisted for foreign or *general service*, are bound to engage in such distant expeditions, we have practised upon them a most disgraceful imposition, which will destroy all confidence for the future in our honour and good faith. When we demand of our troops extraordinary duty, not calculated upon in the compact they formed with us, should we be surprised if they expect to receive that extra allowance of double *batta* which long custom

¹ At this conjuncture, another circumstance, it is stated, conspired to disgust the Sepoys, viz. the liberal conduct of Government in respect to certain articles of their equipment. Their first breach of discipline, you will afterwards find, was not putting on their knap-sacks. I wish the cause of this were cleared up satisfactorily, that we might know whether it was this or some other petty clipping, that made them consider a certain high individual a mere "pice-changer."

had established as the due remuneration of active service against the enemy, beyond our own territories.

A few words will satisfy you that no common consideration would have induced them to enter our service, if they had imagined that the terms of their enlistment exposed them to be led against the Burman Empire. Superstition has taught the natives of India to look upon this, in common with the other countries on our eastern frontier (in particular Assam), as the land of magic and enchantment, which is destined to prove fatal to every hostile army that crosses its boundary; where, it is believed, we have to contend with a race of conjurers, armed with much more than mortal powers. The source of this superstition is explained in Mill's 'History of British India,' vol. ii. p. 202, where, speaking of the Assamese, he says, (quoting the authority of the *Alumgeernamah*), "Several armies from Bengal, which had been sent to conquer them, having been cut off, of some of which scarcely even tidings had ever been received, the natives of Hindoostan consider them wizards and magicians, and pronounce the name of that country in all their incantations and counter-charms. They say that every person who sets his foot there is under the influence of witchcraft, and cannot find the road to return." At the present day the Burmese are regarded in the same light by the people of India, who are too ignorant of geography and history to discriminate between them and the supposed race of magicians, if any such distinction ever existed. Consequently, our present enemies are to them clothed in all the imaginary terrors of blind superstition. This feeling has been wonderfully fostered by the melancholy affair of Ramoo, and the miserable condition of our troops at Rangoon, which are easily conceived to be strong corroborating proofs that the British, who had hitherto triumphed over every Indian Power, are now succumbing before a people wielding, as of old, the invincible weapons of enchantment. As an illustration of the notions of the Indian populace, it was currently reported, and believed among the natives of Calcutta, that when we fired upon the Burmese through the power of their magic, nothing came out of our guns but water! It might appear ridiculous to mention these vain delusions if we did not know that it is by such foolish notions the multitude is often governed, in every part of the world; and by their ebb or flow that states are overturned. The people of our own country believe that the law of England is the perfection of human reason! that our constitution is the best possible political invention! and that our Indian subjects enjoy under our rule all the happiness which can fall to the lot of man!² How happy it is for a Government, while such convenient delusions run in its favour; but how fatal when they turn against it! You may remember that the tricks of a weak old woman almost overthrew the throne of Aurungzebe. This powerful Prince was justly afraid to expose himself to destruction, by employing merely simple force to resist this rising deluge of fanaticism; and, like an able politician, by pretending to have found a countercharm, he combated the witch with her own weapons, and saved his empire.

² It will surprise these optimists to hear that, in our Eastern territories, since the disaster of our troops at Ramoo, monthly bonfires celebrate this event as the signal of the downfall of British power. Although I cannot vouch for this myself, I have heard it from an individual whose testimony is worthy of every respect; and I have no doubt but the future historian of India will date the decline of our Eastern Empire from Lord Amherst's reign.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 5.

With such an example before them, it surely could not be difficult for the present rulers of India, enjoying all the advantages which modern science has given the military art, to inspire their troops with confidence against the power of Burmese magic.

But, from the very disastrous character which the war has more and more acquired, from the ill-concerted measures pursued on our part, and the ill success resulting, there was really too much excuse for the natives' imagining that Government was really under the influence of enchantment. How else could a people, which has hitherto been filled with astonishment at the talents of the British in the art of war, account for the want even of common capacity in our present measures? What but witchcraft could induce our rulers to declare war before we were prepared; leave our frontier unprotected, or its few defenders to perish for want of support,* so that the capital itself was conceived to be in danger; send down an army to Rangoon at the commencement of the rainy season, to lie there uselessly for many months, in a highly sickly climate; and, above all, after placing them there, leave them to perish in great numbers for want of provisions? It is a fact that a great number of vessels, in the pay of Government, were lying idle at the moorings off Calcutta, in Rangoon River, or other places equally unprofitable, while the army was allowed to melt away miserably for want of fresh supplies! What excuse can Lord Amherst offer to those whom these measures have deprived of sons, brothers, husbands, fathers?—to the East India Company, whose army he has paralysed?—to the British nation, whose glory in the East has been tarnished? Every successive account from the seat of war shows the more clearly the pernicious consequences of the irrational plan adopted for conducting this enterprise. After four or five months spent at Rangoon in useless struggles with the enemy, chiefly reducing their stockades, operations not conducted without loss, and extremely harassing to our troops, who suffered much from performing marches in the sun, and plunged to the middle in water, from the annual inundation.—After enduring all this, I say, for several months, the invading army is, by the last accounts, unable to advance a single step into the interior, and had only secured a mile or two of country where the camp stood. As might be expected, great sickness prevailed, and the sufferings of the invalids being aggravated by the great scarcity of provisions, which amounted almost to a famine, the mortality was dreadful, particularly in the 13th Regt. Light Infantry.⁴ While about one-

* This was the case with Capt. Noton's detachment. This ill-fated officer was promised a reinforcement, which, it was stipulated, should have reached him the day before that on which he and his party were destroyed! To these false hopes of relief, which induced him to hold out till it was too late to retreat, and which were then cruelly disappointed, we must attribute the disgrace that followed.

⁴ It was very lately mentioned in the Government Gazette as a matter of much congratulation, that, from an accidental capture of bullocks, provisions began to be pretty regularly served out to the hospital. For how long previous had a starved fowl or sheep, the only fresh meat procurable, been selling at a thousand per cent and upwards, on their price in Calcutta, and were not to be had at even these prices? Before this temporary relief, the ordinary state of things may be imagined from the following extract, which you may find in one of the latest numbers of the Calcutta 'John Bull,' a paper that would not exaggerate the sufferings of our troops.—

"We understand (says that Paper, Nov. 4th), by private accounts from Rangoon, that fresh provisions continue scarce. Poultry, of all kinds, is said to be

half of the men are reported to be cut off by these united causes, the rest are so much debilitated, that of a whole regiment, consisting lately of seven to eight hundred men, not a hundred are in a state to take the field, and even, of these, hardly one could undergo, without danger, the fatigue of a day's march. This being the condition of the most efficient portion of the unfortunate army at Rangoon, so far from being able to advance in prosecution of the invasion, it is sufficiently evident, that all Sir Alex. Campbell can now do, is to defend his position, with a force thinned and debilitated by disease and famine, and dispirited by their long and unavailing sufferings.

The difficulties of our situation there were, doubtless, much aggravated by our mode of treating the Burmese. At the first landing of the invading army at Rangoon, every inducement, I am told, was held out to the natives of the country to throw themselves on our protection, by flaming proclamations, inviting them to come in and place confidence in the humanity, the honour, and magnanimity of the British, who had not come as enemies to the people, but to chastise their unjust and oppressive Government! A line of conduct corresponding with these professions might have been attended with the happiest effects; since that part of the people lately subjected to the Burmese power might have been expected to revolt as soon as possible, and place themselves under any other authority from which they experienced better treatment. But, strange to say, notwithstanding the pledges held forth, and the obvious policy of conciliation, the people were exposed to the most barbarous treatment when they happened to fall into our hands. When men were found carrying arms against the invaders of their country (especially when, as in this case, serving under a despotic government, their conduct is compulsory, not voluntary,) they are entitled to expect mercy from a civilized enemy. Yet it is well known, that it is a rule with the British army to give no quarter to those miserable wretches, multitudes of whom are, from day to day, thrown at our mercy, and deliberately massacred, when they have no power of resistance. For when the stockades, in which their chiefs place them, are reduced (and how can they stand before British science and bravery?) the garrisons of half-armed savages found within, then perfectly helpless, and without means of escape, are given over to indiscriminate slaughter; what is called a "killing party" of our troops being left behind to finish the butchery at leisure, should the rest of the corps be required, in the meantime, for other service. A gentleman, alluding

out of the question; but if, by chance, a stray fowl appears, from seven to nine rupees is the purchase-money. A very poor sheep, from six to twelve pounds weight, fetches from twenty-five to thirty-two rupees. A little fish is occasionally caught."

Again, the state of our troops, so early as the 1st of July, is described in the following extract of a letter, dated from the Camp, near Rangoon, published in the 'Scotsman in the East,' of Sept. 4th:—

"Our mode of living, since I last wrote to you, has undergone a mournful change. The fowls have *entirely* disappeared; and as to bullocks, they are only supplied, at *distant intervals*, to the sick. *Not a morsel* of fresh meat has graced our table for a month; while the salt junk, which usurps its place, is of so bad a quality, as to distress the olfactories of the dullest nose in the mess; and were it not for abundance of excellent pine apples, which a few *philanthropic* Burmese regularly bring to our market, I greatly fear that the red puddle of our veins would soon acquire the livid hue of the scorbutic. There have been 2000 men in hospital for two months past!"

to one of these scenes, wrote, that the bayonet did dreadful execution; the very reflection on which, afterwards, made him shudder. It is impossible to think of it without blushing for the honour of the British arms. This horrid practice seems to have infused a spirit of callosity, which is hardly credible even with some of those merely accompanying the army. An anecdote is told of a person in charge of one of the transports employed to convey the troops; that soon after the fall of Rangoon, wishing to try a new rifle, he laid it over a rest, and deliberately took aim at an old Burmese man, a villager, who came out of one of the huts on the other side of the river, where no fighting had taken place, and who appears to have been simply drawn by curiosity to gaze on the fleet riding at anchor in the river; nay, it is possible, he may have been enticed by the very proclamation inviting the inhabitants to come in, and was just admiring British greatness and humanity, at the moment he was coolly shot in a manner worthy of savages, and left to linger and die like a dog upon the banks of the river; his countrymen fleeing, to save their own lives, after such a cruel example. I need not add, that the person who did this was execrated, but he was not punished; nor is it the only instance of similar cruelty which has reached our ears, and has passed with impunity.

Can we be surprised to learn, that the inhabitants of the country did not come and throw themselves upon the protection of the British, when these were driven to cling to their rulers as the only means of escape from invaders who seemed to wage against them a war of extermination? One means remained of exasperating the Burmese still further against us—to mingle their resentment with the gall of religious enthusiasm. This has been accomplished by demolishing their temples, a work which has been industriously performed by the British army; not, of course, without the order and sanction of the General. What more could he have devised to combine against him every human being in the country to withhold from him so much as a dead dog to keep his troops from starving? I was totally at a loss to discover a reasonable motive for this flagrant sacrifice of the public cause, till I heard of the valuable collections of images, precious stones, &c. sent round, report states, to Bengal, for whose behoof I dare not surmise (although I have heard), but time, I hope, will explain.⁶

⁶ It is important to compare the conduct of our leaders with that of the Burmese. While our army was thus doing every thing to exasperate the population of Rangoon, the Burmese forces at Ramoo did every thing to conciliate the inhabitants; paying for the provisions and necessaries they wanted from the people, and releasing our Sepoys who fell into their hands. Consequently, while our army was starving, their camp was plentifully supplied with provisions by the country people, and not only for immediate consumption, an immense store of rice being collected for future use. Which of the two belligerent powers are the barbarians? Which adopt the most rational measures for overthrowing their enemies? Smollet has some excellent remarks on this subject.—History of England, Vol. IV. p. 283, 284.

⁷ War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilized enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war had subjected to our power: let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and

You may easily conceive the melancholy impression the accounts of these things made on the inhabitants of Bengal, so deeply interested in the fate of the army of Rangoon, composed of so many who are dear to us, and to whom we look as the defenders of our honour and possessions. So many things conspiring to give the war a disastrous character, the natives seem to have been fully confirmed in their ideas of magical power fighting against us; and is it possible that the Native troops should escape the contagion of popular delusion? This taught them that the moment they set a foot on the Burmese territories they were victims devoted to certain destruction. We, having such experience of the native character, ought to regard such a feeling with indulgence, and endeavour to remove it by kind and soothing treatment. We ought not only to have redressed the actual grievances of the Sepoys, (which the best judges allow did exist,) but good policy required of us to stimulate them to this extraordinary service by such assurances and encouragements as would have allayed all their apprehensions. Expecting to experience the same hardships as the army of Rangoon from want, they petitioned, it is said, to be supplied with rations of flour and ghee, or to have double batta to enable them to provide themselves against scarcity.⁶ Even if they were not legally entitled to double batta, (which I am satisfied they were, according to the fair and conscientious construction of their terms of service,) the sanction of ancient practice, and the reason of the thing, in entering upon such an arduous (and, in their eyes, perilous) duty, rendered it politic, and therefore proper to hold forth this inducement. It might have been granted not as a right, but as a *gratuity* from the Government, (to prevent it from becoming a precedent,) and this small additional expenditure would have been attended with the happiest effects in the present emergency. For, after all, what was the mighty sum? only about a rupee and a half a month beyond what is actually allowed!

Besides, the Bengal Sepoys might naturally imagine that they should not be worse off than the Madras and other troops, who were only performing the same sort of service. Volunteers raised by Commodore Hayes, from the very dregs of the population of Calcutta—fellows of low caste—who never heard a gun fired, and would run in dozens at the sight of a Burmah, are to be better paid, forsooth, than our veteran

oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment and seasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment; they will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them: serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire and draught-horses; work in their own persons as day-labourers: discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace."

⁶ Flour (not rice) being the usual food of the men of the upper provinces, it was surely improper to hold out to them the prospect of being fed upon rice, unless in cases of absolute necessity, to which they would have yielded as a matter of course. But since, even the European troops, in hospital, were allowed to perish in hundreds for want of proper food, the Sepoys could not expect Government would be more careful of them.

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troops, whose birth and former services guarantee conduct becoming soldiers. These men have the mortification of seeing themselves worse treated than this rabble of raw recruits, who are proceeding under the auspices of the Commodore. Very poor expectations are formed of his expensive squadron; and the sums that have been lavished upon it, to no purpose it is feared, would have been much better employed in rendering our regular forces more efficient.

To return to the Regiments at Barrackpore, the prospect of great scarcity and dearth of provisions being aggravated by the want of carriage, which rendered it impossible for them to carry along with them their cooking pots and other baggage, they were thus driven, it appears, to make a representation of their grievances before proceeding on this (in their eyes, *dreadful*) service; and this proving ineffectual, a determination was formed, that *until their complaints were listened to, they would positively not march*. This is the essence of the crime committed by the Sepoys, for which it was decreed they should be shot! The circumstances which followed, and will probably be artfully pleaded in aggravation of their conduct, were contingent results, as you will see, of the measures Government adopted.

With regard to this resolution of the Sepoys, it is to be observed, in the first place, that Government ought not to have allowed matters to come to this extremity; since the general discontent prevailing must have been for some time known to the officers, (and I am informed was known at least a fortnight before,) both from the actual complaints made to them, and the frequent consultations among the soldiers in large meetings, which are stated to have taken place. This being the case, either the grounds of dissatisfaction ought to have been removed in time, by all reasonable redress and indulgence, in order to overcome their apprehensions or reluctance. Or, if it was determined not to conciliate and encourage them, means ought to have been employed to check the spirit of complaint, before it rose to such height. Secondly, when by inattention matters had been unwisely brought to this extremity, still they might have been smoothed by judicious management, according to the opinion of old and experienced British officers, who from an intimate knowledge of the Sepoy character, agree that they require to be coaxed and (in many little things) humoured like children. Their peculiar notions and prejudices do, (among others the native opinion of the Burmese,) in fact, appear to us childish; and it is more magnanimous on our parts so to regard them; since they must be, with sensible men, a ground of compassion rather than a justification of cruelty.

The mode of proceeding eventually adopted by Government falls now to be explained, and, in doing this, I shall have an eye to the account published by the Deputy Judge Advocate, who has undertaken to be the apologist of Government in this affair. Nor is this his first essay in adulation, as you may have observed, from his vying a short time ago with John Bull (the prince of Oriental flatterers), quarrelling with him about the proper mode of defending the propriety and wisdom of the conduct of Government in the Burmese war. His account is drawn up, as he avows, to make an impression on the people of England; and as he has been allowed to publish his version of this affair, while no other editor dare touch upon it. Government is evidently so weak as to imagine that the British public will be swayed by the specious representations of one of

their own Military servants, whose needy circumstances (arising from his having lately to pay a large sum of money as damages in a crim. con. prosecution) rendered it eligible to him to receive a salary, as editor of a daily paper, in addition to that of Deputy Judge Advocate; though it would be impossible for him to do his duty honestly and fearlessly, in his editorial capacity, without risking the loss of his place and emoluments in his judicial character; a consideration which must deprive his testimony of all claim to weight or consideration.

The 26th, 47th, and 62d Regiments of Native troops, at Barrackpore, had been under marching orders for some weeks previous; but Monday, the 1st of November, was finally fixed for the 47th to proceed upon its route towards the eastern frontier. Discontent being well known to prevail among the Sepoys of these regiments, the experiment of making the 47th advance first, was, perhaps, made in the hope that, from its good character, it would set an example of obedience to the rest. On Sunday, the day before it was to have marched, a parade was directed in marching order, that the commanding officer might inspect the knapsacks, accoutrements, &c., and see that they were fit for service. On going to the parade it was officially reported to Lieutenant-Colonel Cartwright, that a great number of his men had positively refused to put on their knapsacks.

The lieutenant-colonel having gone along the companies, and expressed his high displeasure at their conduct, in about two hours after (says the account) a *good number* of the men had got their knapsacks on; implying that still many had not. The colonel then threw them into a square, and harangued them for a considerable time on the impropriety of their conduct; however, it appears, he was not able to convince them that their grievances did not require redress, as, at the conclusion of his harangue, they declared they would not march. A parade was again ordered for the following morning, Colonel Cartwright still hoping, it is said, that when the time for moving arrived, the troops would proceed quietly without urging their complaints further. Yet since one of these was their inability to procure draft cattle to transport their baggage, it might rather have been expected that this, on the arrival of the time for marching, would be an insuperable obstacle to their compliance. It has been stated that the sum offered at least by Government, to remove this acknowledged difficulty, had been tendered back as being inadequate.

General Dalzell had intimated his intention of being present at the parade ordered for Monday morning. When the hour arrived only between three and four hundred men were found assembled on the ground, (including commissioned and non-commissioned Native officers;) the body of the regiment adhering to the resolution before intimated, of not marching without a redress of grievances. On seeing this, the General rode up to the rest of the men and reproached them, it is said, in very bitter terms for their conduct; employing, according to report, expressions of abuse considered insufferably galling and degrading by natives of India, to which Sepoys, in particular, are not accustomed from their officers; and this so irritated some of the men, that they walked him off the parade at the point of bayonet, but without showing any inclination to injure a hair of his head. This incident, with every other part of their conduct, concurs with what is understood to have been the reso-

lution of the Sepoys—(in thus seeking a redress of grievances)—to abstain from any violence, particularly towards their European officers; but simply to refuse to march until their complaints were listened to by Government. It is stated that the main body of the regiment, which had refused to turn out on parade, made the part which had done so return to the lines, with the exception of the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, who were sent to Colonel Cartwright's house (says the Deputy Judge Advocate) "as a place of safety." By this expression it is plainly insinuated that they were in danger of their lives from the private men, and it is elsewhere stated, that there was no evidence of any one of them concurring with, or being at all concerned in the refractory proceedings of the Sepoys; yet we shall find that Government afterwards punished these very officers for conduct of which it is confessed they were not only innocent, but endangered their lives to prevent! Such manifest and glaring inconsistencies render the account of this affair, published by Government and its creatures, totally unworthy of credit, unless in so far as supported by other concurring testimony. Here it is to be remarked, before proceeding farther, that, on the foregoing circumstances, Government came to the decision, that the 47th Regiment should be sacrificed, unless it implicitly obeyed, without showing further reluctance, the order to march. From different individuals I have ascertained, that this resolution is known to have been taken on the day before it was carried into execution; consequently it can be justified or defended only on what has preceded, and not on any thing that follows this period.

Leaving the 47th in the meantime, I shall now notice the conduct of the other Native troops, on the evening of Monday, the same day of which I have been speaking. About eight or nine o'clock, a body of the 62d Regiment, amounting, as estimated, to the number of one hundred and fifty, went to the quarter guard, and taking the colours, removed them to the distance of a hundred yards. Two of their officers (Captain Ashe and Ensign Boyd) hastened to the spot, and the former expostulated with the men on their extraordinary conduct, and reminded them of their former good name. We are not informed of the precise nature of the language he employed towards the Sepoys; whether it was soothing and conciliatory, tending to make them more patient under their grievances, or, on the contrary, dictated by the lively emotions of displeasure he probably felt at this sudden breach of discipline, and of course reproachful and irritating. In forming a judgment on this point, we must be guided by a consideration of the circumstances of the case and the result. One Sepoy advised him to retire or his life would be endangered. Captain Ashe (says the Deputy Judge Advocate) "declared his resolution not to leave the colours." This indicates very plainly that he assumed the attitude of violence rather than of persuasion, and, if so, it was neither the wisest nor safest course. The circumstance which followed seems likewise to show that the advice of the Sepoy, above mentioned, was just, and, therefore, probably given with a sincere desire to save the life of his officer, who (he might naturally apprehend) would be apt, if he continued long, to provoke some of the more violent to do him an injury. This was evidently very liable to happen, from any sudden ebullition of passion or intemperance in either party; even in a single individual of the disorderly groupe; and we are accord-

ingly told that one of the Sepoys then struck this officer twice, and, it is said, sought for a bayonet wherewith to assail him. But the man, guilty of this, was instantly laid hold of by his comrades, who protested that they would not suffer their officer to be touched; and entreated Captain Ashe to go away, saying, "they were mad, and knew not what they were about." This strongly corroborates the remark before made, that the discontented Sepoys had vowed to hold the persons of their officers sacred, and, in fact, to abstain from all violence—unless in so far as their remaining *passive*, and refusing to march until their grievances were listened to, was a violent remedy for their complaints. Notwithstanding this, it is not at all surprising that, in a large disorganised mass of some hundreds, an individual should be found desperate enough to make such a threat; but the conduct of the rest, in checking this single ruffian, evinces the more unequivocally that, as a body, they were actuated by a totally different spirit.

Having thus constrained these officers to leave them, they proceeded with the colours, and joined the 47th. In the meantime, the commanding officer, Major Roope, and the other officers of the 62d, had been exerting themselves to preserve order among the rest of the corps, according to the statement of the Deputy Judge Advocate; who thus insinuates, that they were with difficulty restrained from all joining the malcontents. About the same time, a party of the Sepoys of the 26th Regiment, about twenty or thirty in number, carried off one of their colours, and likewise joined the 47th, notwithstanding all the exertions of Lieutenant Colonel D'Aguilar to prevent them.

In the meantime, Government had been active in making such preparations as it thought necessary in this emergency. The King's 47th Regiment of European troops, which had set forward to act against the Burmese, and proceeded some distance up the river, but not so far as to be beyond reach, was hastily recalled, and reached Barrackpore on Monday night, where things were in the state above described. The European Troops that could be spared from Fort William (where the Royals were), the Body Guard Cavalry troop from Calcutta, and the Artillery from Dum Dum, were also concentrated at Barrackpore.

There were, consequently, assembled here, on Tuesday morning, two European Regiments, the Royals and 47th, besides the Artillery from Dum Dum; three Native Regiments, the 16th, 61st, and 68th, (according to the sketch in my hands), with the Body Guard,—for the purpose of coercing one Regiment, the 47th, Native troops, and the two or three Companies from the 26th and 62d; which last two, being partly implicated and partly neutral, I leave out of the computation. Without being able to enter minutely into the numbers of each corps, it appears a fair conjecture, that the number of the refractory Sepoys was about one-sixth of the number of the troops who were brought against them.

The Commander in Chief having also arrived on the spot, "day-light" says the account, "alone was waited for, to put into execution those prompt and vigorous measures upon which his Excellency had already determined." The wished-for morning soon came that ushered in the memorable 2d of November—a day destined to be so fatally distinguished. And here let us pause for a moment on the brink of that gulph into which we are informed they were resolved to plunge; for although the deed is already written in the records of the past (which even

the gods cannot recal), the mind, in pursuing the retrospect, is fain to linger on the possibility of escaping the dismal catastrophe of men being massacred in cold blood. Would to God that the apologist of the Government had been able to assign some more satisfactory excuse for so horrid a proceeding! We are informed, that up to this period, the 47th Regiment, as a body, continued (with the exception of refusing to march, or put themselves in marching order) obedient and respectful to its officers, saluting them, as usual, when they passed, and attending to their orders. The removal of the colours, by some men of the other Regiments (26th and 62d), was confessedly a partial proceeding, by comparatively a small number. The grand question, therefore, is whether, even if it was determined to refuse all redress or indulgence, the punishment of a few of the most refractory, might not have brought the rest to entire order and submission. This remedy was adopted, with the completest success, by Sir Hector Munro, in 1784, when placed in circumstances infinitely more hazardous, with his troops mutinous in the face of a hostile force, and actually passing over in a body to the enemy. It is thus detailed by Mill (*History of India*, vol. 3. p. 311.)

In the month of May, Major, afterwards Sir Hector Munro, arrived from Bombay with a body of troops, partly King's and partly Company's; and hastened with them to Patna, to take the command of the army. He found the troops, Europeans as well as Sepoys, extremely mutinous, deserting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers, demanding higher pay, and a large donation, promised, as they affirmed, by the Nabob.⁷ The Major resolved to subdue this spirit by the severest measures. He had hardly arrived when a whole battalion of Sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy. He immediately detached a body of troops on whom he thought he could depend, to pursue and bring them back. They overtook them in the night, when asleep, and made them prisoners. The Major, ready to receive them, with the troops under arms, ordered their officers to select fifty, whom they deemed the most depraved and mischievous, and of this fifty to select again twenty-four of the worst. He then ordered a field court-martial, composed of their own black officers, to be immediately held; and addressed the Court, impressing them with a sense of the destruction which impended over an army in which crimes like these were not effectually repressed. The prisoners were found guilty of mutiny and desertion, and sentenced to suffer death in any manner which the commander should direct. He ordered four of them to be immediately tied to the guns, and blown away; when four grenadiers presented themselves, and begged, as they had always had the post of honour, that they should first be allowed to suffer. After the death of these four men, the European officers of the battalions of Sepoys, who were then in the field, came to inform the Major that the Sepoys would not suffer the execution of any more. He ordered the artillery officers to load the field-pieces with grape; and drew up the Europeans with the guns in their intervals. He then desired the officers to return to the heads of their battalions; after which he commanded the battalions to ground their arms, and assured them if a man attempted to move that he would give orders to fire. Sixteen more of the twenty-four men were then blown away; the remaining four were sent to another place of cantonment and executed in the same manner. Nothing is more singular, than that the same men, in whom it is endeavoured to raise to the highest pitch the contempt of death, and who may be depended upon for meeting it, without hesitation, at the hand of the enemy, should yet tremble, and be subdued, when threatened with it by their own officers.

When the sacrifice of twenty-four men was sufficient to suppress a mutiny of that very criminal description, could it be necessary to have

⁷ It appears by Munro's evidence (*First Report, Committee, 1772*) that such a promise was made to them, and through Major Adams,

recourse to the indiscriminate massacre of hundreds to curb mere murmurings about pay, unaccompanied by any such act of treachery? This is the great question to be solved—Was it requisite to have recourse to a general slaughter?

However this may be, the fact is, we are told, that Government had determined on strong measures. But before these could be carried into execution, it was necessary, it appears, that the dissatisfaction of the Sepoys should be made to assume a form of disobedience more tangible or technically criminal. Having surrounded them with the other Native and European troops already mentioned, the Adjutant General and Quarter Master General of the army, with the officer commanding the 47th Regiment, were sent to order them to lay down their arms, and to threaten them with immediate punishment in case of refusal. The poor deluded beings, relying on the mercy of the British Government, hesitated, we are told, pleading their oath not to yield, unless the grievances they complained of were redressed. The order to lay down their arms consequently threw them into a dilemma, as must have been anticipated: and the men, not knowing what would be the consequences of this act, hesitated between the dictates of passive obedience and their sense of wrong. But their subsequent conduct shows that this hesitation and non-compliance of the Sepoys was quite disconnected from any idea of resistance or using their arms offensively. Since, when fired upon, although they had muskets in their hands, ready loaded we are told, it does not appear that even one of them fired in retaliation. It is reported, that they were asked (whether at this conjuncture or previously I am unable to say) if they wished to make any communication to the Governor-General. They replied, that they had nothing whatever to say to that *pice-changer** (Bunya); but they earnestly wished to make a representation to the "*Burra General*" (that is, the Commander-in-Chief). They were thereupon told that he would not listen to them while they continued in arms. According to report, ten minutes were allowed them to lay down their arms, which was certainly little enough time for the order to reach every individual of a mass of one thousand or twelve hundred men; but, according to the printed reports, which do not speak of even one minute's delay, the moment their refusal was intimated to the Commander-in-Chief, he ordered them to be cut down. Before such a desperate step was taken, I would rather that he had addressed them as the famous Roman General did the rebellious legions of Capua:—"Whatever you do, I am resolved to behave as becomes me; if I draw my sword it shall not be till you have drawn yours. If blood must be shed, you shall begin the slaughter." This, however, was addressed to traitors, who, after the basest conduct, were perfidiously marching, in hostile array, against their country, which was happily saved by this mixture of firmness and humanity. Are these Pagan virtues extinct among Britons and Christians, that we should, without hesitation or reluctance, commence the work of slaughter, without the excuse that our victims had shed, or even wished to shed, a single drop of blood? That

* *Pysa*, in Hindoostanee, is the term used for money generally: and *pice* or *pysa*, for the smallest description of copper coin, equal to a farthing. The term must have been used in allusion to the contemptible parsimony of certain measures, of which he was supposed to be the author.

you may be the better able to form an opinion of the whole transaction, I shall give as particular a detail as I am able of the sequel, resuming the account from the morning of this day (Nov. 2d.)

The accompanying sketch will give an idea of the manner in which the troops at Barrackpore were disposed. The Sepoys are cantoned on the left of the road leading to Calcutta, on the other side of which, under cover of the trees skirting it, the artillery brought from Dum Dum the previous night were *secretly* placed, out of the view of the refractory Sepoys. These being drawn out as represented, in front of their lines of huts, to the open space between the above road and that leading to Pultah Ghaut; the Royals (European regiment) were placed on their right, and the King's 47th and Body Guard (cavalry) drawn out on their left, where the Commander-in-Chief and his staff had taken up a position. These dispositions being made, in order to commence operations, as we are told, as soon as daybreak would allow, an order was sent to the refractory Sepoys to ground arms; with which they either hesitated, delayed, or refused to comply, as already mentioned; requesting, we are informed, to be allowed to make a representation to the *Burra General*, which was not permitted, unless preceded by entire submission. Their refusal being thereupon reported to the Commander-in-Chief, a signal, that had been preconcerted, was instantly given by the firing of two guns (the gallopers of the body guard); and the artillery placed in *ambuscade* opened upon the body of Sepoys, now devoted to destruction. While these played upon them from the rear across the road, and consequently through the line of huts containing their females and children, part of which were blown to pieces, the unhappy men, immediately throwing away their arms, accoutrements and uniforms, hastened to disperse in whatever way they could; but the Body Guard cavalry being at the same time ordered to advance at a quick pace, their retreat in that direction was cut off; and if they tried to escape on the opposite side, they were intercepted by the Royals, who were ordered to fall upon them from the right. Thus broken and scattered, unarmed and half naked, (having thrown off their clothes or uniforms, in the hope of escaping undistinguished among the peasants and villagers) they were furiously pursued by the English troops, even into the native huts, where they fled for shelter or concealment, and shot or put to the bayonet in this helpless state, wherever found, without mercy! No great was the sanguinary fury that possessed the pursuers, according to the most authentic accounts, that many other Natives, who were not Sepoys at all, fell in the general carnage, which overspread the country for miles round! Between thirty and forty innocent persons, villagers and others, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, including women and children, killed and maimed, added to the horrors of the bloody scene!

To what extent the carnage was carried may be conceived from the expression used in the before-mentioned apology of the Deputy Judge Advocate. He says (*vide Hurkaru*), that "the Royals continued *sniping* all the morning;" leaving us to guess, from this ambiguous hint, how long the slaughter continued, having merely informed us before, that the business commenced as soon as the dawn of day would permit. The best accounts agree that part of the troops were not returned before 6 o'clock P. M.: implying a continuance of the pursuit and slaughter for several successive hours; and, as it extended, we are told, on one side as far

as Pultah Ghaut, a part of the fugitives being also drowned in attempting to escape by crossing the river; the number who fell on the spot, or died of their wounds in the surrounding country, must have been great.⁹

The apologist of Government, however, has the hardihood to say (see Deputy Judge Advocate's account), that even if treble the number had been slain, he would consider it neither lamentable nor excessive; confessing, at the same time, that he speaks of the amount of lives lost by perfect guess; so that for any thing he knows it may have been nearly a thousand. He also, you observe, employs the sporting phrase, "*sniping*," to describe this melancholy transaction; and he is no doubt the best judge of the language most acceptable to his superiors, of which he has obtained substantial proofs; having, in fact, become a great favorite with the Commander-in-Chief.¹⁰ But others have seen this disgraceful flippancy on such an occasion with extreme disgust. The public, of course, can only regard it as an intimation of the supreme indifference Government feels about shedding the blood of its own troops, or its Native subjects. Its apologist seems even to make this a subject of boasting, and to feel disappointment that many more were not killed—a disappointment in which few will sympathize. He indeed gives out, that the number did not exceed one hundred; but he takes care to qualify the assertion by saying, it is "a perfect guess." This looks too much like an evasion, since his situation enabled him to state the facts with precision; and he must have been aware, when he wrote this, that the general estimate of the public rated the killed at five or six hundred. The Government has observed a similar caution in the official statement, not venturing to tell the world the number of its victims.

The General Order of the 4th of November announces, that the 47th Native Regiment has been annihilated entirely, and blotted out of the army. No. 47 being struck out of the army list; and that a new regiment, to be numbered the 69th, is to be immediately raised in its stead; to which the European officers of the late 47th are to be transferred. By this Order, Government attempts to throw the blame of what has occurred on the Native officers; not that it pretends to possess any actual evidence against them, but on the presumption that, from their intimate connexion with the Sepoys, their own countrymen, they must have been implicated in their schemes. The Native officers are accordingly disgraced and peremptorily dismissed the service; this punishment being inflicted upon these men without any form of trial, evidently because they are the countrymen of the real offenders! The English soldiers employed at Barrackpore might assign the same reason for shooting the harmless villagers; since these had black faces like the Sepoys. Accordingly, soon after the transaction, a highly respectable Native informed me, that on seeing the troops returning from the Barrackpore slaughter, he thought it necessary to withdraw out of their sight, lest they should consider the colour of his skin a sufficient warrant for putting him to death. I have already noticed the intimation given by the Deputy Judge Advocate, that the Native officers were considered to be in *danger* from the Sepoys, so far from

⁹ An extract of a Letter from Bengal, written about the time, and published in the Cape Gazette, rates the killed at 440.

¹⁰ It is but fair to notice that he possesses other merits, having, like the editor of your London John Bull, written and published doggerel verses, abusing Mr. Hume, Mr. Brougham, and other advocates of public improvement.

being in collusion with them; and the very different circumstances in which the officers and men are placed, in regard to pay, does not warrant a belief that the former participated at all in the complaints of the latter. Yet these men, against whom it was confessed no particle of evidence existed, and who had such strong circumstances in their favour, having remained steady amid the general discontents of their countrymen, are punished even without a trial!

In justification of this, I suppose, the Government intends the *ex post facto* law, which it proceeds to make in the same General Orders, that the Native officers throughout the army shall in future be held responsible for any similar conduct on the part of the men under them; and the Governor-General observes, that "Even on the rumour of any discontent in a corps, it is their particular duty to communicate it instantly to their European officers." Now I am certainly informed that, on this occasion, the discontent existing was known to the European officers, or part of them, at least ten days before, and as the Government does not accuse the Native officers of concealment, it is but fair to presume, that in this they did their duty; consequently, the blame attempted to be shifted upon them recoils upon those who did not take the necessary measures to remove in time the causes of discontent; for, unless that be done, how is it possible that the Native officers can answer for their men being satisfied? The Government reserves to itself the power of maltreating the men, and at the same time requires of the Native officers, on pain of punishment, to keep them contented! After going so far headlong, a Court of Inquiry is appointed to investigate the business, the result of which is not yet known.

On the day after the transaction, a Court Martial being assembled at Barrackpore, 40 Sepoys of the 47th Regiment, were arraigned before it, on the charge of having, on the morning of Tuesday the 2nd of November 1824, and two days immediately preceding, refused to march from Barrackpore in conformity with the orders given them, "until certain illegal and insubordinate demands should be first conceded to them." The Court found them guilty of the charge, and sentenced them all to suffer death, which sentence was confirmed by the Commander-in-Chief, who ordered six of them to be hanged, and the rest of the forty to hard labour on the roads for fourteen years. At another Court Martial on the 5th, about 20 men of the 62d Regiment, were arraigned on a similar charge, and for removing their colours to join the 47th, four of whom were hanged, and the rest condemned to work in irons on the roads for fourteen years; and, in like manner, one Sepoy of the 26th Regiment, was hanged, and two condemned to the roads for the same term. On the same day 42 men more of the 47th Regiment, on the same charge as the former, were sentenced to death, of which twenty-one men were condemned to the roads for sixteen years; ten for a term of five years, and one for one year. A Sepoy of the 62d was condemned to the roads for one year, for having removed the colours of the Regiment to the 47th, and refused to march. At a Court Martial assembled on the 9th of November, another Sepoy of the 47th was convicted of having "excited and joined in the mutiny, and having commanded the body of the mutineers on the morning of the 1st and 2d of November," &c. He was in consequence sentenced to be hung in chains. The Government has not yet published any more of the details of this shocking business, which,

however, did not end here. A non-commissioned Native officer of the 47th was arraigned on a similar charge, and a number of men were to be gibbeted somewhere about Barrackpore—the place selected, near Lord Amherst's rural retreat—as a warning to those who behold this dismal memorial of his reign.

The first apparent consequence of these sanguinary proceedings, is the great desertion going on among the Native troops, showing that our service is no longer worth engaging in, or that they have lost confidence in our justice and humanity. Whatever be the cause, those who forsake our standard in the winter of our fortune will soon swell the ranks of the enemy, and carry thither the only sort of knowledge we in our wisdom have thought it safe to diffuse widely among the Natives of India, viz., the art of military discipline—the most formidable of all, whether in the hands of civilized men, or barbarians. This new spirit of desertion seems to have diffused itself among our troops in different parts of the country, as fast as the news had spread of the Barrackpore massacre. When the report of it reached one station, the troops quartered there are said to have set off at once, carrying with them their arms and accoutrements. The last we hear of them is, that they were marching in a body towards the Upper Provinces, and supporting themselves by plunder on the road. Orders have been given for recruiting; but experienced Bengal officers think this will be extremely difficult in the present state of the public mind, and while this system continues—that to prevent desertion is impossible. With a view to remedy the latter evil, which in the present conjuncture is truly alarming, Government has issued an Order to its servants in all parts of the country, offering rewards to all who will assist in apprehending deserters. But in such a country as India, this is a feeble check; and little is to be expected of troops kept together by fear, rather than affection; led into the field by force, not attachment to our cause.

The other Native troops at Barrackpore, under marching orders, have marched; but it remains to be seen how they will deport themselves when beyond the reach of British bayonets; when they begin to experience those hardships, the prospect of which made their fellow-soldiers stand to be slaughtered rather than advance; when they are in the front of a bold and politic enemy, whom our ill success already has taught them to dread in the field; and who are well enough acquainted with our position in India to see the advantage of holding out every temptation for our troops to desert a standard to which they have been attracted by mere interest and temporary convenience, to which they are attached by no national feelings—far less by the tie of religion.

We hear that at Cuttack, also, the same spirit showed itself—the troops having refused to embark on the expedition; but how this affair was managed will, we hope, be more clearly explained to the people at home than it has been to us. The Government Gazette states, that Shiekh Dullah (formerly a noted chieftain), and one calling himself the brother of the Ex-Peshwa Bajee Rao, (taking advantage, no doubt, of the aspect of our affairs,) had commenced operations on the Nerbud-da; but they have been vigorously attacked; the chieftains themselves, however, have eluded our grasp. It would appear as if even the petty Zumeendars were encouraged to lift up the head of rebellion, in the hope that our attention and troops will be too much distracted and

divided, or our hands too full with the Burmese war to be able to spare any force to keep them in check. The last accounts from Madras state that a troop of horse, under the command of Captain Black, have been entirely cut off by a petty chieftain, near Darwar, who had assumed an attitude of resistance; and, it is added, that Mr. Thackeray, the Chief Commissioner and Collector of that part of the country, with three military officers, have unfortunately lost their lives. Such a daring act could arise from no common cause. Reports of the same alarming nature daily reach us from other parts of India. The squadron of the 5th Cavalry at Bareilly, which was under orders to march on the 5th, has been ordered (says the India Gazette) to stand fast, in consequence of some intelligence from Moradabad, to which it cannot more particularly refer. According to private accounts also, Runjeet Singh is meditating some hostile project; but we cannot expect to penetrate the profound policy of that chieftain until we see its effects. He is too able and prudent a leader to involve himself rashly in a war, which must probably end in the destruction of one of the parties, and that perhaps himself.

We hear that despatches will be immediately sent to Ceylon, the Isle of France, and Cape of Good Hope, representing the necessity of sending to the Continent of India all the troops that can be spared from these Colonies. But, in particular, we expect a large reinforcement from Europe, when these accounts reach England: and may they arrive in time to save us from the consequences of our own folly, which has plunged us into this fearful labyrinth. If Colonization had been permitted, how great the advantages it would have given the Government in such an emergency! With a large British population growing up around it, bound together by national feelings and faith and interest, and a common sense of danger—although every black mercenary were to turn his back and join the hostile ranks of his countrymen—we alone, with British swords in British hands, could then set the united powers of India at defiance. This is the only solid basis on which our power can be placed, to give it a chance of permanency; but this is abandoned, to gratify the short-sighted and narrow views of a selfish Monopoly, which would rather make a total sacrifice of this splendid acquisition, than suffer Englishmen in general to participate in its advantages. However, England is so much accustomed to see her general interests sacrificed to the convenience of a few, that now she will hardly deign to complain; it has been so almost from the commencement of the East India Company; and it will probably end as it began.

P. S.—The Government Gazette, of the 11th, contained a report of the King and Queen of Ava having been both put to death, and other particulars of a complete revolution in the Government of the Burman Empire. According to the last accounts, however, this appears to be a mere hoax; and it has unfortunately not gained credit long enough, I fear, to enable its authors to get rid of their India stock. In Calcutta, at least, it has not lived more than a few days; but in London it may have taken more effect.

Distant from the scene of action, you cannot feel, as we do here, the force of such expressions as the following, which I have often heard uttered with a sigh: "If a Free Press had existed, things would never have come to this pass." Some correspondent of the Calcutta Journal

would have informed Lord Amherst, that there was such a thing, in a tropical climate, as the rainy monsoon, during which it was useless to send an army to be sacrificed at Rangoon. Some one would have made known, through the public papers, the concentration of Burmese troops on our frontier before they cut off our force at Ramoo; since this information might have been given through the public press, without the risk of a reprimand from superior authority,—the ungrateful return made to a Civil servant in the eastern part of Bengal, for his zeal in giving such information when he felt his district to be in danger. If the press had not been shackled, some one acquainted with the state of the Barrackpore troops, would have given a hint of the discontent growing up among them, that its causes might have been seasonably removed; although *he* could not give such information through an official channel, or was unwilling to appear as an accuser or complainer, and encounter the insolence with which we see such representations are met. Freedom of publication would also have relieved the public mind, and the Government itself, from the alarming verbal reports continually floating about in Calcutta, (such as of a fleet of Burmese war-boats being in the Sunderbunds—the destruction of our troops at Rangoon, &c.) reports which, as things now stand, cannot be soon checked in any public manner, since the press is discredited,—its silence being attributed to fear; its representations to the influence of Government. The Government itself has shown that it deeply feels this evil, having bitterly complained of it in its own Gazette, and expressed the highest indignation against one of these “alarms,” which it stated to have been traced at last to a common sirkar,—so paltry are the causes which are sufficient to discompose the serenity of despotic power!

STANZAS.—WRITTEN IN INDIA.

THE ranks of the hostile are crowded,
The slavish may crouch in their fear;
But the brow of the free is unclouded—
His day of proud triumph is near!
The mild may be goaded to madness,
The wise, and the good, and the brave,
May witness with shame and with sadness
The arts of the base to enslave—
But, oh! there are spirits of glory and might,
Shall guard the bright banners of Freedom and Right!

Though many are servilely bowing;
The coward, the courtier, and slave,
Yet still there are hearts that are glowing,
And hands that are ready to save.
Away then, the slanderer's reviling,—
Fair England, the Queen of the Sea!
With pride and emotion is smiling
On the glorious cause of the free.
And exultingly cries, with approving delight,
“Stand firm, my loved children, for Freedom and Right!”

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE POETRY OF THE PRESENT AGE.

It is difficult to seize the distinguishing traits of our present poetry, and more difficult still to persuade the reader that it is a subject upon which any thing new can be said. It is of little use, however, to be discouraged by difficulty, and much good may arise from coming to a proper understanding on this topic. Many writers have already endeavoured, it must be confessed, to give rise in the minds of men to correct notions concerning poetry in general, as well as of that particular kind which at present prevails amongst us; but they were, it would seem, too refined to be taken with simple truth, and appear to have been chiefly anxious to erect new or plausible theories. Such a disposition of mind is unfavourable to severe and genuine inquiry. The man who is guided by it, seeks only to dazzle and amuse; plays off, like a juggler, a succession of dexterous contortions of thinking, and blunts, puzzles, and confounds the judgment, by directing it against those unsearchable problems which must always defy the efforts of human sagacity.

But it does not follow, because certain portions of our intellectual patrimony appear irretrievably barren, that we are to act over upon them the fable of the Danaides, while any thing that may reward the labourer remains to be cultivated. We may still, therefore, promote inquiries, having for their aim the clearing up of difficulties in our canons of poetry, although it be now considered as nearly certain that poetry itself is incapable of definition. Its elements, and principles, indeed, seem like the air, which, while it rushes by in wintry storms and tempests, disturbing heaven and earth with its irresistible power, is not more visible to the eye, than when creeping silently over the fields in summer. But, whatever be the abstract nature of poetry, its forms are very various; so that what appears to one age the weakest and least desirable, has been observed to constitute the delight and the standard even of perfection, of another generation. In these changes, however, it only resembles all sublunary things. The tide of human affairs is never at a stay, and all that float upon it are necessarily borne along through whatever channels it may happen to flow. We cannot shape, we can only observe, the course of our destiny. Whatever is the object of human industry, or the product of human invention, is linked by invisible relations to a general form of intellect, which is commonly denominated *the spirit of the age*; this form, if it could be correctly delineated, would offer a kind of key to particular invention; for most men are nothing more than shoots and branches from the great trunk of the times.

Poetry, however divine in its nature, is very subject to earthly influences, and with amazing fidelity reflects the temper of the age. When the general mind is keen and earnest, poetry is energetic, passionate, simple; because the public then look for powerful emotion, but will not be moved by false splendour and conceit. In succeeding ages, refinement takes the place of force and simplicity in its pictures, which savour more of art than nature, because society itself has become more artificial in its wants and pleasures; and the poet feels it impossible to resist the spell

of manners and general associations. Passing on farther still in the course of civilization, we find the poet and his contemporaries dwindled into pigmies, exchanging civilities with each other, and looking back with wonder on the noble, but coarse forms of past generations. If any superior minds remain, they are impelled towards irony and satire by the frivolous pursuits of their contemporaries, and throw down contempt, like a gauntlet, to be taken up by whoever dares.

Let others determine in which of these three stations we are at present. We hasten to our subject. It would appear, then, that the nature of the poetry prevailing at any particular period, is determined by the light in which it is held by the public; that is, it is sublime and grave, or airy, light, and witty, as instruction, emotion, or amusement, is looked for. It is natural enough that youthful poets, in all ages, should strike first upon the amorous chords of their lyre, and chaunt the praises of their mistresses, real or imaginary. But these early efforts are only the *primitivæ*, the sacred salt and barley, strewed upon the altar before the offering up of the *hecatomb*. Age purifies and ennobles their strains, when they are the production of that enthusiasm; which is the heaven that raises the mind to the degree of fermentation in which it produces poetry. Many begin with grave and weighty subjects; and these may be supposed to have skimmed off the froth of their minds in secret, out of reverence for the public, and to have made known no more of their labours, than might do honour to their reader's judgment and their own. But this is not common. The greater number rate their productions too highly to suffer caution or modesty to polish or lessen them. All is marble that comes from their quarries; and if they take the trouble to dig it out, it is hard if the public will not afford a moment to admire. They profess no learning, and never read; so that the reader may be sure all he sees is original, and spun, like a spider's web, from the individual bowels of the author. It is their creed, that learning acts upon the poet's mind, like frost upon the waters, and binds up and composes the surface of it, preventing that swell, *nisus*, and perturbation, which show so beautifully beneath the sunbeams of fancy. But they seem never to reflect that this can happen only when the mind chooses a wrong route, when it trudges through the dusty, beaten road of every-day notions, dry realities, or subtleties, that produce nothing, refusing to turn aside to the wilds and waters that refresh and gladden the eye and heart.

Poetry is much more strongly connected with learning and contemplation than can be readily believed, and is enriched almost equally by both: the former digging, as it were, a channel for the stream of the imagination, and the latter directing and purifying its waters. It is the want of these that has chiefly contributed to deprive the poetry of our contemporaries of life and energy. Their imaginations, resembling that of Spenser, rather than Homer's or Shakespeare's, evaporate most commonly in prolonged descriptions, reflections, and pretty thoughts and conceits. They have many reasons for preferring this style; for an expression used many centuries ago, to paint a Sicilian or Arcadian landscape, when transported into these northern regions, has every appearance of being new, especially as it is likely to imply circumstances and peculiarities of scenery which the reader wonders he himself has never observed in this country. He may well wonder, not having, like the poet, the faculty of seeing through the eyes of Virgil or Theocritus. And as

to reflections, it is well known how easy it has grown of late to manufacture them of the most sparkling quality: the whole process consisting in translating into verse, a page or two of Addison or Voltaire, Jeremy Taylor or Gibbon, as the case may be. With things of this kind; neatly dove-tailed together, and presenting a polished showy surface to the reader, our poets contrive to hide, as with a screen, the poverty of their imagination; being conscious of an utter incapacity to lay open the well-furnished apartments of the human heart, in which every passion and every desire wears its own livery, and goes directly to those things which nature designed to be its proper and ultimate object.

Rant and bombast may be very often, however, mistaken for energy, and minuteness for accuracy; for it requires at least a habit of observing what is natural, to be able, when it comes before us, to know that a thing is so. It is not every body that acquires this habit, or knows that in judging of works of art there is nothing of such paramount importance. The lamentable consequences of the want of it may be daily contemplated in the majority of our critical works, where the patient reader has whims served up for principles, and cutting censure for judgment. In selecting works for examination, a critic is usually guided by one of two motives: a desire to show his own superiority to the author under notice, or an aversion to the principles which he is known to entertain. If it appear, upon proper search, that to make out any appearance of superiority on the part of the critic, or to controvert the principles contained in the book, is equally hopeless, there remains still a third way of disparaging the work,—that of professing not to understand it; which, as critics are understood to possess such superlative keenness of intellect, is equal to saying it is absolute nonsense. Generally speaking, however, there is much more truth than they imagine in their profession of ignorance; for it would be difficult to name any subject, in the whole circle of arts and literature, which any one could, for a moment, suspect a professed critic of understanding thoroughly. Like the French barber, they would be actually offended at being supposed to possess more knowledge “than their betters,” meaning by *betters*, persons who possess no knowledge at all.

But no severity of criticism can be too great, and no contempt too unbounded, for such authors as endeavour to introduce mysticism, and unnatural incidents and imagery into poetry, as nothing can be more different from invention than miraculous or supernatural events, which happen without any adequate cause, and for no rational end. The poet who sets himself above nature may afterwards do as he pleases; his fancy can know no law, for there is none in the regions of impossibility; he has free scope to yoke contradictions together, and to drive them to any market he can find open, only taking it along with him, that taste will discard him and his productions. The same censure applies to those who endeavour to create new, or to introduce barbarous mythologies, such as never can obtain belief, or have been credited only by the most stupidly ignorant of mankind. The fables of Greece and Rome passed through the fire of civilization, and were worn into proportion and beauty by the touch of a thousand poets. The censers of genius and fancy, burning long after those of superstition had been extinguished by reason, threw a brightness and a perfume upon them, and kept up that kind of mitigated belief (the poverty of language denies us a more exact

term) which consistent and harmonious fiction, even while it is known to be fiction, will always readily obtain. No one now believes in the existence of Jupiter and Apollo; but all persons of correct taste and lively fancy, believe that, had they ever been, their deeds and manners would have corresponded exactly to what is related of them by Homer.

In the *Ancient Mariner* and *Christabelle*, a supernatural machinery is employed, which every one knows to be absurd: spells, and transfigurations without any apparent cause, being now banished to the nursery, or confined in the world to the minds of such as ought never to have quitted it. Distorting the pagan mythology is nearly or quite as injudicious: yet is this done with so much vigour and success by many of our contemporaries, that it is very certain Virgil and Ovid, if they could rise from the dead, would not be able to recognize the features of such of their old divinities as have, in the lapse of time, fallen into the hands of our modern poets. Look, for example, at Diana in Mr. Keats' *Endymion*: the pure, celestial, freezing beauty of the Goddess of Woods and Mountains, which threw so irresistible a charm about the bright nights and cool fountains of antiquity, has no longer that inexpressible awe, subduing the faucy and chastening desire, which was wont to be inspired by her keen arrows and rattling quiver. She has degenerated into a voluptuous fairy, and moves throughout the poem in so dense a cloud of incongruous images and similes, that, like the real Cynthia, on a showery night, we merely catch glimpses of her through the shifting vapour. Immortality is out of the question for such inventions. They only disturb and weary the mind of a reader, without satisfying either the judgment or the fancy.

No poetry can last long which does not either raise or compose the mind, inspire a temporary feeling of sublimity, and hurry it through vicissitudes, and dangers, and sufferings, and escapes; or else draw it aside from the bustle of life, to the contemplation of delicious scenes of tranquillity, gilded by hope, and enlivened by mild enjoyment. In the first instance, the stream of action and events keeps up perpetual expectation, which, like a swift billow, increases as it approaches the goal, and then subsides in satisfaction and knowledge. In the second, delight is induced by the serenity of the picture. Horace is the great master of this sweet species of verse, who, whether he talks of the retiring usurer, or invites his friend to drain with him a goblet of Falernian, has the same insinuating air of ease and quiet, the same power of making the world look bright, and its inhabitants in good temper to enjoy it. In this lies the secret of his immortality. There is in the imagination a species of careless magnanimity, which requires to be reconciled to little things. This good understanding is wrought out completely by a happy poet, such as Horace was; and a man enjoys more than ever his garden, his shady tree, or fire-side, and the neighbouring hill, or streaming rivulet, when he finds them crowned with beautiful epithets, and linked with sweet associations by the muse.

We have very little of this sort of poetry in our language: our bards, good and bad, are too gloomy and sentimental to dwell with any lengthened satisfaction on the dear remembered spots that surround their home, and make an English landscape beautiful. But neither Shakespeare nor Milton was of this mind. The antique woods, green knolls, and crystal summer streams, that pass in their poems before the reader's

fancy, are all English, and suggest themselves in a cognizable dress, as often as we choose to think of them. The scenes of our *contemporary* poets, on the other hand, are cold, savage; and uninviting,—such as even imagination is not apt to leave the impression of her footsteps on; or else glitter with a heaped, ostentatious splendour, that looks like magician's work, which the performer bids you observe quickly, or it will slip from before your eyes and fade for ever. If you will believe our versifiers, there is not a spot to which they think it convenient to conduct their hero or heroine, for the enjoyment of the fresh air, but nature decks it out instantly, in finery so superlative, that she seems to have had her orders before-hand. There are winds, and mountains, and rivers, and plains, and sunshine, and showers, all at once; so, by picking and choosing, the happy character they take under their protection cannot fail to be pleased, if not more than commonly fastidious.

In Sir Walter Scott, the reader's fancy is exposed to the north wind in very uncomfortable situations, and is frequently in danger of being frozen to death; Mr. Crabbe has a choice exhibition of workhouses and fetid dunghills, which make the reader hold his nose; Barry Cornwall attacks him with skyeey influences; Shelly electrifies with chasms, boiling abysses, fearful seas, toppling crags, inextricable labyrinths; Moore has dews, and gems, and sweet-smelling nosegays piled up at the entrance of his parterre, and he looks sharp, too, that the wind does not ruffle a leaf of them; Coleridge has owls and mastiff-bitches, and seas of worms, and stench, and horror; Wordsworth paces before the reader through a pretty sheep-track on Helvellyn, or plies his dreamy boat over the lakes; Southey gives him a peep into heaven and hell; and Byron hurries or drags the imagination through every various scene in turn.

It implies a kind of weakness to be inveterately attached to a "hobby-horse," to have a certain track of thinking in the mind, into which our ideas always run when they are put in motion. But a man *must* have his preferences, and if his character possesses any vigour, he will show them in his works. The enthusiasm of the poets naturally invests the objects of their attachment, whatever they may be, with singular loveliness and perfection, and never suffers them to doubt that their readers may not share in their admiration; which gives an air of decision and energy to their thoughts and expressions. In a late very celebrated writer there were many indications of an anxiety to avoid the imputation of enthusiasm; he appeared to think lightly of the current of noble feeling which hurried him frequently into sublimity; he wished to exhibit grinning wit in the grasp of terror: but whatever certain critics may pretend, those endeavours broke the unity of his character, and transformed a Polyphemus into a fire-eating mountebank. Whoever, in general, is ashamed of the enthusiasm he seems to possess, has in reality no such ingredient in his character, and is conscious of it. His shame is an anticipation of exposure. A man of this feeble stamp has no sympathy with the *great* of any kind, no admiration for it, farther than is consequent on wonder and surprise, and is incapable, from the constitution of his nature, of original and independent thoughts. The opinions entertained by such a person, of great authors or great men, arise entirely from comparison, and not from any clear perception of positive worth: he reckons that *this* writer is greater than *that*; but if only *one great man* came within the circle of his observation, he might for him go to the grave unap-

preciated. It requires genius to estimate genius. A solitary example of it, overlooking like a tower the whole extended plain of the age, could only be observed truly from the distance of another generation. The crowds crawling about its base would comprehend neither its worth nor magnitude. This is the real reason why men of mediocre views and talents often charm the mass of their contemporaries more powerfully than genius: every body, without raising their eyes, may look in the faces of the former; but the latter, if it would be known and admired, must imitate Gulliver at Lilliput, who took up a troop of the little people upon the palm of his hand to show them the proportions of his countenance. This was done by Rousseau in his 'Confessions.'

It is possible that Homer intended his Cyclop, Polypheme, as an emblem of Greatness; making him one-eyed, to express the singleness of its views, and tremendous to the rest of mortals, to show how much the union of vast power and little goodness is to be dreaded.

It is a certain mark of littleness to be obliged to use vast means for the compassing of a little end; but this is the category of all prolix and verbose poets. Their ideas are straggling and wilful, like sheep with an inexperienced shepherd, which run and scamper here and there, raising as much dust as if an army were passing; whereas the man whose flock is well disciplined has only to touch his pipe, and they follow him in the exactest order. Great writers, whether in verse or prose, are always close, brief, strait-forward, scorning to hide the burning splendour of their sentiments in a cloud of words. It costs them no effort to be sublime,—they have only to put themselves upon paper. But men of middling talents, whose minds do not turn habitually upon sublime conceptions, and who only wish to be great *pro tempore*, experience, no doubt, a vast deal of difficulty in raising themselves above their ordinary level. We see this in their works, which look like extensive pieces of arabesque, wrought out with infinite pains, of materials gathered with infinite patience; but as mere magnitude is not greatness, they are neither sublime nor striking.

It cannot be denied, however, that the spirit of industry apparent in the majority of our poets is highly laudable; and humane and compassionate people will lament that the result has proved hitherto so disproportioned to the pains; but criticism, which is neither humane nor compassionate, yet in this instance guided by sound judgment, suggests, that were the bards to fling their unlucky lyres at the head of Apollo, and betake themselves to the service of Mammon, or any of his kindred divinities, they might render essential service to the commonwealth. Who can doubt that the same indefatigable hand that has produced fifteen or twenty quartos of poetry, which, to say the best of it, is unreadable, might, had it been under the guidance of a judicious head, have added many golden grains to the heaps in our granaries, or furled good old English canvass on the banks of Newfoundland. We wonder that persons so fully acquainted with antiquity as our legislators must be, have never yet thought of imitating the experiment of Orpheus, by selecting some of the most approved and loyal of our contemporary bards, for the taming and humanizing of the various wild and savage nations of the earth. The trial would not be expensive. A poet is completely accoutred when he has his harp, which has been substituted for the heathenish lyre, in his hand: he could live

on his own numbers till his return, unless he be more gross and terrestrial than the mere heroes of poetry : for

When through deserts vast,
And regions desolate they passed,
Unless they grazed, there's not one word
Of their provisions on record.

Nor was this peculiarity confined to the ancient personages of verse, for we find in a poem of the newest pattern, a lady who lives on dew and the perfumes of certain flowers, which might be had in the most uncultivated regions. Being once landed on the scenes of their distant missions, they would have nothing more to do than just touch their instruments in a divine strain, and chant a stave or two of their own Odes; we will answer for it, there is not a cannibal in the Andamans or New Zealand that would not become more tractable, in a quarter of an hour, than any of those Thracian trees or lions who danced about the forests to the lyre of Orpheus.

Having given this hint to the legislature, we proceed. The majority of our present poets appear to think very lightly of that sort of invention which is employed in forming the frame or plan of a work; it is enough, according to their notion, if a series of sentiments and images be put together. To the question, "Why are they thus associated?" they have nothing to reply, but that it was their pleasure so to couple them. The ideas and images, for their part, see no reason in the world why they should have any connexion with each other; but having, whether they would or not, been put in juxtaposition, by the force of rhyme and the powerful spell of ink and paper, they stand sullenly in their prison, like Eastern genii beneath the wand of a magician, looking forward with well-founded hope to the day when the purifying flames shall break the influence of the talisman. That day cannot be far distant, and the sooner it arrives the better.

In reality there is nothing so rare or so truly great as the capacity to invent a complete, sublime, and instructive fiction. Nothing meriting this character ever failed of fame, although very many works having few pretensions to it have from other causes gained a portion of celebrity. It is the habit of many critics to feign contempt for what is called the *fable* of a poem, pretending that it is never spoken of by any but a pedant. But these critics may feign what they please; the true cause of their pretended disdain is a secret consciousness of inability to invent, and a consequent disposition to undervalue invention. Delicate sentiments and splendid imagery, and all the ornaments of poetry, are within the competence of thousands; but there have not, since the invention of letters, been twenty men possessing the faculty of which we are speaking. Let these critics count; they will find we have spoken greatly within compass. It is this contempt of the fable, serving as an admirable excuse for not even attempting to construct one, that has multiplied so rapidly the quantity of rhyme amongst us within the last twenty years, strengthening into a maxim an opinion long entertained clandestinely in the world of letters, *that whatever is not prose is poetry*. Some few of the learned still entertain doubts upon this point, and endeavour to persuade themselves that they see some faint indications of the dawn of a more rational era; but the clouds that hang in that quarter, hiding the future destinies of taste,

are too thick, we must own, for us to see what is coming up next, only that in general we may be sure it will be something unlike what now prevails.

The reader who is curious to try our notions may take the most approved Epic of the day : let him in the first place endeavour to discover the design of the poet ; and when he has done so, if that be actually possible, let him next examine how much of the poem can be said to tend to the completion of that design, and whether the point aimed at was not a shifting star, that still went before the author which ever way he chose to bend his footsteps. If he does not find the latter to be the case, and, therefore, that every thing which could be written belonged equally to the artist's design, we renounce all skill in augury. Numerous readers do actually make this discovery, and draw very judicious conclusions from it too, as the increasing quarterly catalogue of *New Poems* will amply demonstrate. Horace predicted of the most finished works, that all would

*Hope to write as well,
And not without much pains be undereived.*

We are better off in these days ; for any person of the slightest industry may be sure that he cannot write worse than many who have gained what is called celebrity before his eyes.

" If you want to understand a subject," said some one, " write about it : " he did not say, *publish what you write*. But the saying has, it seems, got abroad, and the latter sentence been understood to be included in the former. Nay, it has been extended to verse, as if some Oracle had commanded the whole human race to rhyme under pain of perdition. The consequences are awful : poems shower down from Parnassus, like Polar hail, and their size and weight keep all moderate and sober people at home until the storm shall be somewhat abated, for it is confidently foreseen that it cannot last. Those who venture out, if their heads are not very strongly fortified, are sure to have their skulls flattened by the blow of some tremendous quarto, which gives them a bias towards nonsense as long as they live. There is no being safe but by keeping close out of the way. Observing this, mankind have procured sundry hardy adventurers, to whom necessity gives courage, and under the name of *Critics* have sent them forth to discover if any thing valuable ever comes down amongst the rest. The institution of this order of men arose, therefore, from very laudable motives, and various honest persons, in certain predicaments, have been seen to wear its *cowl* ; but their skulls receive so many blows as they scud along in the tempest, that they at length become furious through mere pain ; and, like a dog to whose tail a certain culinary utensil has been tied, while he is hunted and pursued by his own species and all the boys of the neighbourhood,—they make no distinction between friend and foe, but snarl at and bite every hand alike.

A directly contrary disposition prevails amongst our bards themselves, who abound with the milk of human kindness, and are as prone as turtle doves to the tenderest of all passions. It is, however, a pity that poetry, among its numerous powers, which, according to good authority, could cause rivers to flow back upon their sources, and draw the moon from the sky, should yet be deficient in one essential requisite of sorcery,—the capacity to cause its professors to be beloved. But Polyphemus never howled more piteously to the winds of Sicily, for the neglect of the

fair Galatea, of pastoral memory, than our own British poetical swains when smitten by Love and Disappointment,—two deities who make it a point to visit these luckless men at the same time. Their fate is the more especially to be lamented by all compassionate people, as their passions are always as pure as diamonds of the first water, and as constant as night and day. This is quite inexplicable, unless a poet has dwindled into

Vox, et præterea nihil,

which would go a good way towards explaining the mystery. But some have thought that the fair sex reckon very lightly of a passion that evaporates in verse, particularly as they observe the inveterate propensity of the Muses for polygamy, seeing that the amorous lay runs round from Chloe to Lesbia, to Julia, to Phillis, &c. until a very numerous harem is placed before the fancy. Is it to be wondered at, in these Christian climes, that the ladies take offence at this? That they can see no constancy in change? That, after this, they allow them to chant their ditties to the winds, or any thing else more compassionate? It has been shrewdly suspected that these gentlemen never make love, except in print: but, if we take them at their word, it will follow that they possess much fewer lights, and much less assistance from the Muse, than their Erotic rivals of antiquity. It is true we find it recorded that in the course of many centuries *our Daphne* was found to reject the God of Verse himself; and Sappho found both herself and her lyre neglected by Phaon; but it is equally certain that the Parnassian race was not generally unfortunate in that way, if we are at all to credit the testimony of Anacreon, of Catullus, and Horace. These bards speak of their mistresses as if, like fairies, they danced round them in rings, darting about the arrows of love from a thousand eyes at once. "How many kisses," says Lesbia, "will suffice thee, Catullus?" And in his reply, his imagination knows no bounds, reckoning up, as a lesser number, the grains of sand, lying in the Libyan desert,—

Oraculum Jovis inter æstuosi,
Et Batti veteris sacrum sepulchrum;
Aut quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox,
Furtivos hominum vident amores.

The most passionate attachment of modern times, also, was built on literature and theology,—a much less powerful instrument than verse; nor could even the rod of the pedagogue, in the hands of Abelard, break or weaken the talisman of passion.

Our contemporary rhymers, on the contrary, are as sad and disconsolate, as if they had been immured for a whole year in the cave of Trophonius. One exclaims,—

But, ah! this *wearied heart* hath run
So many times the round of pain;
Not e'en for thee, thou lovely one!
Would I endure *such pangs again*.

Another,—

She whom I loved has fled;
And now with the lost dead
I rank her: and the heart that loved her so,
(But could not bear her pride,)
In its own cell hath died,
And turned to dust, but this she shall not know!

No, certainly, we would not let her know it, if we were the poet; nor, if we were ambitious of the reputation of sanity, would we let the world know it either. Nevertheless, this same bard with heart "turned to dust," goes on saying the same thing in innumerable "Songs" and "Stanzas," and puts us strongly in mind of Florian's Stella who always sung when she was in trouble.

After taking the case of these unfortunate persons into the most mature consideration, it appears to us that they ought to visit the shores of the Mediterranean; taking Cadiz especially in their voyage, a city where—

Dames abroad,
Skilled in the ogle of a roguish eye,
Yet ever well inclined to heal the wound;
None through their cold disdain are doomed to die,
As moonstruck bards complain, by Love's sad archery.

We fear it would sadden the reader too much if we were to transplant any more of this "moping melancholy" into our essay; and further, as it is said to be a commodity which lies very heavy just now on the hands of the manufacturers, it might not be considered just to prejudice his mind against it by samples. To prevent future bards from planting Parnassus with weeping willows, in the hope of making their fortune, is all our aim: for it has long been our rooted conviction that such as do not take warning in time, will in the end have to sit under the shade of their own shrubberies, and weep the error of their ways.

There are, indeed, various symptoms in the public mind of a dawning distich of these fooleries. It is beginning to be recollected that a man without a mistress may be a poet, laudably supplying the place of that antiquated necessary, with a wife. The muse of Milton had held Hymen's torch in her hand, without losing any of her power of inspiration; and his passionate recollection of his "late espoused saint," excels in force and beauty all the sonnets that ever were written to the Julius and Lesbias of our unmarried rhymers.

To recapitulate:—Poetry is nothing more than the language of enthusiasm, adorned with versification and melody. But this enthusiasm must be real, must be a constant habit of the soul, and shed, like an ever-burning lamp, its quickening rays on all the objects and combinations that come within the grasp of fancy. In a poet, this enthusiasm is the first thing to be looked for; it is "the one thing needful," which, if he possesses, all other things may be added by application. In what consists the difference between a poet, and, for instance, a critic? In this:—the former has ever an eye to production, combination, arrangement; to being even with nature and society, by filling up the gaps which they appear to have left; to enjoyment, to delight: the latter views a thing in one category only; he carries his eye over art and nature discretely; he looks at the spots, not at the leopard; at the leaves, the branches, the stem, not at the tree. You might make any thing of the former; you can make nothing of the latter,—but a critic.

If the spread of knowledge be attended with any great inconveniences, the multiplication of critics is the greatest: the brood has increased so rapidly in this island of late, that it is now doubtful whether there be not as many *Dennises* as parish-clerks amongst us; nay, whether there be any large family without its household Dionysius or Quintilian. But

it must be confessed that the rules of judging have relaxed and widened with the spread of their professors; so that what may be pronounced the genuine article, in one coterie, is often known to be considered no better than contraband goods by their next door neighbours. Nay, the very same persons blow hot and cold alternately, as the admiring or critic propensity happens to "rule the roast." This has sundry good effects: for admiration and ill-nature being two of the largest sluices by which the mind empties its overflowing humours, they have been conveniently placed by Providence at either end of it, in order to take off the current, whether it be under the influence of fair or "cloud-compelling" winds: so that in no case is there any danger of an improper *depth*. We experience daily the blessing of this contrivance of Nature; for there is nothing so bad but some will be found to praise it; and nothing so good but spleen and envy are gratified by seeing it abused.

LINKS ON THE RUINS OF KALPEE, IN THE
EAST INDIES.¹

YE mouldering Fanes, and melancholy Tombs!
Sun-blighted Wilds, where parched Famine reigns!
An exiled wanderer marks your mournful glooms,
And heaves the fond sigh for his native plains!
But vain the wish—and seldom cherished here,—
Hope flies the drear and soul-degrading cline,
While listless Apathy and dull Despair
Chill fervid Patriotism's glow sublime.
Alas! though Nature wither in the scene,
Must every finer impulse too decay?
Forbid it, Heaven! Though drear my path hath been,
Still let my bosom bow to Feeling's sway,
And ne'er forget the resting spot of green,
Where Love and Friendship cheered life's dawning day!

D. L. R.

¹ Kalpee is a large and populous town, in the province of Agra, situated on the S. W. bank of the Jumna. The neighbourhood of this place is remarkably barren and desolate, and is rendered still more melancholy in appearance by the innumerable tombs and ruins that are visible in every direction. The travelling distance from Calcutta to Kalpee is 700 miles.

LITERARY AND POLITICAL SERVICES OF DISTINGUISHED
OFFICERS IN INDIA.

HAVING recently adverted, in a notice of the second volume of the 'East India Military Calendar,' to the peculiar and striking qualifications which confer on the officers connected with the Indian Army so prominent and favourable a distinction, it becomes unnecessary to enter into any preliminary observations in recalling the attention to the first volume of that valuable publication. The brief and cursory manner in which this was originally referred to in an early number of the *Oriental Herald*, adapted as it was to convey only a general idea of the importance of the Work and of the manner of its execution, could by no means prove so satisfactory as a more extended notice from which the reader might be enabled to collect facts sufficient to qualify him for forming, in some measure, his own judgment on the subject. The attempt to supply this deficiency may appear rather tardy, considering the period of time which has elapsed since its publication, and almost unnecessary, when the Work is probably well known to most of our Eastern readers; but there exists in England a numerous class to whom it may still remain a novelty, and for these the subject will not be without interest. We are indeed the more anxious to revert to it again, since, in common with the Editor, we feel that in holding forth to public notice the services of a most valuable and meritorious body, we assist in recording their claims on the gratitude of their immediate employers, and on the favour and approbation of their king and country. To contribute in however small a degree, to this desirable result is no less our inclination than our duty.

In passing rapidly in review the contents of a work of so desultory a nature, in which every sketch assumes a distinct and individual importance, it is impossible to proceed on a systematic plan, and to develop its details in a connected series. To notice some of its more striking features alone, will therefore be the object of the present article, varying as much as possible the nature of the illustrative narrative, with the view of exhibiting the character of the officers of the Indian Army in those numerous points of view which so justly entitle it to admiration, and referring for the military details chiefly to the Work itself.

An instance of the advantages to be derived by men of active and observing minds from Asiatic practices, even in departments in which they are generally regarded as far inferior to Europeans, is furnished towards the conclusion of the memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel George Constable. This able and experienced officer, had obtained a thorough knowledge of the nature and formation of the Asiatic brass-ordnance with iron cylinders, from having been a member of a committee for the survey of all the guns, stores, &c. which had been captured at Allygurh, Delhi, Agra, &c. Their advantages over the ordnance of Europe were manifest; and he was therefore induced, during a visit to England, to institute a series of experiments on the subject, in which, after numerous difficulties, he at length succeeded. Several pattern-guns were cast in London by Lieutenant-Colonel Constable, proved, and surveyed by a committee of Artillery field-officers at Woolwich, and the thanks of the Board of Ordnance were

conveyed to him for his trouble; but it is to be regretted that the British government has not yet thought fit to avail itself of these improvements. The gun-metal is a composition of brass and iron; the cylinder as smooth as glass, and formed of metal of a distinct quality; and the vent of solid iron. Its advantages combine both strength and lightness: in the former it is equal to iron ordnance, and in the latter superior to brass. It is thus superior to the brass artillery, even in the point of view in which this is most desirable, and very far exceeds it in 'durability' and 'certainty.' From the fusibility of brass guns, they frequently become 'totally unserviceable' in the field and in batteries, and the shot is fired without a certainty of direction or distance. From these radical defects, the guns cast by Lieutenant-Colonel Constable appear to be entirely free.

If, however, to the gallant officer whose merits have been alluded to in the preceding paragraph, the natives of Europe have been indebted for an improvement in the destructive arts of war, to Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Walker, those of India owe a much greater debt of gratitude, for the active and effectual measures which he adopted for the abolition of that stain of Hindoostan, INFANTICIDE. The success of his endeavours sufficiently proves, that the prejudice which leads to this dreadful and revolting practice, is vanquishable by those Europeans who really feel a sufficient interest in its suppression, to induce them personally to exert themselves for this purpose. Among the Jahrejah Rappoots, this crime had prevailed from time immemorial, originating probably in family pride, and an unwillingness to communicate their high blood through the marriages of their daughters. From each of these chiefs, in the name of themselves and their dependents, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker obtained unequivocal and positive agreements, to abstain in future from the crime of putting to death their infant daughters. They separately and voluntarily entered into a most binding engagement, by which they not only became liable to a severe pecuniary penalty in case of the violation of their contract, but solemnly acknowledging that it was contrary to their own religion, decreed, that whoever should be guilty of a repetition of the crime, should be branded with all the infamy, disgrace, and privation of privileges involved in the loss of caste. Under the influence of these engagements, many of the Jahrejahs actually saved their children, and presented them a year afterwards to their preserver with all the feeling and affection natural to parents. The foundation of reform was thus evidently laid; but it is to be regretted, that since the departure of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker from India its success has become more limited. Mr. Elphinstone has, indeed, with laudable zeal, interested himself in the preservation of these helpless beings from the inhuman prejudices of their unnatural parents, and about one hundred appear to have been saved in the course of ten years. It is, however, disgraceful that the abolition of this inhuman custom should still be left to the feelings of individuals, and not form, as it well deserves, the subject of a legislative enactment.

Lieut.-Col. T. D. Broughton, whose '*Specimens of the Popular Poetry of the Hindoos' Country*,' and other works, have secured for him a reputation as an author, is entitled to a further notice on account of the reforms and improvements effected by him in the detachment which he commanded in 1817, and the succeeding years. Composed of the most heterogeneous materials, it required all the energies of an experienced

and active mind to prevent the jealousies which existed from breaking out, to the subversion of all discipline and peace; but the vigilance and zeal of the commander not only prevented these abollitions, but succeeded in introducing various useful and necessary regulations. The formation of the Rifle Company, the establishment of the Regimental School, the distribution of the men into messes, and the appointment of colour-serjeants, (the first in the Company's Army, and which led to the extension of that rank throughout the Bengal portion of it,) were the result of this able officer's exertions. The organization of the Regimental Savings' Bank,—an establishment which has opened to the sober and steady soldier the means of securing a supply for the future comforts of his family, or his own old age, and to the more thoughtless a temptation to throw into another channel the rupee which was destined for the canteen or the gaming-table,—present, in particular, a most judicious institution and one which cannot fail to add much to the comforts, and to improve the morals, of the private.

The memoir of Major-General Hardwicke affords a striking illustration of a remark formerly advanced, that a military biography is entirely incapable of furnishing a just idea of the character, or even talents, of an individual. From the sketch of this officer's life, given in the present volume, the reader unacquainted with the subject of it would be led to include him among the "*sine nomine turba*" of military men, who, having performed with credit the duties of each respective station, had risen according to seniority, and without any proper characteristic, to the height which they eventually occupied. But this opinion would be totally inadequate to the deserts of Major-Gen. Hardwicke, who, to the merits of his military capacity, unites those of the naturalist, and may justly rank, in the department of zoology especially, as high as any officer who has visited our Eastern empire. To pursuits of this nature, (which have been hitherto too much neglected by those who, from the opportunities afforded them during their service, might have most essentially advanced the cause of natural science,) this indefatigable individual devoted himself during his residence in India with an ardour, of which the liberal presents and the contributions forwarded by him to the Linnæan and other learned societies furnish ample proof. He has thus secured for himself, on his retirement from active service, a full and almost endless source of gratification, and the enjoyment of those honours in the scientific world to which his previous labours had entitled him.

Of another officer, also distinguished for his literary and scientific acquirements, Major E. Moor, of the Bombay establishment, a more ample detail is furnished, and several gallant actions recorded, especially one which occurred at the battle of Gadinoor, in 1791. Being ordered to "penetrate into the enemy's camp, if possible, and as far as possible," this gallant officer succeeded in reaching its very centre, where he received a wound in his right knee, and a musket-ball which totally destroyed his left elbow. To this effective obedience of orders, the commanding officer expressly attributed the victory which ensued, and which formed one of the most brilliant actions of the war.

On his return to England for the recovery of his health, Major Moor published a '*Narrative of the operations of Captain Little's Detachment, and of the Mahratta Army commanded by Pursoram Bhow, against Tipu Sultan*;' and he has since appeared as the author of the '*Hindoo*

Pantheon,' and of an excellent work on the subject of 'Hindoo Infanticide.' To the Army of India, his literary talents have been eminently beneficial in the compilation and arrangement of a most useful digest of the military orders and regulations relative to the discipline and expenditure of the armies under the different presidencies. These had accumulated to a mass highly inconvenient as regarded both the due comprehension and enforcement of them by the superior authorities, and the requisite knowledge of them by those whose attention and obedience were essential. These inconveniences have, however, been materially diminished by Major Moor's publication, which was printed at the expense of Government, by whom he was liberally remunerated for his performance.

The name of Major General Sir John Malcolm, a detailed *Memoir* of whom concludes the first volume, is one which would confer honour on any body of men with whom it might be associated. To all who are interested in the affairs of India, the literary talents of this distinguished officer must be well known, and by all such are his early liberal and statesman-like views for its improvement justly appreciated. To his various missions to the Court of Persia, may be attributed the security of our Indian possessions from the attack anticipated, through the territories of that power, from the French; a very able historical review of whose late intrigues in Persia was transmitted by Sir John Malcolm to the Bengal Government in 1808. His success in these and other employments of a similar nature, to which he devoted much attention during his residence in the East, is chiefly to be ascribed to the intimate knowledge which he had acquired of the language, manners, and opinions of the persons whom it was his object to conciliate. To complete this body of essential information, appears to have been his constant aim in the midst of the numerous and arduous duties in which he was continually engaged, and in this he has succeeded beyond almost any of his contemporaries. The 'Sketch of the Sikhs,' originally published in the *Asiatic Researches*; the 'Essay on the Bhills,' recently noticed among the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, and other works, strongly evince the extent and value of his inquiries on these subjects; while his 'History of Persia, from the earliest period,' and his 'Memoirs of Central India, including Mahwa and the adjoining Provinces,' must secure for their author a distinguished rank among literary men. For each of these important works, Sir John Malcolm was eminently qualified: the materials for the former having been collected by him with indefatigable assiduity during his various journeys and his residence in Persia; and the latter relating to a district, the entire charge of which was committed during several years to his care. Into these unsettled provinces, inhabited by numerous distinct and turbulent races, which were then just emerging from a state of warfare, he succeeded in introducing peace and union, in curbing the power of the refractory, and in framing the wisest regulations for the encouragement of industry, and the permanence of tranquillity. His conduct in this command may indeed be held forth as an example to all future governors of Indian districts, and the imitation of which should constantly be looked forward to with the spirit of emulation. Other works of this distinguished character are also well known; but among these one only need be noticed, the 'Observations on the disturbances in the Madras Army, in 1809,'

a production breathing a spirit of free yet candid discussion, which confers on its author the highest credit; and one which will doubtless be remembered longer, and quoted oftener, than the single deviation from its tenor, which we regret to have been even once compelled to refer to; and which we have little doubt has been since a subject of regret, if not of repentance, to the distinguished individual himself.

The preceding notices, although collected chiefly from a volume essentially military in its nature, have been, for the reasons previously given, almost universally of a different description. It is, however, impossible to quit the subject without at least referring to some of those services to which the Editor's attention has been more particularly directed. Among the more prominent memoirs contained in the present volume, in addition to those which have been adverted to, the services of Lieut.-Col. Corby, of Major-Generals Sir D. Ochterlony, Sir G. Holmes, Sir H. White, of Col. P. Walker, and of Major Staunton, deserve an honourable mention, as well for the detail with which they are given, as for the gallant deeds which they commemorate. From such a galaxy of military glory, it would be difficult to select particular instances, and invidious to assign peculiar prominence where all have merited so nobly. The mere enumeration of some of the principal wars in which they fought and conquered, will suffice to recal the recollection of the numerous deeds of daring to which their bravery gave birth, and incite the reader to examine for himself the details of each gallant exploit. The wars of Coromandel,—the struggle against the trying and almost overwhelming invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally Cawn,—the repulses and defeat of his successor, the formidable Tippoo Saib,—the captures of Ceylon and of Java,¹—the defeat of the Mahratta Confederacy,—and finally, the harassing and difficult conquest of the territory occupied by the brave and unfortunate Nepaulese,—present a succession of more striking features than can probably be exhibited by the military history of any other country. That the East India Military Calendar embraces detailed accounts of the services of numerous officers, who were engaged in these eventful scenes, will be in itself a sufficient recommendation.

¹ The services of Lieut.-Col. W. Farquhar, of Majors Gall, Pennington, and Kabon, and of other distinguished officers who participated in the exploits of this war, which are given in the present volume, point out the necessity of correcting an inadvertency in the previous notice in this Work. It is there stated, p. 61, that to Major D'Aguilar was *chiefly* owing the progress made by the British arms in Java; great, however, as were the merits of this officer, his companions in arms are equally entitled to share in the glory of this conquest. This explanation is the more requisite, since the distinction there implied might otherwise be regarded as invidious.

TO MY FRIEND.

I ASK thee not to drain the bowl,
 Or join the laughers on the lea ;
 But if old strains delight thy soul,
 Thy hours will lightly fly with me.

We 'll talk of lyres and Attic feasts,
 And bards that stroll'd from town to town,
 With strong hope in their aged breasts,
 Of small reward and great renown.

Nor shall the patriots be forgot,
 Whose brows the civic wreaths entwine,
 Though hard mishap is oft their lot,
 While tyrants robed in splendour shine.

But Justice shall be present there,
 And lend her scales their deeds to weigh,
 And Fame her golden wings up-rear,
 To catch their names and mount away ;

And these in hateful blast resound,
 Shedding pale terror as they fall ;
 And those her trumpet bruits around,
 Inspiring love and praise in all ;

But chief those sages' names will pass,
 As we discourse, from tongue to tongue,
 Whose virtues o'er the human mass
 Have mild and peaceful radiance flung.

Berkeley,¹ and More,² and he³ who sung
 Athena and Ulysses' boy,
 And the proud bard⁴ whose harp was strung,
 'Mid pressing ills, to notes of joy.

These themes, by thicket brown, or hill,
 Or quiet grove, where eye is heard
 The murmur of the lapsing rill,
 Or twitter sharp of merry bird,

Delight me oft ;—and these, my friend,
 If thou desire to share with me,
 Hither thy foot steps quickly bend,
 The spring and I, will welcome thee.

¹ Bishop of Cloyne.² Sir Thomas More.³ Fenelon.⁴ Milton.

THE ARCOT FAMILY.

It may readily be supposed that we have an unbounded command of flanks for Indian letters. The high favour in which we stand with the Chairman and his Deputy, as well as with every Director of the East India Company, secures to us this advantage. The members of the Arcot Family have, therefore, with a laudable economy, carried on their Indian correspondence through our hands, for the sake of avoiding postage. In return for the exemption which they thus enjoy, all their letters are sent to us under a flying seal, with a liberal permission to lay before our readers such of them, or such parts, as we in our judgment may think generally interesting, and free from indiscretion.

In order that our readers may sit down to read these letters with the same advantages that we do, a short sketch of the family history of the writers appears to be necessary. But we deem it requisite to notify, that we cannot give a personal introduction to the most intimate of our friends who may apply to us for such a favour. We foresee that not a few of those who become acquainted with the Arcot Family through their correspondence, will earnestly desire to be personally known to them—but that is impossible. Our readers must be contented with the following account of the Arcots and their connexions :—

Mr. Arcot is the younger son of the late Honourable George Arcot, a younger brother of the present Lord Stare. His father died early in life, and left his two sons and three daughters to the care of his elder brother. Two of the girls scarcely outlived their childhood; the third grew up with a fine figure and pleasing countenance, and was married to Sir Gingetail¹ Stables, a Yorkshire Baronet. The peer soon discovered,

¹ We were at some pains to discover the Baronet's real Christian name. He passes in society as Sir George Stables; but we had heard that he received at his baptism some unusual and comical appellative, in consequence of a vow made in his cups by his father, the former Sir George Stables. Sir George, about two months before his lady lay in of her first child, had brought her up to London for the best medical advice. On a soft-falling, strong-scenting day of February, the Baronet having sent off his favourite hunter the day before, started in a yellow post-chaise for Salt-Hill, to have a run with the king's stag-hounds. The pack, and every thing belonging to the king's hunt, were then in the highest order and style, his late Majesty taking great delight in the sport. It happened to be what sportsmen call a very hard day. After running without a check for nearly two hours, every body was thrown out except Sir George, on Gingetail, and a gentleman in a brown wig and a large heavy hunting cap, who rode a remarkably fine grey horse, and took the lead throughout the day. The two were now almost close together, when the latter rode at a high hedge, over which spread the branches of an oak. The rider, either from bad sight or the size of his hunting-cap, did not observe a limb of the tree of unusual length, the end of which, as his horse cleared the hedge in excellent style, swept him from his saddle to the ground. Sir George was a young man, and a keen sportsman, but not a brutal one. He thought that the fall was a serious one, had just time to rein up his horse as he was rising at the hedge, jumped off, and offered his assistance. He of the brown wig soon collected himself, and said very quickly, "Ah, ah! Nelson, Nelson—Nelson's off. Shan't see Nelson again to-day." Then turning to Sir George, assured him that he was not hurt, and instantly added, "I must beg your name, Sir—I see that you do not know me—

that although he was very far from childless, he was not likely to have any heir but his brother's son. Lord Stare had connected himself, soon after he travelled into Italy, with an Italian woman of exquisite beauty, whom he transplanted to this country, and by whom he had a large family. The Signora could never persuade him to marry her, but effectually hindered him from marrying any body else. His nephew and godson, Francis Arcot, was therefore educated as heir to the barony of Stare. The younger son, George, was first sent with his brother to Eton, and afterwards as a writer to Madras. George had a strong understanding, but at eighteen his feelings were very naturally still stronger. He had just time enough, before he started for India, to turn his uncle's indifference about him into positive abhorrence, by marrying the daughter of a country apothecary, practising and poisoning in the neighbourhood of Welton Castle, his Lordship's seat in Dorsetshire. Mrs. George Arcot, at sixteen, was lovely as an angel, a comparison which belongs exclusively to those who can claim no family likeness. Her mother died soon after bringing her into the world, without confessing to whom she owed the blessing of fruitfulness. For, strange to say, the lady's liege lord, the apothecary, having lived in the estate of matrimony for many years without children, was never suspected of increasing, although many knew that he diminished, the population of Great Britain.

George Arcot, shortly after, sailed with his bride for Madras, leaving his uncle, who rather inconsistently had written even a kind note to Mrs. Arcot, in the firm hope that he should never see his nephew again. Oh that we could discover a moral telescope! Lord Stare was still at that time of life when those who are born to rank, station, and riches, seldom foresee any obstacle to their wishes. The natural day circles at the same pace for all men; but the moral meridian is not reached by the spoiled children of prosperity, till long after it has been passed by the well-taught scholars of adversity. For Lord Stare, at forty-five,

in such a case as the present I had rather be obliged to your humanity than your loyalty; when the former principle is so strong, the latter can never be weak. The King, Sir, is very much obliged to you for your attention, and will be glad to see you at Windsor to-morrow." Sir George, who was perfectly well bred, immediately begged that his Majesty would do him the honour to mount his horse; and bending his knee, touched the King's hand with his lips, and assisted him into the saddle. "Sir George Stables," said the King, laughing, "you have been at my *levée* without introduction; very irregular, ha, ha, ha!" and rode off in the direction of the hounds. Sir George knew what a *levée* was, but not why it was so called, and, therefore, lost the meaning of the King's remark. The further consequences of this accident are of no importance, except only, that on that very day, after drinking long and deeply with his friends, to whom he began, for the second or third time, to recount the event of the morning, the Baronet swore, that if Lady Stables had a boy, he should be named after the horse who carried him up to the King. Most people would have thought, that George being both his own and his Majesty's name, the boy would have been so called in honour at least of the latter; but Sir George, over his bottle, maintained, that all the merit of the matter belonged to Gingertail, that Gingertail should have the credit of it, and that his boy should be named Gingertail. And afterwards, when the reasonableness of this argument no longer appeared, and the birth of a boy made its absurdity perpetual and inconvenient, yet, from a mistaken respect for a drunken joke and his boon companions, Sir George gave the name of Gingertail to the godmother, the godmother gave it to the priest, and the priest to the son and heir of the house of Stables, who often at school and college gave it to the devil, with many strong expressions very irreverent to the horse, Sir George, and all parties concerned except—the King.

Hope still enchanted, smil'd, and waved her golden hair,
 although many men at that age possess a foresight which is

Something like prophetic strain.

In short, the peer had never imagined that his elder nephew might die without completing his Lordship's plans. But that young gentleman, to the confusion of all those plans, was wrecked with his tutor in a felucca, on the coasting voyage from Genoa to Leghorn,

And his last sighs came bubbling up in air.

On receiving this melancholy intelligence, Lord Stare wrote to George Arcot in India, acquainting him with his brother's death, and desiring his immediate return to England. The young man, with his wife and family, obeyed the summons. He was reconciled to his uncle; but having, as we said, a strong understanding, he refused to give up the Company's Civil Service, and live as his uncle's acknowledged heir and dependant. He left, however, his eldest son, Walter, under his Lordship's care and control, when, after a two year's residence in England, he returned with his wife and younger children to Madras. There Mr. Arcot remained till he had realized a large fortune, and sat for two or three years at the Council of that Presidency. About the beginning of last November he took a final leave of his friends in India, and, in the month of February last past, set foot again on the shores of England, with a constitution unimpaired by a tropical climate, and a large experience of Indian affairs.²

*From Walter Arcot, Esq., at Oxford, to Robert Littlecraft, Esq.,
 Civil Service, Madras, to the care of Messrs. Curry and Co.*

MY DEAR ROBERT,

Christ Church, March 1, 1825.

I HAVE at length seen my family, whom I have dreamed and thought about, day by day, ever since I was eight years old. On the 15th of last month, the Duchess of Athol landed my father and mother, Francis and Emily, at Portsmouth, after a good voyage of four months from Madras. On the following day, we all met at my uncle's house in St. James's Square. I confess that for the first time in my life I understood what people mean when they complain of feeling nervous. To be introduced as a stranger to your own family, is a very solemn ceremony. My sister Emily was only six, and Frank only four years old, when my father left me eleven years ago under the charge of Lord Stare. I could not know, but I had often fancied to myself, what sort of looking beings my brother and sister were. Of my father and mother I was quite sure that I had a most distinct recollection. I remembered my father as a very large, and, when I first caught the idea, as a very handsome man, whom I was afraid of all the morning, and used to plague and play with all the evening. My mother appeared in my memory as a person who used to take me out in the carriage, send me out of the room, prevent me from eating as much as I liked, and desire me to go to bed before I was sleepy; and yet with so much fondness, that I remembered her with extreme affection. My father's correspondence had strengthened my esteem and love for him, and my mother's short and kind postscripts, containing, it is true, little more than a blessing for me,

² We here must take leave to remark on the superiority of truth over fiction. What a structure of fable might be raised on this short and hasty sketch! A professed novel-writer might scratch his head with as much perseverance as a terrier at an empty rabbit-hole, but would fail of putting together such an admirable frame of probabilities.

and a slight allusion to her own weak health, had supported in their full force the soft but lively feelings I entertained towards her.

On the day before they were to reach London, I got leave from the Dean to be absent for a week, drove Costar's red coach up to Henley, got off at the Gloster Coffee House at four, and sat down at Stare House to a solitary seven o'clock dinner. I had no appetite, in spite of the divine *afflatus* of the coach-box and a boring horse for two stages, that nearly pulled my arm off. The old London house-keeper had herself officiated as cook; the butler gave me a bottle of claret from my favourite bin of 1815; all in vain; although I drank, I did not taste it. After the table was cleared, I became so fidgety, that having sat on every chair in the room, tried to read the *Courier* and Harriette Wilson, I ran out and made my way to Drury Lane, where I first discovered that it was one o'clock in the morning, and the house shut. I hurried back to bed, but could not sleep. Sometimes I dozed a little, started at the sound of a passing carriage, and thought that they were come. My last jump at such a delusion placed me upright on the floor, with my arms extended to meet the paternal embrace of Wilcox the butler, who condescended to the duties of valet, and came at ten o'clock to offer his assistance at my toilette. He was so astonished, that he spilled the hot water in the shaving jug and scalded his foot. Catching up his foot, and with a suppressed oath, the old man said, "What! Mr. Walter, walking in your sleep! You know, Sir, your room opens on the gallery; you'll tumble over into the hall, Sir; for God's sake—"

"No, no, Wilcox," and I laughed heartily, "that rickety hackney-coach, which jumbles along as if the wheels had the rheumatism, woke me out of a dream, which had just brought four smoking posters and my father and mother to the door."

"Well, Sir," said Wilcox, "take my advice and don't think about them till they come. I wonder if Miss Emily will recollect me. Your thinking will not make their horses go faster, although it may make your time go slower. Besides, Sir, Mrs. Arcot may not be well enough to come on to-day," and with that he left the room, and me, for the first time, awake to the possibility of a disappointment. Post-hour came, but no letter, which set me at ease on this head.

The morning dragged heavily along, as if the hours had exchanged their usual mode of travelling for a stage waggon. I strolled about, met several people whom I knew, went into the British Gallery, looked at the pictures without seeing them, ordered a new saddle at Peat's, and returned home at six o'clock. About an hour afterwards,³ my uncle's carriage came sweeping round the corner of York-street, and in a few minutes more I had supported my mother from the carriage-door to the library. I shall say very little about our meeting, which indeed was very silent, but endeavour to give you an account of my thoughts and feelings when I could first think and feel what was passing around me. I soon learnt that personal intercourse is absolutely necessary to the support of our affections in their full strength and freshness. I used to believe that I felt all that a son and brother could feel for the nearest and dearest relations; but I am now convinced that hearing and seeing are two senses not to be dispensed with at any time of life, and least of all in childhood, in cherishing our affections. Had I lost a member of what I may now call our family circle before we met, I am sure that my grief would not have been so acute, as it now would be, after a personal acquaintance of only four days; so great a change has been wrought in so short a time. I am almost ashamed of the former state of my heart. My love for my family was like an underground-spring, creeping slowly, silently, and unseen through the pores of the earth. Our late meeting has broken up the surface, and the springs of affection have leapt forth into life and light,

³ It must be observed, that the young gentleman calls Lord Stare his uncle, although he is, in fact, his great uncle. The intermediate link being out of the way, Lord Stare preferred being addressed by the more youthful term of relationship.

rapid and deep. How can I cease to regret the eleven years through which the imprisoned stream has laboured on so lazily!

I could not help laughing to find myself remarking the personal appearance of my family, with infinitely more interest and nicety than I ever did that of the most remarkable individual. I never stared so intensely at the King or the Duke of Wellington, as when I fixed my eyes on my father and mother, Frank and Emily. My memory had served me faithfully; my fancy had played me some tricks. My father, I believe, is very much what he was when he left me, and yet I think, which is not a bull, he must be a good deal changed. His features, if I am not mistaken, are grown stronger: his light brown hair grizzled, and quite thin and grey upon the temples; and there is a hardness in the outline of his whole figure which did not belong to the image that I had retained of him. The expression of his features is unaltered, but more marked. Time is an excellent artist; he brings out a man's character at every touch. My mother, without doubt, is sadly changed. I was greatly shocked at her appearance. There is a waxen yellowness in her skin, and a faint but fixed colour in her cheeks, which too plainly indicate her wretched state of health. She must, indeed, have been beautiful; but agitated and fatigued as she was when we first met, her looks were almost ghastly. Emily is delightful. Most absurdly I had fancied that she must be something like me, and could never conceive how my tough phiz could, by any modification, be made into the face of a pretty girl. There is not a fresher or fairer complexion than Emily's among "the blue-eyed myriads of the North," nor a nobler figure among the sunny daughters of the South. "*Incessu patuit dea*," that is, I should know her any where by her walk. As for Frank, he is a very fine lad; but I have found out already, that he has impudence enough for the bar, and I must do him the justice to add, spirit enough for any thing.

Your cousin Louisa (Emily is now writing to her) knows us all, and will fill up my sketch of the family picture. I am desirous that persons, of whom you will hear so much in my letters, should appear to your imagination in shapes somewhat resembling reality. It is unfortunate that you could not reach Madras just before, instead of just after they left it.

After passing four days in town, during which time the shortness of our personal acquaintance was quite forgotten, I returned to Oxford, and am again where the porter, at Tom-gate, first directed you, No. 4, in Peckwater,⁴ first door, up one pair of stairs, to the right. I was rather lucky in being absent from College about the time of a most facetious row, in which I should certainly have been engaged, and perhaps more prominently than any body else. The Dean had complained of the men, who usually go out with the hounds, lounging about College in their scarlet coats. By some misunderstanding it was supposed that the colour was thenceforward prohibited. Red is the livery of anger. Every follower of the hound and horn was scandalized at a supposed attack upon the gaiety of the field. Speedycut declared, that the Dean would go to chapel in beaver, before he should desert his colour or hunt in blue, green, or brown. From passing a jest, they went on to play a practical joke. A man with a putty kind of face, and with a paint-pot in his hand, was seen to come into College just after dusk, and to skulk out again as fast as he could. The next morning the doors of the Dean and Canons were discovered in the blushing uniform of the chase. The Regius Professor of Divinity thought that his professorship was at an end; the last day at hand, and the sun turned into blood; for not only were his door-posts besmeared, but the brush had passed over his windows. Great was the consternation of the Dons.⁵ The gates were closed; the Dean had the men into the hall, and said a few words which had better been unsaid. At night, therefore, the rage of the red faction blazed out,

⁴ The name of one of the quadrangles at Christ Church.

⁵ A name usually given by undergraduates to heads and fellows of colleges, tutors, professors, and persons of authority at both universities.

and expired in a bonfire of doors, shutters, deal-tables and wash-hand-stands, built upon a base about fourteen feet square. It was raised, lighted, and permitted to burn itself out without any apparent human agency, after all authority was asleep. The town supposed that the College was on fire. A cry of distress went forth from the windows of Christ Church, which looked upon Oriel and into Bear-lane. But the cause was soon explained. Nothing followed these paint-pot and pyrotechnical *faciès*; the Caraccis who conceived the one, and the Congreves who planned the other, being unknown. You will see by the newspapers which I send you, that a boy has been accidentally killed at Eton by a fall while fighting. He was a very nice little fellow, whom every body speaks well of and regrets. But it is to be hoped that a mere accident, however distressing, will not, in the first moments of alarm and excitement, be made a plea for putting down the most harmless way of settling boyish squabbles. The attempt would cause much mischief, and fail of attaining its end. The boys, from fighting within bounds, would remove the scene of action to some remote spot, open to the intrusion of snobs and ruffs, who would aid or oppose, but certainly brutalize the sport. If, however, you could prevent the lads of Westminster and Eton from using their fists, as they must sometimes quarrel, they would take perhaps to the foreign fashion of the knife.

With the packet of newspapers I send you some books: among them are the 'Memoirs of Harriette Wilson,' and Campbell's last new poem of 'Theodric.' Who that admires Campbell, can read Theodric without sorrow? It is a melancholy proof, that the mind grows bald as well as the head. Let us hope that his fancy has only been moulting, and that she will shortly wing her way on pinions of fresh strength and brighter hues to her old heights, and soar above them. Among many other lines of the like kind, are the following, of singular simplicity:—

And with her handkerchief, and both her hands,
She hid her face and wept.

But for criticism on 'Theodric,' you will find both fun and justice in 'Blackwood's Magazine;' and in the 'Edinburgh Magazine,' a puff of faint praise, just as much as the bad lungs of the 'Edinburgh' are now equal to.

The 'Memoirs of Harriette Wilson' consist of four numbers, of a most infamous, stupid, and vulgar work. I send it to you, that you may satisfy yourself of its extreme stupidity, and hand it over to the custos of your Hookah. The writer has prostituted the English language as much as her own person. Putting aside the absurdity of the title-page, 'Memoirs of Others by Herself,' you will constantly meet with a recurrence of such phrases as, "He looked as though," &c. Her filthy and degraded mind is exposed in naked dance before the public—exhibited figuratively, as the Empress Theodora used to appear in the Theatre of Constantinople. She is now married to a man of the name of Rotchford or Rochfort. Her real maiden name was Dubouchet. She is one of a family, another branch of which are decent *bourgeois* inhabitants of Lausanne. Her mother used to get her living in London by mending silk stockings, and our heroine, it is said, was seduced by a butler who brought his master's cast-off hose to be stitched up again for display at the sideboard. The sale of this book has been large and rapid, beyond all precedent; equally to the disgrace of the public and the publisher. There is but one excuse for the purchasers. The work has some degree of that interest which belonged to the old Greek comedy. The old comedy, gross and rude as it was, excited curiosity, by holding forth on the stage real characters and real names; and so does Harriette Wilson. The only tolerable thing in the book is the introduction of the Duke of Wellington, in his ribbon and garter, as a rat-catcher. Indeed, if it be true, it was the act of a rat-catcher to pass from the presence of his King to the lap of a prostitute. Mighty as his military achievements undoubtedly have been, acute as his mind unquestionably must be, yet the Duke has a rat-catching appearance. His head is large enough for a body twice as large as

that which it stands upon; as if a great intellect had been roughly formed, and for want of being well finished and fitted together, had been put into an incomplete case. Yet Harriette owns her gratitude to him, and a hundred others, whom she exposes to ridicule, degrading herself below the nauseous wretches who parade their sin and misery about the streets,—the disgrace of their own sex, and the reproach of ours; who make us weep that such *things* should be women.

The Chancellor, by refusing an injunction against the piracy of Don Juan, has secured an unlimited circulation for these Memoirs in every possible form; thereby applying the boundless power of his court of equity to the spread of iniquity, and bringing the aristocracy of the country into contempt with the lower orders of people.

I must finish my letter in haste. I have got a wine-party to-day; and my servant has this instant told me that I have no claret. Gentlemen Commoners, you know, *selon les regles*, must give claret; therefore I must go forth to buy or borrow without loss of time. We shall drink the health of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with four times four, and wish that the fifty per cent. which he has taken off the juice of the grape, may be added to the worth of his own life.

Yours, most sincerely,

WALTER ARCOT.

MISS ARCOT TO MISS LOUISA LITTLECRAFT.

MY DEAREST LOUISA,⁶

St. James's Square, March 3, 1825.

My introduction into England was under a fall of snow, the first I recollect to have seen in my life. The idea is exceedingly ridiculous of a great girl of seventeen, standing for an hour at the window, and staring at the flakes tumbling in lazy confusion from the dirty clouds on the dirtier streets. But it melted as it fell, and lent no disguise to the filthy blackness of Portsmouth. Nothing has struck me so much as the dirty and shabby appearance of every thing in England. The objects of nature and art are equally dismal. The dusky red houses, like unwashed copper-coloured Indians, the smoking chimneys and wintry skies, the dark fallow lands and bare fields, intersected with black and leafless hedge-rows, but, above all, the inky mud of the streets, all contrast so strongly with the dazzling whiteness of the Madras buildings, the clean dyiness of the Esplanade and roads in and about the Presidency, and the brilliant luxuriance of Indian vegetation, that I can hardly understand why England should be so famous for its high cultivation and universal cleanliness. Certainly, March is not the gayest month of the year. We shall see how things will look in May. Every thing on shore, however, is delightful, after a long sea voyage. After the incessant noise of a ship, it is a luxury to sit alone in a room, where little is to be seen and nothing to be heard, and be *quiet*—to be rid, in short, of the creaking of cordage, cleaning of decks, the clamour of the crew and passengers, and all the horrid sounds which belong to a sea life. How charming it is to be relieved from the close stowage of an Indianan, in which you cannot leave your cabin without popping your nose against a passenger! To be able again to walk on the steady earth, and no longer reduced to the necessity of receiving civilities from men, the very sight of whom is a complaint of the eyes—Oh! the mere recollection of a Welsh Lieutenant of Native Cavalry, who used to offer me his arm, when the ship would coquettishly hold her head on one side to the freshening wind, makes me shudder. Figure to yourself a man about six feet two inches tall, shoulders high and narrow, arms

⁶ We can assure our readers, that the early part of Miss Arcot's letter contains only vows of eternal friendship for Miss Littlecraft, which young ladies invariably make as spinsters, and break as matrons; a most affectionate description of her brother Walter; and a report of Mrs. Arcot's health, and of Dr. Warren's opinion upon her case.

and legs long and lanky, and hung loosely on his body, like the limbs of a scaramouch. On the top of such a person, imagine a small red face, with a nose like a tomatato, and a pair of eyes like a ferret's, looking forth from an interrupted circle of carrotty hair, equally frizzled above his brow and below his chin. His razor, like a North American settler's, only clearing a space sufficient for a free circulation of air, and laying in store of food. This exquisite Dragoon soon became a complete nuisance to me, he was so unceasingly civil. Every day, from the time we left Madras, till we reached the Cape, Mr. Jones Jlewellyn Cleaver (such was his name) never failed to, ask if Miss Arcot had ever been in Wales' which was sometimes varied to "Has Miss Arcot *been up* Snowdon?" Although, from our first introduction, I had told him that I quitted England at five years old, never till he reached the Cape did he cease to plague me and every body else with his hopes that the Duchess of Athol would finish her voyage by St David's Day, with offers of tickets for the Welsh ball, if there should be one, with his praise of Welsh pedigrees, Welsh leeks, and a society with an unutterable name. At the Cape, Lieutenant Jlewellyn Cleaver was silenced for the rest of the voyage by the following incident; I tell it you, as nearly as possible, in papa's words:—

Mr. Cleaver had been descanting to a Mr. Ravenorop, a young civilian, on the mushroom growth of English families, and had got as far as the eighty-fourth generation of a Welsh descent, which was to close at about the hundred and sixty-fifth degree in himself, when his exhausted listener interposed a remark, saying, "that he believed the oldest family in Wales was extinct." "Which?" inquired the Lieutenant. "The last of them," answered his companion, "was Goat, Billy Goat, Ap Goat, who sailed with Madoc,⁷ the first convict, for North America." The Lieutenant's face blackened, and his red hair grew redder, like the sun in an annular eclipse. "Sir," rejoined Cleaver, "there is one English family, of long pedigree and long ears, which will never be extinct while you so worthily represent them—the asses, sir!" Thereupon, the civilian, who had boxed his way up to a high reputation at Haileybury, knocked down the Dragoon. My father and others interfered, and it was arranged that the two opponents should have a meeting in due form at the Cape. The ladies were kept in ignorance of this little *démêlé* till it was all over; but we were afterwards told that the Welshman could scarcely restrain his terrible threats before us. The heroes, on the next morning after they reached Cape Town, went out with their seconds, to a piece of ground concealed from observation by a wood. It was settled by the seconds, that Mr. Cleaver and Mr. Ravenorop should be placed back to back, that each should walk six paces, turn and fire. The civilian stepped out steadily six times in advance, and facing right about, discovered the Lieutenant speeding far away out of shot, towards a cattle-shed, and followed closely by his second, a short fat Surgeon's Mate, puffing after him. The Dragoon, pursued by the Doctor, reached the shed, turned, and stood at bay; swearing that he would shoot his friend and pulse-feeler, if he stirred another step. The Doctor, however, who had military courage as well as medical skill, leaped in upon and disarmed the Dragoon; and the Lieutenant still obstinately refusing to stand his ground, his second asked and obtained leave of the other party to chastise his principal in his own way. Poor Mr. Cleaver was conveyed back to Cape Town an undistinguishable mass of bruises, insensible to shame and every thing else. The helpless man, however, was reserved for happiness at last, with something more compassionate than a Surgeon's Mate. He was scarcely visible during the rest of the voyage, and nobody spoke to him; but I see, by this morning's paper, that he found one friend in the ship. The Post tells us that Mrs. Shotbolt (who was one of our passengers, and for six months

⁷ For Madoc, see a poem of that name by Dr. Sonthey—a sort of metrical gazette in blank verse, reporting the proceedings and condition of the first convicts sent to America, with a spurious date given to it, at once to confuse the facts, puzzle the reader, and please the Welsh.

he disconsolate widow of the Collector of Travancore) gave her hand on Tuesday last, to Jones Llewellyn Cleaver, Esq. of Llanrwydd, Caernarvonshire; late of the ——— Regiment of Madras Native Cavalry, is very judiciously sunk.⁴

Papa begs that you will tell Mr. Lattlecraft, that he has been too short a time in England to have made any observations, or learned any thing worth writing about. He goes into Dorsetshire to-morrow.

I blush to send so short a letter, so long a distance, to my dearest Louisa, but she will readily forgive her truly affectionate friend,

EMILY ARCOT.

THE STORM.

THE sun went down in beauty—not a cloud
Darkened its radiance,—yet—there might be seen
A few fantastic vapours scattered o'er
The face of the blue heavens—some fair and slight
As the pure lawn that shields the maiden's bosom,
Some shone like silver,—some did stream afar
(Faint and dispers'd) like the pale horse's mane
Which Death shall stride hereafter,—some were glittering
Like Dolphin's scales—touch'd out with wavering hues
Of beautiful light,—outvying some the rose,
And some the violet, yellow, and white, and blue,
Scarlet, and purpling red.

One small lone ship
Was seen, with outstretch'd sails, keeping its way
In quiet o'er the deep,—all nature seem'd
Fond of tranquillity,—the glassy sea
Scarce rippled,—the halcyon slept upon the wave,
The winds were all at rest,—and in the East
The crescent moon (then seen imperfectly)
Came onwards with the vesper star, to see
A summer day's decline.

The sun went down in beauty,—but the eye
Of veteran seamen trembled, when they saw
A small, black, ominous spot, far in the distance ;—
It spread and spread—larger and dark—and came
O'ershadowing the skies,—the ocean rose—
The gathering waves grew large—and broke in hoarse
And hollow sounds,—the mighty winds awoke,
And screamed and whistled through the cordage ;—birds

⁴ We are obliged to make another large omission. If the Editor were honoured by many female correspondents, how easily, how delightfully, how quickly, would each Number be filled!

That seemed to have no home, flocked there in terror,
And sat with quivering plumage on the mast,—
Flashes were seen,—and distant sounds were heard,
Presages of a storm.

The sun went down in beauty,—but the skies
Were wildly changed.—It was a dreadful night:—
No moon was seen in all the heavens, to aid
Or cheer the lone and sea-beat mariner—
Planet nor guiding star broke through the darkness;—
But the blue lightnings glared along the waters,
As if the fiend had fired his torch to light
Some wretches to their graves;—the tempest winds
Raving came next, and in deep hollow sounds,
(Like those the spirits of the dead do use
When they would speak their evil prophecies,)
Mutter'd of death to come,—then came the thunder
Deepening and crashing, as 'twould rend the world,
Or as the Deity passed aloft in anger,
And spoke to man—Despair.

The ship was tossed,
And now stood poised upon the curling billows,
And now 'midst deep and wat'ry chasms (that yawn'd
As 'twere in hunger) sank;—behind there came
Mountains of moving water,—with a rush
And sound of gathering power, that did appal
The heart to look on;—terrible cries were heard,
Sounds of despair,—some like a mother's anguish,—
Some of intemperate, dark, and dissolute joy—
Music, and horrid mirth (but unallied
To joy)—madness might be heard amidst
The pauses of the storm; and when the glare
Was strong, rude savage men were seen to dance
In frantic exultation on the deck—
Though all was hopeless.—Hark!—the ship has struck,
And the fork'd lightning seeks the arsenal—
'Tis fired!—and mirth and madness are no more.

The black skies,
Shocked at excess of light, return'd the sound
In frightful echoes—as if an alarm
Had spread through all the elements,—then came
A horrid silence—deep—unnatural,—like
The quiet of the grave.

Madras.

CURIOUS LITERARY DISCOVERY RESPECTING THE ORIENTAL
ORIGIN OF PARNELL'S HERMIT.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Like your Correspondent NEMO,¹ "I am an Englishman not at all interested in Indian affairs, excepting so far as it regards the general extension of literature and liberty throughout that vast country." Yet ardently desiring such an extension, as highly conducive, or rather, indispensable, to the process of human improvement, I feel a satisfaction, as by this time your complaining Correspondent has, probably, felt, in the mode you adopt to promote that important object. You will, I trust, like a skilful physician to the body politic, continue to administer the *utile dulci*, in proportions suited to the constitution and the varying condition of the patient.

They must be, indeed, most fond and unreflecting admirers, not to say blind idolaters, of things as they are, who can promise themselves the perpetuity of a system which imposes on every British-born resident in India a necessity to *subscribe slave*, as Milton defined a submission to church authority. No; the time is arrived, when "every thing must be discussed," as Burke complained in his degenerate days, when he was earning a pension, deserved by his great talents; yet poorly obtained by his courtly application of them. Surely, then, justice and reason will at length prevail in the contest with power and privilege, "a consummation devoutly to be wished," and which a publication like yours, appears eminently calculated to promote. At such an auspicious period, when *longo post tempore venit libertas*, what documents will be more valued by those, for instance, who would justly appreciate the deservings of an *Adam*, or an *Amherst*, a *Spankie*, or a *Fergusson*, from a people over whom the influence of their stations or their talents had been extended, than by such relations as are preserved in your volumes? and which, however minute and personal they may now be considered, will then, for those very qualities, be justly regarded as more authentic and satisfactory.

Yet while performing these duties of first necessity, your seasons of relaxation will not, I trust, be unfrequent. Lord Coke, I remember, while pursuing his profound investigation of the Forest Laws, digresses into the *Æneid*, to *recreate* himself, as he expresses it, by a *ramble among Dido's deer*. Thus you will, I am persuaded, sometimes gladly break away, with your readers, from the inhospitable wilds and perplexing mazes of Anglo-Indian politics, to "haunt the sunny realms" irradiated by the charms of British poesy. Under this expectation, and especially as my subject is quite *Oriental*, I am induced to offer you some account of a discovery I very lately made, respecting the origin of a poem so deservedly popular, as to be found in almost every collection of English verse.

I allude to the *Hermit* of Parnell, whose poems were first published by Pope, in 1721, two years after the author's death. To Parnell, the

¹ *Oriental Herald*, vol. iii. p. 86.

invention of the story, as well as its poetical ornaments, had, I believe, been generally ascribed, till Goldsmith wrote the life, prefixed, in 1773, to an enlarged edition of his poems. From Pope, in Spence's *Anecdotes*, Goldsmith relates, (and the opinion is adopted implicitly by Johnson,) that "the story was written originally in Spanish, whence, probably, *Howell* translated it into prose, and inserted it in one of his letters." He adds, that "Dr. Henry More, in his *Dialogues*, has the very same story;" and that he had "been informed by some that it is originally of Arabian invention."

Of this supposed Spanish or Arabian origin I know nothing; and, as will presently appear, *Howell* professed to be a transcriber, and not a translator: but I have very lately read the story in a Latin work of polemical theology, written by Thomas Bradwardine, Confessor of Edward III., who attained the title of *Doctor Profundus*, and died in 1349, aged 59, a few weeks after he had been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Chaucer, his contemporary, though very much his junior, describes him by name, in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, as the great theologian of his time. His work, which was first printed in 1618, under the care of that accomplished scholar, Sir Henry Savile, is entitled, '*De causa Dei contra Pelagium.*' He introduces the story (l. i. c. 31.) where he is discussing the difficulties in the administration of Divine Providence, professing to borrow it from a writer of the former century.

This was Jacobus de Vetrico, a cardinal, as I learn from a life prefixed to his *Historia Orientalis et Occidentalis*, 1597, which contains some interesting accounts of the topography and ecclesiastical state of Palestine. It is his only work in the British Museum. This Cardinal flourished under the Emperor Frederic II., and died in 1244. I was surprised and disappointed, after a tolerably attentive examination of the *Historia*, to find nothing concerning the *Eremit* and the *Angel*, though the author describes the various monastic orders in Palestine, and the condition of hermits. The MS. work may have been mutilated between the age of Bradwardine and the date of the printed *Historia*; or he may have referred to some work of that writer which was never printed, perhaps to a collection entitled in the Life, *Epistolarum ad diversos*.

Bradwardine, however, having quoted *Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, immediately adds the story of the Hermit, of which I shall offer you as literal a translation as will express the author's sense, so far as I can ascertain it; subjoining the original for the satisfaction and amusement of yourself, and any of your readers, who may have leisure to cultivate ancient learning, amidst the various attractions of modern literature.

"To the same purpose is the narration by James of Nitri, concerning a certain hermit who was vexed by blasphemous suggestions, till he began to question the equity of God's judgments, since he permitted the wicked to prosper and the good to be afflicted. To whom was sent from the Lord an angel in a human form: "Follow me," says he, "and thou shalt discern the secret judgments of God." The hermit then accompanying him to the house of a worthy man, who entertained them at night with the most courteous hospitality, he purloined their host's cup in which he greatly delighted, and bestowed it on a wicked man who admitted them the second night. But after they had been most kindly treated by a benevolent host on the third night, in the morning he drowned his servant by throwing him off a bridge. Having been enter-

ained by another good man with the like hospitality, on the fourth night, he killed his infant, whose screams would not suffer them to sleep. The hermit, having witnessed such deeds, would have parted from his companion, who thus addressed him :—" I was sent to thee from the Lord, that I might reveal his hidden judgments. Our first host delighted too much in that cup, which I took away for his good, and bestowed it on our wicked host, that he might receive his present reward. But I drowned the servant of the third, because he had purposed in his heart to kill his master on the morrow. Thus I preserved the good master from death, and the wicked servant from the crime of murder, so lightening his punishment in hell. As to our fourth host, before he had a son and heir he was abundant in alms-giving ; but since that son and heir was born to him he has withheld his hand. I, therefore, removed him from the temptation to avarice, and transferred to Paradise the soul of the innocent."²

I have also read this story in a paraphrastic form, with some varieties, and one shocking interpolation, as published in 1652, probably the date of its first appearance in English, in a small 4to., entitled, ' Certain Conceptions or Considerations of Sir Percy Herbert, upon the strange change of people's dispositions and actions in these latter times ;' it occupies from pp. 220 to 230. The substance and language of this English narrative, which is not acknowledged as a quotation, Howell copied in a letter ' To my Lord Marquis of Hertford,' and published, probably, soon after the date of the volume I have mentioned in an early edition of his *Epistolæ-Ho-Eluæ*. In his eleventh edition (1754), I find the story introduced as " an excellent passage, which a noble speculative Knight (Sir P. Herbert) hath in his late conceptions to his son." Besides transpositions, and some alteration of the circumstances, as Bradwardine, after James of Nitri, allotted them to the four days, there is the following addition :—

The fifth day they made towards a great rich town ; but some miles before they came to it, they met with a merchant at the close of the day, who had a great charge of money about him ; and asking the next passage to the town, the young man put him in a clean contrary way. The *Anchovite* and his guide being

² " Ad hoc facit similiter, quod narrat Jacobus de Vetriaco, de quodam Heremita spiritu aggresso blasphemæ, in tantum quòd cœperat cogitare judicia Dei justa non esse, eo quòd malos prosperari permittit, et bonos affligi. Cui Angelus, in specie hominis missus à Domino ; Sequere, inquit, me, et videbis judicia Dei occulta ; quem cum secutus fuisset ad domum ejusdam boni viri, eis tota nocte læte hospitalitatis officiis exhibitis, furatus est scyphum hospitis, quem maxime diligebat, eumque cuidam maligno, qui eos secunda nocte exceperat, erogebat : Tertia verò nocte à benigno hospite sunt benignius hospitati, ejus famulum mane de quodam ponte precipitans submergebat ; et quarta nocte à bono similiter bene recepti, filium ejus parvulum vagitantem, nec eos dormire sumentem occidit. Quibus visis Heremita volenti eum dimittere, ita dixit : Ego sum missus tibi à Domino, ut occulta ejus judicia tibi prodam. Primus ergo hospes noster nimis dilexerat illum scyphum, ideoque pro bono suo abstuli sibi scyphum, illumque donavi hospiti nostro malo, ut mercedem suam recipiat in præsentem. Tertio verò famulum submergebam, quia in corde suo firmavit dominum suum die crastina occidisse, sicque bonum dominum à morte, et malum famulum ab homicidio operis præservavi, ut ille in inferno mitius puniretur. Quarto autem hospes priusquam paberet filium et hæredem, largus eleemosynas faciebat ; sed nato sibi filio et hærede manuum retraxit. Quare et ab eo causam avaritiæ abstuli, et in paradisum attuli animam innocentis."—*Thomæ Bradwardinæ de Causa Dei contra Pelagium*.—*Opera et studio Hen. Saviln.* London, 1618. (l. l. c. 31.) p. 281.

come to the town, at the gate they spied a devil, who lay as it were centinel, but he was asleep. They found also both men and women at sundry kinds of sports, some plancing, others singing, with divers sort of revellings. They went afterwards to a Convent of *Capuchins*, where, about the gate they found legions of devils laying siege to that monastery.

At the conclusion of the Angel's *dénouement*, we are informed that the merchant is mis-directed, that he may avoid a band of ruffians prepared to rob and murder him; that the "great luxurious city is so much at *Lucifer's* devotion, that he needs but one single centinel to secure it, and even *he* may safely sleep upon his guard." On the contrary, to the "monastery inhabited by so many devout souls," in vain "hath he brought so many legions to beleager them—for they bear up against him most undauntedly, manre all his infernal power and stratagems." You will probably join me in a conjecture, that "the fifth day" was an interpolation by a *Capuchin*; or Sir Percy Herbert might be a duteous son of the *Mother-Church*, and offer this aid, however slender, to her reputation; which, in 1652, was rapidly on the decline in England.

The interpolation of the "great rich town," with a *devil-centinel* "at the gate," and "legions of devils about the convent," is not to be found in the *Divine Dialogues*, (Ed. 2. 1713. pp. 165—168.) where the story, though with some variations, is much nearer to *Bradwardine* than to Sir P. Herbert. Dr. Henry More, the learned author of the *Dialogues*, from his own theological pursuits, could scarcely fail to be acquainted with the *Causa Dei contra Pelagium*; and whoever reads the *Hermit*, as I have lately done, with the *Divine Dialogues* before him, will, I believe, agree with me, that Parnell was chiefly, if not entirely indebted to them (rather than to Sir P. Herbert's *Conceptions*, or to the very early relation by the learned Archbishop) for his knowledge of a story, which it cannot be easily denied, that he has amplified and adorned with singular felicity.

N. L. T.

ON THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY.

STERN school of Zeno, be one poet's mind
 Steeped in thy lore, as in the Stygian flood
 The son of Thetis: thy imperious mood
 Charms like the spell that bind the serpent-kind,
 Our bent to ill restraining; sole designed
 To work the lofty soul to thoughts of good,
 Which else might, by some weaker force withstood,
 Commit all laws and precepts to the wind.
 Raised by thy influence, the flame of life
 Burns pure, and casts around a steady light,
 By which we shun the dusty paths of strife
 Where other mortals toil in evil plight,
 Choosing the track with freedom's blessings rife,
 And verging slow to death's all-shrouding night.

ERON.

EVILS TO BRITISH COMMERCE, PRODUCED BY THE EAST INDIA
COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—THANKS to the publication of the *Oriental Herald*, the people of this country are beginning to open their eyes to the misgovernment of the East Indies, by the Honourable the Court of Directors: and it is a curious exemplification of the shortsightedness of mortals, to observe how strikingly the evils intended for you rebound on your persecutors. Had you been allowed to remain, your writings would have been read by our countrymen in India, and have produced a partial alleviation of their sufferings; but by sending you to England, the opportunity is afforded you of conferring still greater benefits, by the attention which they must secure from your countrymen at home. The advantages arising to both countries from this publication must be very great; and it may be some mitigation of the injuries sustained by the Editor, to feel that through his means greater good may attend millions than falls to the lot of one man in a century to be instrumental in obtaining.

In the four preceding Letters, which you have been so obliging as to insert I have endeavoured to prove the exaction entailed upon *this country* by the Monopoly in Tea; and although I cannot take credit to my humble efforts for the alteration, it is nevertheless true that the East India Company have condescended to put up half a million more of Congou Tea in their sale of December last. If the readers of the *Oriental Herald* will do me the favour to refer to a former Letter, they will find I asserted that an increased declaration of one million per quarter would not be more than equal to the demand, and that a comparatively small decline might be expected in the price. The increase of half a million this quarter has had little or no effect on the market, which plainly shows the scanty supply hitherto afforded by the Company, and the necessity of compelling them to increase the quantity still further. That I was not far wrong in my estimate of their enormous profits, is proved by their having again reduced the putting-up price; plainly intimating that they can afford it for less, but altogether nugatory in its effects upon the sale. Can any one be deceived by such a system of charlataneic except the Board of Control? for whose meridian I suppose this notable device was intended as a blind. The Honourable Members of the Board of Control, I dare say, imagine that the declarations of the East India Company are the result of the deep cogitations of the Directors; whereas, God help them! they know very little of the matter,—and how should they? Look over the list, and with the exception of one or two, their engagements in business or habits of life appear at complete variance with the duties they have to perform. The Editor has favoured his readers with “A Day at the East India House” with the Proprietors; what an intellectual treat would a Day amongst the Court of Directors afford!

But I must revert to the immediate object of this Letter, in which I

¹ See *Oriental Herald*: Vol. i. p. 586. Vol. ii. p. 58, 408. Vol. iii. p. 218.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 5.

shall endeavour to show that, if the Company's charter has been a serious evil to the people of this country in the tax of about two millions sterling per annum, taken from their pockets upon the article of Tea, it was equally a millstone round our necks in cramping the exports of our manufactures, until the opening of the trade.

A few extracts from Parliamentary Papers will clearly establish this :

Exports to India, years *ending 5th Jan.	1816 1817	1817 1818	1818 1819	1819 1820	1820 1821	1821 1822	1822 1823
Calicoes, White, Pieces	252 <i>m</i>	938 <i>m</i>	2271 <i>m</i>	1875 <i>m</i>	3837 <i>m</i>	5902 <i>m</i>	5661 <i>m</i>
Printed,	968 <i>m</i>	2742 <i>m</i>	4159 <i>m</i>	3699 <i>m</i>	7512 <i>m</i>	9774 <i>m</i>	8918 <i>m</i>
Muslins, White, yards	462 <i>m</i>	1529 <i>m</i>	2343 <i>m</i>	1536 <i>m</i>	2746 <i>m</i>	4116 <i>m</i>	6050 <i>m</i>
Cloths, Woollen, Pieces	1483	4863	8741	7520	15918	25182	21334
Stuffs,	914	1902	4692	5206	32902	19632	13557
Flannel,	45 <i>m</i>	99 <i>m</i>	171 <i>m</i>	35 <i>m</i>	82 <i>m</i>	188 <i>m</i>	165 <i>m</i>

In the above extract I have affixed the letter *m*, to express thousands. And after the attentive consideration of the extraordinary increase of our exports, let any one peruse the evidence of the Directors before both Houses of Parliament, when they were opposing, by every means in their power, the opening of the trade ; and then judge for himself what reliance can be placed in their knowledge of the resources of the country over which they have so long exercised misrule. There is little doubt, that our exports could even now be amazingly increased, if the unjust restrictions and shackles of these monopolists upon their own countrymen and the natives of India were removed ; but in the same measure as the East India Company opposed the opening of the trade to our manufacturers, so will they oppose every attempt to benefit India, upon which the increase mainly depends. It is further to be remarked, that of the export of the above articles, few, of any one, and none of the three first, were ever attempted by the East India Company. So much for their wisdom as merchants ; and if they are incompetent to discharge their duties as "traders," for the exercise of which their charter was at first expressly granted, how infinitely short must they fall of discharging their duties as the "rulers" of so vast an empire ! To enumerate instances of their incompetence in both would be endless ; but I cannot omit one striking proof of their ignorance in mercantile affairs :

Until within a few years India has always been supplied from China with tutenague, with which to make their brass cooking-utensils. The acuteness of private traders discovered that spelter, or zinc,² was precisely the same as tutenague. About four years ago a small quantity was first sent out ; and this year the export will amount to above 8000 tons, value about 250,000*l*. After the private traders had been reaping a golden harvest for about two years, the East India Company's buyer awoke from his lethargy ; and an advertisement appeared for tenders at

² It is rather singular, that although we have the ore of zinc as abundant, fuel cheaper, and labour not much dearer than in Germany, the English manufacturers should hitherto have been unable to compete with the German in the price of zinc ; for whilst the price here is 44*l*. per ton, it can be bought in Germany at 20*l*. per ton. I can only attribute it to the heavy protecting duty of 28*l*. per ton on the importation of foreign zinc, which prevents competition. The difference must exist in the process ; for I understand the English manufacturer does not obtain more than a remunerating price at 44*l*. per ton. but this cannot long remain so.

the moment that spelter had risen enormously. The consequence was, that the East India Company paid 39*l.* 10*s.* per ton for it,—a higher price than ever had, or has ever since been given! It is reported that the export was suggested to the East India Company before any private traders embarked in it, but declined. So much for their enterprize!

If the Court of Directors are deficient in all the requisites for fair mercantile competition, they or their higher servants are by no means so in taking every mean advantage, which their exclusive privileges throw within their power; and the mention of a few instances will be amusing: As managers of the imports of private traders, they are not content with charging a heavy percentage, varying from one and a half to four per cent., according to the article, but they also exact one quarter per cent. under the head of fees. To what purpose this is applied I never could learn. That it does not go to the clerks, who have all the trouble, and to whom no private trader would grudge it, is certain; and I should be glad if any of your readers could give us information as to its use. Their charge of one and a half to four per cent. is solely for receiving and paying over money, and is chargeable whether the goods are allowed to pass through their sale, or sold by private contract. They charge rent immediately after the ship begins discharging; and although they take sometimes three weeks to get the goods out, the owners must nevertheless pay rent from the time they begin to unload her. On the arrival of the goods in their warehouse, they are taken out of their packages; and, in the case of piece-goods, they modestly appropriate the trunks, and wrappers of bales to their own use; and if the owner wants to export his own goods, after once they are opened, he must pay the Honourable East India Company for fresh trunks and new wrappers, charged at a most exorbitant price. I can give no other name to this than robbery, as to the importer, and a heavy exaction upon the exporter.

If a trader wishes to inspect his own goods, he must pay 3*d.* to 6*d.* per package, every time he looks at them; the buyer that goes to examine them, when put up for sale, must give, each time he goes, 1*s.*: and, after having bought them, must pay 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per package, lot-money, for taking them out of the warehouse.

The importer pays rent until the prompt day; the buyer afterwards: and so heavily does it fall on some articles, that an instance occurred of goods, which sold for 20*s.* being chargeable with 19*s.* rent out of it, after being kept in the warehouse *only* four or five years!! When the East India Company were the exclusive importers, they allowed goods to remain almost any length of time free of rent; but now that private traders import (with the exception of tea) infinitely more than the Company, the rent commences immediately. Those readers, unacquainted with commerce, cannot have an idea how heavily these vexatious extortions fall, nor how much of the trade has left this country in consequence, and gone to foreign ports.

In what relation they stand to each other, I know not, but the East India trade is burthened by another chartered company, styling themselves the East India Dock Company, who obtained an Act of Parliament to compel all ships trading to the East Indies to discharge in their Docks, for which they formerly charged 12*s.* 6*d.* per ton register, but of which they now return 2*s.* 6*d.* per ton, if the owners do not load the ship outward in them. The West India Docks never charged so high

a sum per ton, and since their charter expired it is much less : while they will unload a vessel in as many days as they take weeks in the East India Docks. Every other charge was proportionably high ; but in consequence of its being discovered that the Act only compelled owners to take the *ship* into the East India Docks, but that they might convey their goods by lighters to any other approved warehouses, a great many merchants availed themselves of this saving clause, and then the Gentlemen Directors of the East India Docks thought proper to reduce some of their rates. Thank heaven, this grievance will die a natural death in a very few years ; for our ministers are too wise to shackle commerce with any more of these harpy companies.

In conclusion, I have only to observe, that the trade to the East Indies has risen to its present importance, not by the means of the East India Company, but in spite of it ; and that its further and almost infinite extension is sure to follow the abolition of their charter. As that period, however, is somewhat distant, let us hope that Parliament will prepare us for the meridian blaze of this sun of our commerce, by a curtailment of the chartered abuses which now obscure its beams.

P. B. P.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We are gratified at the testimony borne to the utility of our labours, even at this early period, by our intelligent Correspondent : and we feel persuaded, that the powerful assistance rendered by the exposure of facts like those contained in his previous articles on the Tea Monopoly, as well as in the present, must contribute essentially to dispel the ignorance and delusion that so generally prevail on the subject of East Indian affairs. Let him but persevere in his useful exposure of the thousand abuses to which this overgrown monopoly has given rise—he may always rely on our zealous co-operation, and he will deserve the thanks of his fellow-countrymen in addition to the consolatory approbation of his own conscience.

AN INDIAN NIGHT AND MORNING.

THE Moon was darkly shrouded,—chilling rain
Fell on the grove with melancholy sound,—
The Jackall's piercing cry,—the voice profound
Of Gangâ's rolling wave, and shrieks of pain,
Came on the midnight blast !—Hill, vale, and plain,
Were in impenetrable gloom o'ercast ;
Save when the fitful meteor glimmered past,
Or the blue lightning mocked the drear domain !—
Lo ! what a glorious change ! The rising Sun
Sheds his reviving beams ! The fragrant bower,
Ringing with morning hymns,—the stately tower,—
The shepherd's quiet home, alike have won
His smile of light and joy. Fair Nature's dower
Of beauty is restored, and Pleasure's reign begun !

D. L. R.

¹ This Sonnet was written at Bhaugulpore, in the East Indies, on a most resplendent morning, which succeeded a night of tempest and gloom. These sudden changes of weather are very frequent in India, particularly towards the commencement or close of the rainy season.

LETTER FROM BOMBAY, ON THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING
THE ENGINEER CORPS OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—It is amusing to observe CANDIDUS sneering at CATO's style of writing, and to be enlightened by the following beautifullines, taken from one of his concise and comprehensive paragraphs: "CATO (says Candidus) seems entirely to have forgotten, that by the new arrangements, another Colonel is to be added to the Engineer Corps,¹ to share those emoluments he mentions; and which, be it known, will come out of a fund entirely belonging to the other branches of the service, and from which the present Colonel has received his, although the corps did not contribute towards it till of late, and then only about one-fourth of what the other branches do." Elegant composition! admirable logic! severe criticism! alas, poor CATO! all the world must pity you. To be sure, INVESTIGATOR has given CANDIDUS a few awkward facts; and I, Mr. Editor, with your permission, will convict CANDIDUS of publishing the thing which is not.

If I comprehend the meaning of the above admirable *morceau* from the refulgent epistle by CANDIDUS, it is this—That the Colonels of Engineers are paid a share out of the off-reckoning fund, equal to the share of the Colonels of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry, to which fund the Engineer Corps do not contribute in the same proportion as the Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry. "Be it known," then, that not one farthing is contributed to the off-reckoning fund (as it is still called by the East India House Military Secretary) by any one individual in the Honourable Company's Military Service! Facts are stubborn things; and this is an undeniable one.

Formerly, certain stoppages were made from the Indian soldiers' pay, to provide them with clothing. The money thus produced was called "The Off-reckoning Fund;" and the surplus cash, after paying the clothing expenses, was divided among the Colonels of Regiments. But the stoppages from the Indian soldiers' pay have long since been discontinued; and the Honourable Company now give the Colonels of Regiments a sum equal to that which the former off-reckoning fund produced. Why then does the India House Military Secretary still call the donations liberally given by the Honourable Company to the Colonels of Regiments an off-reckoning fund?—Why are not the Colonels of Engineers entitled to share the bounty of their employers equally with the Colonels of the Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry?—And why, Master CANDIDUS, do you publish the thing which is not, tending to injure a body of men who never injured you?

Permit me, Mr. Editor, to thank CATO for his able and disinterested exertions, in favour of the three Engineer Corps: the best proof I can give him of the truth of his statements is, that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the Government here, have reported to the Court of Directors the impossibility of carrying the new regulations, regarding the Engineer Corps, into effect, from a want of officers, and particularly of field-officers. Three field-officers were required by the Commander-

¹ From one Colonel added to the Corps, subtract one Major taken away from the Corps, and how many field-officers are added, Mr. CANDIDUS?

in-Chief a short time ago, and there was not one to send. There are now seventeen Infantry officers executing Engineers' duties; ten are required to take charge of the Sappers and Miners from the Infantry officers; three Engineer officers were a few days since taken from executive duties to go on service, and no one to supply their place; three officers are allowed by the Court to be absent on leave in Europe, and not one is away from the Corps; and there is not an officer to assist the executive Engineers, who have provinces of several hundreds of miles in extent under their superintendence, and who have applied for assistance;—and not one to relieve an officer in case of sickness, or any other emergency. If fifty officers were added to-morrow to the present strength of the Engineer Corps, there would be full employment for the whole of them.

The urgent demands of the public service for Engineer officers has induced the Commander-in-Chief and the Government, to solicit the Court of Directors, in the strongest terms, to augment the Engineer Corps; and they have recommended a greater increase of the field-officers than even CATO proposed—but of course it is the height of presumption in the Honourable the Governor, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the Members of the Council, to pretend to know the wants of their own Government! The Military Secretary sitting at a desk in the India-House, must unquestionably be a far better judge of what is required, than the gentlemen above named on the spot;—they, indeed, can *only* see with their eyes, and hear with their ears; but the Military Secretary has resources within his own mighty mind, soaring above facts, ocular demonstration, and hard-earned experience.

If the Members of the Court of Directors, and the Members of the Board of Control, would take the trouble to read the despatches sent home by this Government on the subject of augmenting the Engineer Corps, and be not blinded by garbled extracts from them, made by any prejudiced or bigoted India-House Secretary, then they would know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Through your kindness, Mr. Editor, and the publicity of your excellent Journal, facts, which designing people have long been able to conceal from those in authority in Leadenhall-street, will by degrees be brought to light. As CATO well observes, “Can it for a moment be imagined, that the Court of Directors should, year after year, distribute prizes to those Cadets who have distinguished themselves in their academical studies, publicly telling them that they will be posted to the Engineer Corps as a *reward* for their talents and industry, if the Court did not conscientiously believe they *were* conferring a high reward?”

That the reward is somewhat TARDY in its operations, will appear from the following fact:—Lieut. Col. Brooks, the Chief-Engineer, has been forty-five years in the service, and is now sitting at the Military Board, with his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the Commandant of Artillery, and three officers of Infantry,—all of them far junior to him in the service; and yet the Chief-Engineer is the worst paid officer of the Military Board. One of the Infantry officers of the Military Board is, indeed, junior to the three senior Captains of the Engineer Corps; and the present Colonel Commandant of the Garrison is also junior in the service to the three senior Captains of Engineers.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Bombay, Sept. 25, 1824.

FACT.

ON THE SHAKESPERIAN ROPE BRIDGES LATELY INTRODUCED
INTO BENGAL.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Having observed your critique upon the Shakesperian Rope-Bridges, I wish to call your attention to the real merits of so ingenious an invention.

A model of the first bridge thrown over the Berai Torrent in Bissenpore, is now at the house of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce in the Adelphi, which I hope you will have leisure to inspect. Mr. Shakespear has the merit of erecting the first of these bridges in India, at his sole risk and expense. Lord Hastings, Sir E. Paget, and several General Officers and Engineers gave the plan their decided approbation; and the Government adopted it. The first bridge having stood the test during a season of unusual inundation, others have been erected. The efficiency of the department over which Mr. Shakespear so ably presides, is best proved by the celerity and regularity of the Dawk, exceeding all former example, and in a country intersected as India is with rivers and deep ravines, frequently impassable during the rainy seasons. The simplicity and portableness of the Rope-Bridge will render it a valuable means of conveyance at all times, and in war, it will prove a serviceable appendage to our Indian army.

I could refer you to the highest testimonials in favour of this ingenious structure from the best judges of its utility, and it has been pronounced as unique by the first authority in this country. As a friend of Mr. Shakespear, I cannot allow your remarks to pass unnoticed; and I rely upon your candour for the insertion of this reply. Whatever pride may attach to the Post Master General, results from a conscious feeling that the important duties of his office are discharged with zeal and assiduity, with advantage to the Government, and, I will add, with distinguished credit to himself.

“*Palmarum qui meruit ferat.*”

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

C. B.

London, Feb. 18, 1825.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We are not among the number of those, who, having stated one view of a subject would deny to others the privilege of stating an opposite one. We leave this unfair and unhandsome practice to the authorities in India and their abettors. We adhere, however, to our former opinions, not from obstinacy, but from a conviction of their general accuracy. Our Correspondent has stated his. Here, few persons will, perhaps, take the trouble to compare them. But in India, where Mr. Shakespear's real merits are better known, the valuable will be easily separated from the worthless parts of his pretensions: and his new turbans, belts, badges, and rope-bridges, will be each estimated as they deserve.

ORIGINAL LETTER OF THE PATRIOT HAMPDEN.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I AM induced to offer you (*verbatim et literatim*) an original letter in my possession, (which there is no reason to suppose was ever printed,) because I am sure that the name of John Hampden will be acceptable to yourself and to a large proportion of your readers, both

Oriental and European. It serves also to show that, in his military capacity, he was regarded as much more than merely the colonel of a regiment. It is remarked, indeed, by Dr. Towers, (*Brit. Biog.* iv. 436.) that "his activity and courage in the field, and his wise and spirited councils on the operations of the war, rendered him so formidable a rival of the Earl of Essex, that it was thought, had he lived, that Parliament, who were greatly dissatisfied with that nobleman's conduct, would have taken the command from him and made Hampden general." Hume, also, not usually extravagant in his praise of *anti-royalists*, says, of Hampden, that "his valour, during the war, had shone out with a lustre equal to that of all the other accomplishments by which he had ever been so much distinguished."

No year is affixed to the date of this letter, but it must have been written in 1642, just after the battle of Edgehill, which was fought on the 23d of October, and in which Hampden appears to have had a command. Vicars, an early and a very quaint chronicler of the civil war, published in 1644 his '*Jehovah Jireh, God in the Mount, or England's Parliamentarie-Chronicle.*' On the battle of Edgehill, (p. 194,) he describes "Colonell Hampden" as leading a "brigado of the army," which appears to have conducted "the artillery and ammunition," when, falling in with "the enemies horse," under Prince Rupert, "he gave them a stop." Again, (p. 214.) on "the bloody bickering at Brainford," Nov. 12, 1642, this chronicler relates how "that noble and right Christian Souldier Colonell *Hampden*, being somewhat neare at hand, and hearing such hot pelting, came and joined his regiment with that other which was fighting, being Colonell *Hollis*, his regiment."

"But he did not live," says his biographer, Towers, before quoted, "to reap the reward of his valour, or to restore his country to the enjoyment of that liberty which he so ardently patronized and promoted; for he was taken off by a mortal wound, which he received in a skirmish with Prince Rupert, at Chalgrove-field, in Oxfordshire." He was seen, "contrary to his usual custom, to ride off the field before the action was finished; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. Next day, the news arrived that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. His wound, after occasioning him to linger six days in exquisite pain, put a period to his life the 18th of June, 1643."

It is extraordinary that among the very large collections of original letters in the British Museum, written by Hampden's contemporaries, I have not been able to discover one of his *autographs*.

OTIOSUS.

The Original Letter.

GENTLEMEN

The army is now at North Hampton: moving every day nearer to you: if you disband not wee may be a mutuall succour each to other: but if you disperse you make your selves & y^r country a pray. You shall heare daily from

North Hampt.
Octob. 31.

Yo^r servant

J. HAMPDEN

[*On the Envelope.*]

For my noble friends Colonell Bulstrode Captaine Grenfield Captain Tyrrell Captaine West or any of them.

INQUIRY RESPECTING THE WORK OF TWO MOHAMMEDAN
TRAVELLERS, AND RABBI BENJAMIN OF TUDELA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I AM not acquainted with any publication so likely as the *Oriental Herald* to afford some information which it would gratify me to obtain. I therefore ask your permission to propose an inquiry to yourself, or to any of your readers who may have occupied their leisure among the literary antiquities of the East.

There was published in 1733 a volume now before me, entitled, ‘Ancient Accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan Travellers, who went to those parts in the Ninth Century: translated from the Arabic, by the learned Eusebius Renaudot. With Notes, Illustrations, and Inquiries, by the same hand.’

Renaudot was an eminent member of the ‘Society of Jesus,’ who died in 1720, aged 74. His proficiency, his truly laudable purpose, and the reputation which he justly acquired as a cultivator of learning, especially the Oriental, are thus described by one of his biographers: (*Nouv. Dict. Hist.* 1789, viii. 84.)

Il se consacra d’abord aux langues Orientales, et il étudia ensuite les autres langues; on prétend qu’il en possédait jusqu’à dixsept. Son dessein étoit de faire servir ses connoissances à puiser dans les sources primitives les vérités de la religion. Le grand Colbert avoit conçu le dessein de rétablir en France les impressions en langues Orientales. Il s’adressa à l’Abbé Renaudot, comme à l’homme le plus capable de seconder ses vues; mais le mort de ce grand ministre priva la patrie de ce nouveau service qu’il vouloit lui rendre.

The French volume, which I have consulted at the British Museum, was published at Paris in 1718, and entitled, ‘Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle; Traduites d’Arabe: avec des Remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces Relations.’ This work purports to have been a translation from “the original manuscript” found in the *Comte De Seignelay’s* library; the same, I apprehend, which Renaudot designs, when he refers in another place to ‘MSS. Arab. in Bibliotheca Colbertina.’ That nobleman was the grandson of Colbert, whose “numerous collection of books” is said, in his *Life*, (1695, p. 224.) to have been enriched by “Manuscripts out of Cardinal Mazarine’s Library.”

Of this MS. the French translator says, that “its age may be sufficiently ascertained by the character it is in.” He then proceeds, from circumstances which he regards as decisive, to assign its date to “the year of the *Hejra* 569, or the year of *Christ* 1173;” adding, that the “two authors are more ancient, and that the two dates they give,—one of the year 237 of the *Hejra*, and the other of the year 254,—correspond with the years of *Christ* 851 and 867;” about “400 years before Marco Polo.”

Finding in this book many curious particulars, it was natural to inquire whether reference had been made to it as an historical document. *Mosheim*, twice at the commencement of his second volume, (*Cent.* VII.) refers, without expressing any *historic doubts*, to Eusebe

Renaudot in his '*Relations Anciennes*.' De Pauw in his '*Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, 1768,' (i. 212.) describes '*l'Ancienne Relation de la Chine* publiée par l'Abbe Renaudot,' as ascertaining the practice of cannibalism in that empire in the ninth century; and adds, how that *relation* is confirmed by Marco Polo, by whom the manuscript could never have been seen. But, *instar omnium*, I find the historian of British India sustaining the reputation of the *Relations Anciennes*. Mr. Mill (Ed. 2. i. 355.) quotes, from "one of the Mohammedan travellers whose voyages are described by Renaudot," the account of a devotee who remained sixteen years in one painful posture. Again, (p. 358.) he refers to the same work for an instance of Indian self-sacrifice, with horrible circumstances of torment.

I will not, however, slight the maxim, *audi alteram partem*, but rather fairly bring before you a yet unprinted opinion, which, upon the whole, disparages the authenticity of the *Relations Anciennes*. It is given, as you will perceive, by a learned, but certainly an acute and hesitating, rather than a fond and credulous, investigator of professedly ancient writings. Among the valuable manuscripts contributed by Dr. Birch to the British Museum, are the original letters of Anthony Collins to *Des Maizeux*, which I have before quoted.¹ From one of these letters, dated 'Baddon Hall, Feb. 28, 1718,' I copied the following passage:

Since I have been in the country, I have read over the '*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, qui y allerent dans le 9^{me} siècle; traduites d'Arabe*,' with which I was not so well entertained as I expected to be. They are not only jejune and dry *relations*, and abounding in mistakes, but, I suspect, are either wholly, or in part forged. For, first, according to the confession of the Editor, *dans celles-ci il regne un air de simplicité qui n'est pas ordinaire parmi les Orientaux*. Secondly, both authors give an account of Christians who had been for some time established in China; of which the Chinese history is altogether silent, as the Jesuits and all the other Missionaries confess, who searched the Chinese history in order to verify the authority of the Inscription found under ground in 1625, wherein was contained a relation of an ancient establishment of Christians in China; and which seems calculated to support that forged inscription.

Collins refers, no doubt, to a relation given by the Jesuit *Le Compte*, which I find in his *Memoirs and Observations* on China, as translated, 1697, p. 348. He there relates how, in the year 1625, some masons, digging near *Signanfou*, found a long table of marble, which time had buried in the ruins of some building, or had hid in the ground, so that no remains of it were visible. On the top of this stone, there was a large cross handsomely graved, below which there was a long discourse in Chinese characters, and other letters, which the Chinese did not understand; they were Syriac characters. Of this stone he adds, (p. 352.) "the Bonzes, who keep it in one of their temples near *Signanfou*, have erected over against it a long table of marble every way like it, with encomiums upon the gods of the country." What the Jesuit has given as "the substance of the inscription," contains a theology conformed to the dogmas of papal and protestant churches, or what in *conventional*

¹ See Oriental Herald—Vol. ii. p. 256, 257.

speech we call *orthodox*, together with an account of the tonsure, prayers "for the dead," and a hint at transubstantiation.

Mosheim, I perceive, in the place to which I have already referred, is disposed to consider this inscription as genuine, and a proof that Christianity was received in China during the seventh century. One who feels any interest in the question may usefully consult his notes of reference. It is surprising, however, that he should see no advantage derived to the Jesuits, from a fraud, if really such, which gave authority to the tonsure, soul-masses, and transubstantiation. Renaudot in 'An Inquiry into the origin of the Christian Religion in China,' annexed to his remarks on the 'Relations Anciennes,' (pp. 83—113.) largely comments on the inscription, and maintains its authenticity, which is confirmed, in his opinion, by the two *accounts*. The first (p. 42.) mentions *Christians*, with "Mohammedans, Jews, and Parsees," as having perished, on the capture of *Canfu*, "one of the most noted cities in China," though it is added, that they "were there on account of traffic." The second *account* (p. 55.) describes a conversation with the Emperor, who is acquainted with the principal characters of the Old and New Testament. He even has an opinion (and this seems a staggering approach to the marvellous) on the question concerning the duration of our Lord's ministry, a subject variously understood by the ancients, and which in very modern times has been treated most learnedly by Mr. Mann, of the Charter House, and since ably discussed in an *amica collatio* between Archbishop Newcome and Dr. Priestley. On the exhibition of a number of images, among which were Jesus upon an ass, and his apostles with him, "He," said the emperor, "was not long upon earth, seeing that all he did was transacted within the space of somewhat better than thirty months." I will not intrude upon your pages any further quotation from this volume, but rather indulge the hope of some information on the subject, which may either confirm or confute the sceptical suggestions of Collins.

Yet give me leave to add a short inquiry respecting another work, whose authenticity has been also disputed. I refer to that small volume originally in Hebrew, first printed at Constantinople in 1543, since translated into various languages, and very frequently quoted,—'The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, son of Jonah of Tudela, through Europe, Asia, and Africa, from the ancient kingdom of Navarre to the frontiers of China.' He is said to have "begun his travels in 1160, and returned in 1173." I have before me an English translation in 1783, from the original Hebrew, by the Rev. B. Gerrans, a clergyman of the Church of England. In a prefatory *dissertation*, the translator concludes as to his author, from various incongruities which he describes, "that it will be no unreasonable conjecture to suppose, that he never left his native Tudela." Yet it is admitted that Benjamin was "a celebrated Rabbi of the twelfth century;" and "though we cannot consider him as an eye-witness of all which he describes, we must, however, consider him as a witness of what was said, of what was believed, and of what was read by the literati of those times; and his book may be regarded as a choice fragment or extract of many books and relations, the greater part of which never came down to us." Can you, Mr. Editor, or can one of your readers, communicate any thing more satisfactory respecting "Ben-

jamin of Tudela," and sustain his disputed authenticity as a traveller, *in propria persona*, "from the ancient kingdom of Navarre, to the frontiers of China?" N. L. T.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We beg to offer our acknowledgments to the learned and ingenious Author of the preceding letter, and to pledge ourselves to an early inquiry into the subject of his questions. We may embrace this opportunity of saying also, that we shall be extremely gratified by the occasional discussion of similar literary questions in our pages, and ready on all occasions to take such part in them as the extent of our information and means of research will admit.

MARY'S GRAVE.

Oh ! who has e'er bent o'er the newly-made grave,
Where sleeps, on its pillow, the dust of the brave,
Nor felt his eye swoln by the deep-seated tear,
Though the bitterest foe of his life should lie there ?

How cold must his heart be, who heedless can tread
On the hallowed remains of the once-revered dead ;
But how much more embittered the grief of his soul,
Who, while the big drops down his furrowed cheeks roll,

Beholds the remains of the being he loved,
From his keen aching vision for ever removed ;
Who placed his affections, through life, but on one,
And feels that this hope of existence is gone.

Thus wert thou, my Mary ! the star of my way,
Thy light ever shedding its rich beaming ray
O'er the gloom of my path, until death swiftly came,
With ruthless destruction, to quench the bright flame.

In darkness thus left, I may wander alone ;
But, alas ! all the charms of the present are gone ;
The thoughts of the past yield but sorrow and pain,
And the future, no hope of enjoyment again.

Then, Grave of my Mary ! I'll seek thee alone,
Till mine ashes shall mingle in death with thine own.

J. D.

LETTER FROM A BENGAL OFFICER, ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE
INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Bengal, October, 1824.

I OBSERVE in your Number for February, 1824, under the head "Home Intelligence," that you have taken a very erroneous view of the Indian army; and as it may tend to mislead parents at home, and induce them to send their children out into this service, and thereby entail misery and discontent upon them for the remainder of their lives, I think it absolutely necessary that you should be undeceived, that you may do the same to the English public, and save yourself from the curses of parents and their offspring. It is very true, as you have stated, that the Bengal army had long been suffering under an almost total stagnation of all hope of advancement, and in a state of mind fatal to the true interests of the Government and the happiness of the officers; but this state is far from being ameliorated by the new arrangements: it is, on the contrary, rather increased, and we are almost driven to despair.

It is true that a few individuals have derived immediate benefit by the promotion occasioned by an increase of thirty-five colonels to the army and two captains to each regiment of the old system, but the rise to colonel of a regiment is considerably protracted, as the retiring fund of colonels is so much reduced that they will now remain at the heads of their regiments, and nothing but death can give a step to the Line. We have no other increase of officers; the additional captain to each regiment is taken from the lieutenants, and we have but ten to each regiment. How you could have been so far deceived as to have stated that every cadet, of each branch of the service, when he first enters it, is within twenty-three steps of being a full colonel of a regiment, I am at a loss to conceive; the fact is widely different, he has twenty steps to rise in his regiment to the rank of major, and he has then to rise, in the Line, through seventy majors and seventy lieutenant-colonels, ere he reaches the head of a regiment; and I am thoroughly well convinced there is no ensign now in the service that can ever hope, under the present arrangement, to live to see that rank.

I have been twenty years in the service, and entered it when there was such a scarcity of officers that I joined my regiment 15th lieutenant; yet I was, at the end of nineteen years, junior captain, after having seen eight regiments added to the establishment, and cannot even now hope to live to rise to the rank of colonel of a regiment. When the regiments were in battalions, if one battalion went on service, and the other remained unemployed, it still gave a chance of promotion to the whole, and thereby prevented the supersessions that must now take place in the unfortunate regiments that are, from distance, or want of confidence in the talents of their commanders, kept in the background; besides the jealousy and discontent occasioned by being superseded by officers, formerly in the same regiment, who were our juniors. If the arrangements had been carried into effect by removing all the officers of the army, and giving them their proper standing, it would have occasioned less general discontent; but

still, as regards the rise to the rank of colonel, it would have been the same.

I know not what can alleviate the feelings of despair which at present possess us, except a very large increase to the army, and which shortly must take place, if we ever intend to remain at peace in this country; but even that will be no consolation to the unfortunate wretches who are destined to enter this service after such increase has taken place.—We require, Sir, veteran battalions to remove those unfit for the active duties of their profession, and who cannot be employed, yet keep those from the chances of the service who can; and, also, that the vacancies in regiments, occasioned by those on the General Staff, should be filled up by supernumeraries, and not oblige the unfortunate ones present with their regiments to do the duty of the absentees; every captain or subaltern of a certain standing is now obliged to do the duty of three, four, and six officers, and those who are incompetent, from their standing in the service, to do the extra duty derive equal emolument, from the absence of the seniors, with those who are obliged to do it.—This plan would render the army efficient, and comparatively satisfied; every officer would do his duty cheerfully and with zeal, instead of considering it an imposition and hardship which he has to get over in any manner he can. But this is not the only evil arising from the scarcity of officers; a much more serious one results from it: the Sepoys lose their confidence from the scarcity, and the majority being so young in the service; this must lead to a want of confidence, on the part of the officers, in their men, and you may fancy what an army must become, when thus constituted.

In short, things are going on in such a state that, in a little time, double our present force will prove insufficient for the security of our country. We are fast sinking into disesteem amongst ourselves and in the eyes of the natives, from an erroneous policy of degrading the army by every possible means, instead of upholding this only source of our power in the East; for though it is the interest of the Civilians to decry the army and represent it as unimportant in the administration of this country, it is only the most bigoted ignorance that does not see and feel that our existence as a government, even for an hour, depends solely upon the power of our arms. The tale of attachment in the natives to our system of government may do to impose upon schoolboys, or a corporation of aldermen; but experience to the contrary, when it will be too late to remedy it, will one day fall with tremendous ruin on the heads of our confiding masters.—The present expensive and uncertain war might have been avoided by an increase, which would not have cost above half of what has been, and must still be expended ere its termination, independent of the chances of some others of the Native Powers breaking out, which would show our weakness in a glaring light.

This country requires a Governor of enlarged, liberal, independent abilities, such as the Marquis Wellesley or Marquis of Hastings. Had the latter remained in the country for the next twenty years, with an increase of ten regiments, we should have remained in perfect peace, and rather increased, than lessened the respect of the Native Powers.—But it would be endless writing upon the military arrangements and policy of this country. We must remain in the same state of degradation until the system of economy, carried to a certain extreme, shall show whether there is any spirit, as well as feeling, left in the Bengal army.

AN INDIAN OFFICER.

REMARKS ON PROFESSOR LEE'S VINDICATION OF HIS EDITION
OF JONES'S PERSIAN GRAMMAR.¹

THE vindication of Professor Lee of the eighth edition of the *Persian Grammar* of Sir William Jones, from the severe castigation inflicted on it by the author of an article in the "*Critical Researches in Philosophy and Geography*," has elicited, as was anticipated in the notice of this work,² a reply from the latter. This unknown but powerful antagonist, far from shrinking from the opportunity for argument afforded him by the Professor, embraces, with pleasure, the occasion which it presents for dipping into grammatical questions that appear to stand much in need of elucidation, and to settle which will do much to "simplify the thorny paths of Oriental grammar." "If," he says, "to make intelligible what has been hitherto obscure; to render attainable, to the unassisted student, what formerly required the aid of an experienced teacher; to shorten the labour, by removing obstructions to the progress of the pupil, be ends worthy of pursuit and desirable of acquisition, to accomplish these have we steadily aimed in all that we have written."

In this point of view, the "Remarks," as well as the "*Critical Researches*," will indeed be found of material service to the student of Arabic, as well as to the more advanced scholar, since they are well adapted to sweep away some portion of the rubbish with which the grammar of that language has been encumbered by preceding writers, who have in numerous instances succeeded, but too completely, in adding difficulties where they existed, and in creating them where none ought to have been met with. Thus, in the rules for the permutation of vowels, which are rendered so complex by their multiplicity as to embarrass the student at every step, we find no less than six of those given by Mr. Lumsden reducible to a single one, more simple in its enunciation than any of those which it is adapted to supersede. Other instances of almost equal simplification might be adduced, but the subject is unfortunately too generally uninteresting to allow us to follow it into that detail without which justice could not be done to the clear and judicious method pursued by the author in defending his previous criticisms.

In assuming these to be "a determinate personal attack upon himself," Dr. Lee has unfortunately been induced to carry into the controversy a spirit which is by no means adapted to assist in the inquiry after truth. The learned Professor has even pursued this presumption so far, as to express himself perfectly aware of the identity of the individual who had been long watching for the opportunity of crushing him; but we have reason to know, that in this he is completely in error, the epithets which he lavishes on his supposed personal opponent being utterly inapplicable to the writer of the review complained of. To this gentleman it must, as he justly remarks it ever will, be matter of regret, if, from a mistake as to personal identity, he may have been the innocent cause of another's hurt. His principal aim he declares to have been "to inform Dr. Lee and the public, that, if he could not edit a correct edition of a grammar, he was by no means a fit person to be employed as editor of Oriental translations of the

¹ Glasgow, pp. 95.

² *Oriental Herald*, iii. 263.

Bible;" and that his "attack" was consequently induced by a regard to the best interests of the Bible Society and the cause of missions.

On this portion of the subject it would be unfair to offer any observation, since space could not be afforded to the arguments and facts by which alone it could be decided. But we cannot refrain from again expressing our pleasure at the appearance of interest excited by this philological controversy, an interest which it is to be hoped will continue to increase, and be successively directed to other Oriental languages, in which Britain should at least rival, if not excel, her European neighbours. In this course of friendly emulation, the writer of the "Remarks" will not be found among the hindmost, since he proposes shortly to publish a Persic Grammar, in which we trust that he will meet with sufficient encouragement to induce him, as he hints, to pursue his career into the development of the principles of other Eastern tongues. To such labours his previous productions prove him to be fully competent, and lead to the anticipation of works newly modelled, at least, and possessing as much originality as the nature of the subject will permit, and not entirely compiled from those of preceding authors.

ON THE LATE ORDERS RESPECTING BREVET RANK IN THE
INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Having met with several articles of interest to the Indian army in your valuable Miscellany, I am induced to request the favour of your insertion of the following remarks:—

1st, The Court of Directors are probably not aware of the great supersession many of their officers will sustain by the late order they have sent out, and which has appeared in the Bombay Government Orders of September 1824, deferring the brevet rank of Captain until fifteen years after the date of their commissions as Second Lieutenants, Cornet and Ensign respectively. Many of the Cadets who went to India twelve or thirteen years ago were not promoted to Ensigncies, &c. until two or three years after their landing in India, although "*de facto*" as much in the service of their employers from the moment they set foot on ship-board to proceed there, as any officer of his Majesty's service. Unless this order, therefore, be repealed, instead of superseding, they will be superseded by the King's officers two or three years; as well as by more fortunate individuals of their own service, whom the late alterations have brought to the verge of promotion, in some instances, while those who have been twice the time in the service remain generally Third or Fourth Lieutenants.

2d, In any alteration that the Court of Directors should think it fit to make, regard should be had not to injure those officers who, having entered their service under the existence of different regulations, have a right to expect the observance of them to themselves.

3d, I am induced to make this remark, because the Court have already once before altered the ranking of their Cadets, from the date of the season of appointment, to that of their leaving England; thus depriving every officer, not then a Brevet Captain, of from upwards of a year to a year and a half's rank; but this new regulation defers it until an inde-

finite period ; it may possibly be seventeen, eighteen, or even nineteen years before some of the Bengal Cavalry Cadets of the seasons 1810 and 1811 attain the rank of Captain by brevet ; and during the intermediate time, they will be every day superseded by those who have not been half the time in the service, but will unavoidably be more fortunate in getting the regimental promotion.

4th, The leading principle of the Company's service has hitherto been understood to be, that a certain period of service shall put every individual upon an equality, so far as depends upon Government, and independent of adventitious circumstances ; but these repeated alterations are subversive of that principle, and make their service one of comparative advantage to one, and hardship to another class of their servants.

5th, If the Honourable Court deem it expedient to assimilate their service with that of his Majesty, let the assimilation be complete ; not only in such particulars as are prejudicial to their own officers, and particular classes of those officers. Let them rank as his Majesty's officers do, from the period of their actually entering the public service : until such is the case, do not take from them the operation of rules under which they entered that service, and which only put them on an equality with King's officers. At all events, if the Court determine that they shall rank only from the date of their first commission, let the operation of such a rule be suspended for two or three years, when it will not be attended with its present hardship ; until it shall affect only those whose landing in India, and appointment as Ensign, Cornet, or Second Lieutenant was contemporaneous, which has been the case with those who went out since 1814. Those of later years have, in some instances, had commissions of even prior date to their landing in India ; but let it not prejudice those whose misfortune has been sufficient in being kept out of that rank long after their landing, from circumstances not depending on themselves. If any one whose perusal this should meet, will refer to some of the Cavalry Regiments of each Presidency (particularly to the 4th Regiment Bengal Cavalry), they will be sensible of the great hardship that the army generally will sustain, and to obviate which, in some degree, the brevet was originally given.

6th, So unequally as the Lieutenants of the Company's army now stand, in different regiments, with reference to their actual period of service ; the practice of the Court should revert to the original regulations in use prior to 1820, as the only means of affording some relief to those who are unfortunate in their present standing, and who have enough to deplore in not being promoted by regimental rank, without the mortification of being deprived of the benefit of that usage which would prevent their being commanded by boys. The latter will have quite sufficient solid advantages, in coming into receipt of regimental pay and allowances as Captains, long before their seniors, without the invidious distinction of being put over their heads by the operation of a *post facto* regulation.

In the hope that the Honourable Court of Directors may become acquainted with the operation of this late regulation, and that if so, they will feel disposed to grant the redress in their power, I have ventured to address you, and solicit you to oblige me by giving publication to this letter. I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

F.

CONDUCT OF THE ADVOCATE-GENERAL AND THE BOMBAY JUDGES,
IN THE CASE OF MR. FAIR.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—IN the article on 'The Bench, the Bar, and the Press, at Bombay,' contained in your publication for February, it is stated, that Mr. Norton, the Advocate-General, when directed by the Judges of the Supreme Court, to conduct the prosecution ordered by the Court against Mr. Shaw, for a contempt, not only refused to do so, but had accepted a retainer for Mr. Shaw, to conduct his defence, and had farther stated, in reply to a question from the Chief Justice, that he did not "consider himself, by any means, bound to proceed against those who might offend against the Court, unless specially directed by the Government to do so."—If your information on this part of the subject be correct, it affords a more convincing proof, than any thing we have yet seen, of the hostility of the Bombay Government to the Supreme Court, and that, to gratify their hostile feelings, they do not hesitate to sacrifice the pecuniary interests of their employers, which it is their bounden duty to protect.—You are, no doubt, aware, that the Advocate-General, at Bombay, is the retained Counsel of the East India Company at that Presidency, and that a large monthly salary, as fixed by the Court of Directors, is regularly paid to him from the Bombay treasury. It is also well known that the East India Company defray all *Crown* and *Court* prosecutions in the King's Courts in India; there being no fund upon which the Court could make an order for the payment of such expenses, as all fines imposed by the Courts, in course of their judicial proceedings, are by law, the property of the Company. Now, as Mr. Irwin (another Barrister) is employed to conduct the prosecution instituted against Mr. Shaw, by order of the Court, his fees in the cause must be paid by the East India Company, whilst their own retained advocate, Mr. Norton, (who would have conducted the cause without any fees, beyond the monthly salary of, I think, 2000 rupees, which he receives from Government), is employed by Mr. Shaw, to conduct his defence; and this has taken place under the eye of the local Government, and we must naturally presume with its sanction and concurrence.

How far it is competent for any Barrister to refuse compliance with an order of the Judges, to conduct a prosecution in support of the dignity of the Court in which he practises, let the "learned in the law" determine; but it is obviously improper, if not altogether illegal, for any Barrister to undertake the defence of a party, when he knows, that a client from whom he receives a monthly salary or general retainer, must bear all the expenses of the prosecution. I think, therefore, that Mr. Norton's conduct on the occasion, has been at least unprofessional, if not something worse; but the conduct of the Bombay Government, in permitting such a dereliction of duty, when it rested with them to prevent it, is, if possible, still more reprehensible. They well knew, that the expense of prosecuting Mr. Shaw, must be paid from the Bombay treasury, if any other than the Advocate-General was employed in doing so; besides,

what can possibly tend more to shake the confidence of the natives of India, in the power of the King's Courts to protect them against oppression, and afford them redress against the Company and their servants, than the proceeding in question? A civil servant of the Company, committing a violent assault on an officer of the Court, within its own walls, and when the Court was sitting; and the Advocate-General, the retained Counsel of the Company, and whose professional services are known to be at the disposal of the local Government, not only refuses to prosecute in support of the dignity of the Court, but undertakes the defence of the offending party.

The line of conduct adopted by the Judge, in consequence of the misrepresentations contained in the Bombay Gazette, is not, I think, on a review of all the circumstances of the case, liable to the objections you have stated.

There is nothing in the correspondence, quoted in the *Oriental Herald*, to show, that Sir Charles Chambers ever called on the Editor of the Gazette for an apology; on the contrary, it appears by the correspondence published in the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 27th of January, that the call was made by Government; and it is of some importance to notice this circumstance, because such a proceeding on the part of Sir Charles Chambers, had it taken place, would have been inconsistent with the dignity of his situation, but there appears to have been no communication whatever on the subject between the Judge and Mr. Fair.

That there are many wrongs for which it is difficult to find a legal remedy, is no doubt true, and the wrong committed by the *Bombay Gazette* against the Supreme Court, in misrepresenting its proceedings, is assuredly of that description; for if the Court had adopted the course which you think they ought to have done, the evil would in all probability have been thereby rather increased than diminished. Supposing the statements that appeared in the Gazette to have been libellous, treating the matter as a contempt would have been an arbitrary mode of proceeding, as it makes the Court prosecutors, jury, and judges, in their own cause; and although they would have been *legally* right in doing so, yet the exercise of such a power is so much at variance with the spirit of a free constitution, that I believe there will scarcely be found an instance of any British Court of Justice having adopted it in modern times, and it would now-a-days be quite impossible to reconcile the feelings of Englishmen to the justice of such a proceeding. The Court might, no doubt, have proceeded against the Editor or proprietors of the Gazette, by information or indictment, but the expediency of that mode, I think very questionable, as the present state of the Bar at Bombay, where, as you observe, "party spirit pervades every class of society," would have given the accused (in a case where the dignity of the Court, and character of the Judges were concerned) advantages utterly inconsistent with strict justice, and would most likely have led to an acquittal, under the influence of those highly excited feelings which naturally bias the judgment. I appeal to your own knowledge and experience, whether such a result might not have been expected, and what would then have been the consequence? The *Bombay Gazette*, supported and influenced as it is by a member of Government, avowedly hostile to the Court, would have gone on publishing libel after libel with impunity, and there would have been no means of counteracting the effect of its misrepres-

sentations; for the *Bombay Courier*, being precisely under the same influence and control, would have either joined the *Gazette* in giving publicity to the most gross and unfounded calumnies, or it would have been silent on the subject, which would have had the same effect; the Barristers would have also joined in arraigning the legality and justice of the Court's proceedings (as they had done on former occasions), and thus the dignity of the Court would have been compromised, the character of its judges vilified, and the administration of justice impeded; for what Native or European in India could have felt confidence in its decisions, under such circumstances. The situation in which Sir Charles Chambers was placed, by the misrepresentations published in the *Bombay Gazette*, left him only a choice of difficulties; and I think that he exercised a sound discretion in claiming the interference of Government, in whose hands alone the press remained. How far Government may be right in the line of conduct they adopted towards Mr. Fair, in consequence, is yet to be determined. The responsibility of that measure, however, seems to rest with the Governor alone; for had he supported the authority of his Majesty's Court at Bombay, as it was his duty, and ought to have been his pride to do, the disgraceful scenes which have recently taken place at that Presidency, never would have occurred.

"That there were," as you very justly remark, "omissions and colourings in the reported proceedings of the Supreme Court, in the Paper edited by Mr. Fair, calculated to affect the reputation of the Judges," I think, with you, there is no room to doubt. Mr. Fair was called upon by Government for a public acknowledgment of these "omissions and colourings," with an apology, for having given publicity to an incorrect report of the Court's proceedings; his correspondence with the Bombay Government, shows that he refused to do either, and we are consequently left to infer, that he must have relied on the secret influence of some of those in power, being exerted in his behalf, or cared not for the consequences, whatever they might be.—What other conclusion is it possible to come to, from a review of the correspondence in question?

The determination promulgated by the present Chief Justice of Bombay, so soon after his arrival there, to afford the protection of the Court, to all who chose, and had a right to appeal to it against oppression and wrong, and more particularly the helpless natives of the country, naturally aroused the jealousy of those who had been long accustomed to respect no law but their own will, and to commit acts of oppression and wrong with impunity, whilst the measures he adopted to check the rapacity of the practitioners of the Court, and to administer speedy and cheap justice to the suitors, were strenuously opposed by the Barristers, whose pecuniary interests were likely to suffer by the salutary regulations he introduced. The opposition of such a Bar, however, would of itself have been feeble and ineffectual; but supported and encouraged as it was by Government, or at least by some of the most influential members of Government, it is not to be wondered at, that a party spirit against the Court was generated in the settlement, soon producing that open opposition and interference with its proceedings, which it could not permit consistently with a due regard to its own dignity, and the impartial administration of justice. Is it not repulsive to the idea of independence in his Majesty's Courts to suppose that any man, or set of men, within their jurisdiction, however powerful, should be able to control or

influence them? would not a Court, so influenced, soon become an instrument of the most dreadful tyranny? In India the only palladium for the injured and oppressed, is a British Court of Justice, and the Judges cannot be too cautious how they suffer any part of its independence, dignity, and legitimate power, to be encroached upon.¹ Had Sir Edward West permitted fraud and extortion to pass unnoticed, had he, in short, neglected his duty as a Judge, and been indifferent to the state of confusion and disorder in which he found the Court on his arrival at Bombay, or had he never made public his determination to protect the natives against oppression from any quarter, he would have continued popular with the ruling authorities there, and we should have heard nothing of the dissensions or party spirit, which has of late prevailed to such a disgraceful extent in that settlement.

A. B.

INACCURACY OF MR. ASTELL'S ASSERTION RESPECTING
MR. ARNOT.

It will perhaps be in the recollection of our readers, that, when the case of Mr. Arnot was last brought before the Court of Proprietors, the Chairman, Mr. Astell, who, on all occasions, pretends to more *accurate* information than those he addresses, said that the Directors had no *official* information before them on the subject; but added, that *he* had learnt, unofficially, that, on Mr. Arnot's return to Bengal, after being burnt out of the *Fame*, and thrown back naked and destitute upon the unhealthy shores of Bencoolen, the Governor of that Presidency had permitted him to remain in India; and that he believed he spoke the sentiments of the Directors generally, when he said, that if this were the case, they would have no disposition to disturb such an arrangement! The hollowness of this affected benevolence is not more apparent than the total ignorance of facts under which Mr. Astell, with all his pretended accuracy of information, laboured. The case was, indeed, the very reverse of that which he endeavoured to represent it. Mr. Arnot had returned to Bengal from Bencoolen, with the consent of Sir Stamford Raffles, the chief local authority there; and to prevent the possibility of this being called a clandestine return, he sent up, from the entrance of the river, and before the ship arrived off Calcutta, or before he left the vessel, the following humble representation:—

TO W. B. BAYLEY, ESQ. CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

SIR,

Ship Wellington, Saugor Roads, May 29, 1824.

I beg leave to request, that you will have the goodness to bring to the notice of the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council, that in consequence of the destruction of the Hon. Company's ship "*Fame*" off the coast of Sumatra on the night of the 2d of February last (the captain thereupon instantly abandoning me to my fate), I reported the situation in which this event placed me to the Hon. Sir T. Stamford Raffles, then Lieut.-Governor,

¹ There is yet another security required to keep the Court itself in order: and that is, a *Free Press*. This would be as certainly the open protector of honest and independent Judges, as a fettered press has been their secret enemy.

and the highest local authority in that part of the Hon. Company's territories, submitting myself at the same time to his disposal. In conformity with his suggestion in reply, (by a public letter, dated the 6th of Feb.) I transmitted, through his Excellency, a representation of my case to the Supreme Government; and after a detention of three months in that precarious climate, considering the very great uncertainty when my Memorial might reach Bengal, and having no longer the means of supporting myself in Bencoolen, however desirous of doing so, until a reply could be received, I found it to be a duty incumbent on me to avail myself of the ship "Wellington" proceeding to Calcutta; there being then no other vessel expected in Bencoolen for a long period, and consequently no prospect of any other opportunity of leaving the settlement for a very considerable time.

In following the course pointed out by the Hon. the Lieut.-Governor of Bencoolen, my only object was to submit myself to the decision of his Lordship the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council; and as, under the above circumstances, no other mode presented itself to extricate me from the difficulties of my situation, but that of proceeding to place myself within the immediate reach of the Supreme Government, I hope that the above-mentioned Memorial (of date the 14th of Feb.) transmitted by the local authorities of Bencoolen, detailing the hardships attending my voyage in the late ship "Fame," has been submitted to the consideration of his Lordship in Council. I now await the decision thereon, cherishing the hope, that in pronouncing sentence on my future destinies, his Lordship in Council will be graciously pleased to bestow whatever regard may be considered due to the sufferings I have already undergone.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

SANDFORD ARNOT.

After a delay of ten days, the following reply, dated June 3d, was returned from the Chief Secretary:

TO MR. SANDFORD ARNOT.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 29th ult. I am directed to inform you, that Government does not see fit to permit you to remain in India. I am farther directed to apprise you, that if you are found within the limits of this Presidency after the 1st of September next, legal measures will be adopted to enforce your return to England.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed.)

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Govt.

The individual who transmitted to us this closing correspondence, offers some remarks on the disappointment of the British Indian public as to the result, in terms that deserve to be repeated. He says:

"So poorly have they answered to the expectations formed, and the reliance placed on their magnanimity to overlook offences. Yet Mr. Arnot, no doubt, did right to make the trial, otherwise he could not have excused himself, and others would not have believed that Sir Stamford Raffles so much mistook the spirit of the Government as to rate it so much more favourably than it deserved. But will it even now be credited, that on the mere *suspicion* (not proof) of such a trivial offence as mentioning your transmission from India, your assistant and successor *has been illegally imprisoned,—illegally transported to Bencoolen*, like a convicted felon, and all the property he possessed destroyed in consequence of the same illegal procedure; that he has, in a word, been subjected to every thing short of *capital* punishment, and by the same lawless measures within a hair's breadth of losing his life also;

yet more punishment is sought, and he is to be a second time banished for the same offence? Would to God he were beyond the reach of such a cruel vindictive, persecuting spirit, which is only limited in its vengeance by the limits of its power to inflict injury—bounds which must be acknowledged by the most ruthless inquisitor and tyrant. Those who understand the secret springs of Government assure me, that it is the suspicion under which he labours of being sincerely attached to *your* cause, which procures him the honour of this unrelenting hatred; and that some of the men in power here would most willingly hang as well as banish any of *your* friends, if they could. Nothing less than such a feeling of malignity can account for their callous disregard of character, in making use of such false assumptions as they do, in order to hold up Mr. Arnot as a proper object of public punishment; and the manner in which their assumptions have been exposed, has probably drawn down on him a double portion of the displeasure of these “religious and gracious” counsellors. I say nothing of Lord Amherst, as he is understood to have sunk into almost a mere passive instrument in the hands of such men.

Mr. Arnot has *not*, therefore, been permitted to remain in Bengal as the accurate Mr. Astell endeavoured to make the Court of Proprietors believe. He has been compelled to return to England, under circumstances of the most aggravated cruelty, and after having lost his little *all*, by the burning of the ship in which he was illegally sent round by the circuitous route of Bencoolen. The following extract of a letter, dated March 11th, and received from him while the ship was on her way up the Channel, and before he landed, has already appeared in some of the papers, and may be appropriately repeated here:

‘After being tossed about for upwards of a year and a half by the unrelenting persecution of the Bengal Government, from the time of my confinement in Fort William in September, 1823, I have the satisfaction of seeing myself at last on the shores of England, to which the injured look for redress, or at least an asylum from despotic power. The judge, who at the outset of its operations on me released me temporarily from its grasp, has already himself felt its severest stroke, with circumstances of aggravated cruelty, in the person of his son, who is at this moment compelled to seek the protection of the authorities in England against the arbitrary proceedings of Lord Amherst’s Government. Thus the venerable father, who has lately exposed himself to its indignation, by suspending the shield of English law over *my* head, is unable to protect *his own*, against which the blow was so soon after levelled with most vengeful force. By a singular coincidence, before the sentence against me is fully accomplished, this other victim is also driven from India by cruel ill-treatment, and the same vessel carries us both! Could I have foreseen this event at the time of my confinement by Lord Amherst’s illegal mandate, I would have suffered all his arbitrary will could inflict upon me, by prison, cell, or dungeon, rather than seek protection against him from an Indian judge, who is himself liable, if he give umbrage to the same power, to receive a wound through his dearest affections, from which no law can save him. Such are the natural consequences of the incongruous union which the Government of Great Britain is continually attempting between legal rights and the arbitrary will of an individual, who by indirect methods can paralyse the laws, or trample their organs under his feet.’

Whether Mr. Arnot will be more fortunate in obtaining redress of injuries than others have been, time will discover. We can only say, that nothing on our parts shall be wanting to assist him in the accomplishment of that object, if human exertions can effect it.

LATEST LIST OF FALLACIES UTTERED AT THE
INDIA HOUSE.

IN the short Debate which took place at the India House on the 23d inst., there were a few remarkable fallacies, which we have not been able to expose in notes, affixed in the usual manner at the foot of the Debate itself, from the lateness of the date at which the copy is furnished to the Printer, but they deserve a cursory notice here:—

Mr. Trant, who constantly affects to have a more intimate acquaintance with the *secret* history of India than other man, contradicted the assertion made by Mr. Buckingham, that the Government of Bengal were in complete ignorance of the state of feeling in Cuttack until the rebellion in that province broke out. Mr. Trant, however, is himself in error on that subject. We happen to know, that when the intelligence first reached Lord Hastings, who was then in the field, it burst upon the astonished ears of himself and of all his suite—Mr. John Adam (then his Secretary) and every other public functionary included—like a thunder cloud. It was not until the whole province was in arms, and Mr. Impey, (a name celebrated in Indian Annals,) the Judge, or Collector, had been obliged to fly for safety from the fury of an outraged and indignant population, that any effective measures were taken to remove the evil. But, if Mr. Trant's position were the true one, that the Bengal Government *did* know of this approaching rebellion, and yet suffered it to come to the crisis of open revolt, they were even *more* to blame than if they were in utter ignorance. Such is the value of being defended by injudicious advocates!

Mr. Trant said also, that every one who knew the "Constitution" of the Indian Government, knew that it was *open* to any mode of communication. No doubt. So may an oppressed Greek present a petition to the Sultan of Constantinople, when on his way to the mosque, and perhaps lose his head for his pains. The question is not what communications may be made: but whether such communications are well received, and promptly attended to. Every one who knows the "practice" of the Bengal Government, knows that the reverse is the case. Did not Rajah Chundoo Lall attempt to send a letter of remonstrance to the Bengal Government through Sir Charles Metcalfe's Assistant, and was it not rejected? Did not Colonel Robinson send a letter to the Bengal Government, and was he not visited with the severest punishment for his officiousness? These are only two, out of two hundred, proofs that might be given of the difficulty in the way of Natives sending any representations whatever to Government; and of the consequences of Englishmen attempting it, whenever the communication is not flattering to those to whom it is addressed. People in India are not only afraid to present their complaints directly to the ear of Government, from a just and well grounded fear of the consequences, (which to them in most cases would be fatal,) but they tremble even to speak in terms of complaint in the private letters addressed to their friends in England; almost every letter, containing reflections on the Government, having some postscript or paragraph intreating the individual, "for God's sake," not to mention to his dearest friend the name of the person from whom his information is derived! Could this terror

exist without some strong grounds?—No!—Nor would even Mr. Trant venture so far to risk the prospects of his Bengal correspondents as to declare publicly in his place the name and rank of the individuals who told him that all India prayed for the recall of Lord Amherst; unless, indeed, it was quite certain that some *other* Governor-General would go out soon; and then it might be safe enough.

Mr. Astell remarked, that the whole of the recent disasters in India had been attributed to the want of information; which might have been obtained, had the press been free. “But,” he added, “this assumption had been *answered* by Mr. Trant, who said that the Government had *abundant* means of information. If Mr. Trant’s assertion be worth more than that of any other man, let it be declared accordingly; but such assumptions and such answers are best to be judged of by facts. If the Government *have not* sufficient information, then are they to blame in suppressing the free use of the press. If *they have* sufficient information, then were they still more to blame, for not acting upon it in such a manner as to prevent the disasters that have happened. Let Mr. Astell take his choice of the two cases. Again, this Chairman expressed his doubts as to the fact of the 13th and 38th regiments being so reduced as had been asserted; alleging, that *had* this really been the case, he must have heard of it through other channels. The best answer to this is the total want of accurate information, as to the case of Mr. Arnot, betrayed by the very same person; his assertions on that subject being satisfactorily disproved by facts.

Mr. Edmonstone thought it a sufficient answer to those who attributed the late disasters to a want of free communication through the press, to say, that the most *brilliant* part of the Indian Administration (under Lord Wellesley) was under a Censorship. That may be; and yet the Censorship be in no degree a cause of the brilliant results alluded to. It was brilliant in spite of the suppression of public opinion. But brilliant things can be done well enough while the nations whose armies achieve them are in darkness and misery. The career of Buonaparte was a brilliant one—at least as brilliant as Lord Wellesley’s; and the press was enslaved and perverted under his reign also. But does Mr. Edmonstone think such brilliant administrations calculated to be either lasting or honourable? There is this circumstance also worthy of remark, that under a Censorship it is the Public alone that is deprived of information. The Government, who are themselves the Censors, at least see the matter communicated to the papers; and may themselves profit by it, though the pen of the Censor prevents it going abroad to the world. But, under the present odious system of terror which prevails, nothing that can serve the true interests, either of the Government or the Public, is printed; and total darkness overspreads the land. If the Directors would consent, however, to have judgment pronounced by this standard, and to adopt the mode of Government under which the most brilliant results have been obtained, we should be content: for then we should see representative assemblies, free trade, and a free press, which have each made England and America what they are, and for want of which all absolute despotisms are so much behind them both, in every thing that distinguishes free and civilized society.

Mr. Wasborough was as unfortunate in his address as he had been on a former occasion. His avowed object in rising was to show, that the laws

for the press in India, and those for the press in England, were so strikingly similar, that they might almost be said to be *the same*. In both countries, no man could print without a license; in both the printer was obliged to have his name at the foot of his paper; in both he was obliged to furnish securities for payment of fines; and from both he might be banished for printing a libel. On being questioned, however, as to some slight points of difference among all these remarkable traits of similarity, he confessed, 1st. that in England *every man* who chose might set up a printing press without asking any one's leave, on paying a small sum for the license; while in India, *no man* could do so unless the Government permitted him. 2dly. That in England, no man's license could be taken away for any offence or by any power whatever; while, in India, any man's license might be taken from him for any thing which the Government there chose to consider an offence, and his concern be broken up and ruined without remedy. 3dly. That, in England, nothing could be considered as libel which was not so pronounced by the verdict of a Jury; while in India, every thing was a libel which the Government chose to consider one. 4thly. That, from England, no man could be banished for any libel excepting a blasphemous one, and that, not until after the second offence, each case to be decided only by a regular trial at law; while, from India, any man might be banished without committing any legal offence, without writing any sort of libel, and without any trial at law, but by the mere will of the Governing Body alone! These are slight shades of difference certainly. "But," says Mr. Wasborough, in answer to all this—"Aye, this is all very true: but then, recollect, England and India are *very different*." We admit the melancholy fact: very different *indeed*. But the object of the worthy speaker was to show that the laws of each were *THE SAME*. How well he has succeeded, let the reader judge.

Mr. Mills, a Director, after having heard all that had been said in censure of Lord Amherst's weak and disastrous measures, expressed his regret that no abler defender had appeared before himself: but seeing this, he felt it his duty to rise to protect an *absent* man! It was unfair, he thought, to condemn those who could not be heard in reply! Often as this most absurd of all fallacies has been uttered at the India House, it was never more ridiculously introduced than here. To censure those who have not the *power* to reply is, no doubt, unhandsome: but to say that no man's acts should be censured, except in his own presence, is to advance a doctrine more destructive of the whole fabric of society than any that ever proceeded from the mouth of man. If it were followed up, no man could ever be called to account for any of his misdeeds, unless he chose; for he might always remain absent. Besides, all men are absent from all other men, except the particular circle by which they are surrounded at the moment. Shall it then be treason for any but those in whose presence a man stands to express either praise or blame? Every man in India must be absent from England; every man in England (except something more than a hundred) must be absent from the India House Court; and every man in that Court is absent when the knot of six or eight Directors sign their calumnious despatches, or draw up calumnious resolutions on the conduct of their servants abroad. Are not the members of the Hyderabad Firm absent? Yet they are abused by every epithet that ingenuity could devise. Is not Lord Hastings absent? Yet he is censured in the severest terms. But the dead are even still

more absent than they : for they can never be heard again in reply. Yet, who, in after days, will hesitate, in writing the history of India at the present period, to call persons as well as things by their right names, because they may be in their graves ? In short, if Mr. Mills's sage maxim, " that no one should censure the acts of an absent man," were adhered to, it would shut the mouth of every man living, and do more to destroy all the good than the fear of this censure now occasions than any measure ever yet proposed.

Though last, not least, came Captain Maxfield's brief, but certainly pregnant, remark. The motion before the Court was for the production of certain papers intended to throw light on the late mutiny in the Army. Captain Maxfield opposed it—he had only *one* reason, but with him it was a powerful one :—it was this ; he had great apprehensions from such information as these papers might contain passing into other countries. Here was a confession ! All the countries to which such information can ever reach, had already heard of the mutiny and the massacre by which it was for the moment quelled : Rumour, with her thousand tongues, must have magnified and distorted this in every possible manner ; and this had already gone abroad, on the wings of the wind, to every corner of the earth. The information contained in the papers would correct such exaggerations, and give our enemies at least the true state of the case. But, as if this truth would be more horrible than the worst exaggeration that had yet obtained current circulation, Captain Maxfield voted against its being told ! He would rather the Proprietors should remain in utter ignorance of their own affairs than even run the risk of any other persons obtaining a correct view of them. We remember to have heard in India of a strange mistranslation in one of the Indian copies of the New Testament, done into Bengalee by a Missionary, wherein the passage, " Judge not, that ye be not judged of others," was thus expressed : " Be not just to others ; lest others should be just unto you." Captain Maxfield's maxim is the very counterpart of this, " Do not obtain information from others, lest others should also obtain it from you." What will be said of this at all the Courts of the Continent—from Paris to Petersburg—*from Vienna to Berlin*—to each of which the *Oriental Herald* is sent by order, and at each of which it is no doubt attentively read ? What will be said of this avowal : that the Papers respecting this mutiny, and the state of our army in India, are such as we should not let other nations see ? This reason for Captain Maxfield's vote against their production has already gone abroad into all the Newspapers of the kingdom ; and cannot now be recalled. We have no hesitation in saying, that we believe this very avowal will convey to foreign powers more of that very impression of our misrule, which it was intended to prevent, than the production of all the papers that ever were printed. This evil, however, if indeed it be one, rests on the heads of those whose measures have produced it

SECRET POLITICS OF THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

SOME valuable notes were not long since furnished to us for our private information, as to the causes of the late ill-treatment of Lord Hastings, by the dominant party in the Direction at the East India House: but want of room, which delayed so many other contemplated arrangements, kept this also longer in our own possession than we wished. We are glad to observe, however, that the subject has attracted attention elsewhere; and as we are happy on all occasions to co-operate, where *good* is to be done, even with those, who, in our estimation, are not always free from the charge of doing *evil* by the advocacy of principles that we deem full of that quality, we select, with some slight omissions, the following Sketch of India-House Parties, from the TELESCOPE, a Weekly Paper, that we took occasion to censure, for its unfounded assertions respecting the use made of the Free Press in India; but which we are glad to see now lending some space, at least, to better purposes, and to the advocacy of more just and liberal views than those which characterized its earlier Numbers:

We feel it to be particularly expedient at the present moment to draw public attention to the state of parties at the India House; because the next month is the period for performing one Farce and one serious Drama at this great Theatre.—The Farce, which at other Theatres is the After-piece, comes first in order of the Leadenhall-Street Bill of the Play; and it is surprising how perfect the Actors have become by frequent rehearsals.

This low Comedy is called "The Election of Six Directors," to fill the place of Six who retire every year:—a very solemn and laughable Farce it is—something after the fashion of Tom Thumb. Much of the pomp and ceremony of Election—Candidates offering themselves, cap in hand, when they learn there is no one to oppose—as Lord Grizzle says of the mighty Thumb—"they make the giants first and then they kill them."

With regard to the serious After-piece, it is of a very different character, and has more of a regular plot than many Dramas. Its chief action consists in choosing a Chairman and Deputy for the year. The election of the Chairman is, however, subordinate; an underplot compared to the main business of the intrigue, which is to choose the Deputy, who becomes Chairman *of course* in succession. Sir George Robinson is said to be the Principal Actor this year, and expects to play the part of Mr. Deputy with success. We confess we are somewhat at a loss to know what are his pretensions and qualifications for this pre-eminent character, a more unpopular performer in Bengal, where he formerly exhibited, it is not easy to imagine. Indeed it was as an Auditor, generally, that he cut a figure in that quarter. A Baronet indeed he is, and no doubt a worthy one: but we had always understood that this dignity was the reward of his merit as Prompter for several years behind the curtain to a celebrated actor in the Ballo-line, famed for versatility under different managers; but not at all perfect in his part when he appeared in the imposing character of President in the Harlequinade, called "The Board of Control."

The late Mr. Grant, a civil servant; Sir G. Robinson, formerly Military Auditor-General; Sir G. Barlow, and several others of less note, owed their rise in the world to Lord Cornwallis, the protégé of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, who sent him out to India as Governor-General in the year 1786-7. Mr. Grant came home about the same time as his Lordship, in 1793; and Sir G. Robinson not many years after, when they firmly attached themselves to his Lordship, and his patron Dundas. Sir John Shore's (Lord Teignmouth) reign was but of short duration, and he was succeeded by the Marquis of Wellesley, who was also supported by Pitt and Dundas. But, however well he might stand with the Ministry, the Marquis ere long incurred the displeasure and hate of the majority of the Court of Directors, among whom at that period Mr. Grant was rapidly rising in power and influence, partly from his talents and industry (for he had a fair share of both) but chiefly from his thoroughgoing, unquestioning, bigotted, India-House tenets, with regard to the Trade and Government of our Oriental dominions. This virulent dislike to the noble Marquis arose from his practice being diametrically opposed to the theories of these Gentlemen. He encouraged the free trade of India, and India-built shipping; did everything he could to awaken the industry and draw out the resources of that country, and evidently showed that his view of the duty of a Governor-General was, that he should do everything in his power to forward the mutual interests of England and India, and not confine himself exclusively to enhance the interests of the monopolists of Leadenhall Street by the sacrifice of every other obligation and duty. But besides such heresies he had the hardihood to avow his contempt for the opinions of his masters, and to presume to think that the local Government of India on the spot, and aware of the circumstances, were fully as capable of acting and judging as the sages of the India House; while they again looked upon the Governor-General and his Council only as delegated to repeat their commands. And though in these heterodox opinions he was supported by Mr. Dundas in the cabinet, and Sir David Scott, and a powerful party in the India House, they were not on that account the less unpalatable to the orthodox monopolists. As soon, therefore, as Mr. Pitt went out of power in 1801, the delegation-system-men got stronger and biterer at the India House, and Mr. Addington's tottering ministry dared not quarrel with any powerful body. Lord Wellesley's unsuccessful campaign of 1804 gave a colour for his recall, as, though Pitt had come back to power, he was not in his former strength, and Dundas was under a cloud.

The Grant party triumphed. Lord Cornwallis went out a second time to save India, and lived just long enough to act on his instructions and antiquated systems, so as to lay the foundation of the late second Mahratta war, by succumbing just as we were obtaining the reward of our perseverance. He lived long enough, however, to reclaim Sir George Barlow from the error of his ways, in having so long and zealously co-operated with Lord Wellesley; and Barlow turning round with all the zeal of a convert on old friends and principles, and in an evil hour succeeding to the temporary government of India, completed all the mischievous plans of Cornwallis and the Grant party. Sir G. Robinson came out as Lord Cornwallis's private secretary and prime minister, and for his important services of three or four months' residence, was rewarded with a handsome donation, and carried at no long interval by the interest of the party to a seat in the direction.

The ministry of "All the Talents" were never strong, of which fact no better proof can be desired than that they were foiled in the nomination of the Earl of Lauderdale as Governor-General by the Grant party. A weak ministry necessarily makes the anti-English party in the India House strong, while a sturdy cabinet, like Pitt and Dundas's, soon brings them to reason. The Fox ministry showed their weakness still further, by compromising the matter with this faction, and sending out Lord Minto—an amiable and accomplished man no doubt, and much after the Company's own heart, but who had an unlucky propensity to be on bad terms with the military, a class of people who are

rather useful in a country which stands in the relation to us which India does.—He waged no wars except against the French and Dutch, and as the crown paid for those, the Company looked on as quiet spectators. During his reign the Mahrattas recovered their broken strength, while their friends, the Pindarrees, took courage, and carried their ravages within the boundary of the British territory.

Every one remembers what a flame Sir George Barlow contrived to blow up by his mismanagement, violence, and pride, out of comparatively trifling heats, which good temper and prudence might have put down. An almost universal mutiny of the whole Madras army took place, and the Bengal and Bombay armies might have been almost goaded to have joined in it, through the singular folly of urging them with useless tests and declarations, but that they possessed better sense and better temper than their wise masters or their misguided brethren of Madras.

Lord Minto went round tardily to Madras, after all the mischief was done, to mediate and do justice. By that time the violence of Sir George Barlow, and a feeling of the hollowness of the ground on which they stood, had brought the mutineers to a sense of their duty, and all was subdued. We would wish to say as little as possible of those unhappy times and disastrous transactions, in which it is impossible to deny that all parties were in turn to blame, only it may be as well to notice that nothing more was heard of mediation or justice after Lord Minto reached Madras; an amnesty, which might have served as a model for the beloved Ferdinand's in 1822, was proclaimed; a long list of officers at the head of the mutineers were devoted to proscription; and when courts-martial, actuated by an evident sense of the share which the follies and excesses of the Government had had in driving many brave and excellent soldiers into downright and unjustifiable rebellion, steadily refused to condemn the proscribed to die, they were turned out of the service en masse, and sent home penniless. The Cornwallis or Grant party were then all powerful in Leadenhall-street, and the ministry of 1809 and 1810 was weak and distracted by the intestine broils of Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, and their several partizans. Mr. Astell was the chief supporter of Mr. Grant, and they performed the parts of Chairman and Deputy Chairman to each other in frequent session.

When the penitent mutineers presented themselves in England, and told the story of their crimes, and their palliatives, in regard to the Government of India, the lofty personages in power disdained to give ear to their humble petitions, just as they now scorn the reclamations of William Palmer and Co. and their creditors. Even the allegations of civil violence, mixed up with the military follies of the government, the alleged packing of tribunals and juries, banishments and deprivations inflicted on refractory persons, all were urged in vain, and no man was more deaf to compassion and reason in this instance than Mr. William Astell, the present Chairman. But he and Mr. Grant were stoutly opposed by a more liberal set in the Direction, who began to get the upper hand; the Press gradually enlightened people on the subject; and the parties whose characters and prospects were all at stake bestirred themselves. So the press and the parties are now active, and there can be little doubt but the same cause will produce similar effects in both cases, only give them sufficient time to work. In the former case, in the short space of two years, a total revolution of opinion took place upon this great question, so that all the mutineers, with one exception, (Col. Bell,) who had levied actual war on the King's forces, were reinstated in the service. The civil servants, Mr. Sherson, Mr. Smith, and others, were replaced with honour, and compensations were granted for persecution. All the survivors had their grievances redressed to the very letter. Sir George Barlow was turned out with signal and needless disgrace, and Lord Minto superseded with as little courtesy. A more conciliatory system was resolved on, and the man selected as the best fitted for carrying that system into effect was Lord Moira. Such a triumph to the moderate party at the India House,

such a signal humiliation of the Grant party and all their abettors, was not easily to be overlooked or forgiven; and with the instinctive feeling of all base and despicable minds, the unoffending instrument of this just and rational retribution was marked out by that party as the butt at which to shoot their poisoned shafts. In the low state of humiliation in which they for some time remained, they remembered with bitterness and heart-burning their degradation and disgrace, and carefully treasured up the phials of their wrath to be poured out when opportunity would permit.

Lord Hastings's system of administration resembled in too many respects that of Lord Wellesley, while to complete the climax of his offences, it was free from the only part of the Wellesley system, which suited the taste of this amiable party, namely, the precipitation and violence, the want of consideration for the fair rights and personal claims of individuals, which occasionally tarnished the lustre of that Nobleman's administration. Lord Hastings's military rank, too, was by no means in his favour in the eyes of those who cherished the superiority of the Company's civil service as one of the most valuable and fundamental prerogatives of monopoly; his constantly declining to carry into effect absurd and unjust retrenchments, from the scanty pittance of the least favoured class of servants—the military; his deference to the tribunal of public opinion; and, in particular, his showing so much consideration for his fellow-subjects in India as to call them together, to give them an account of the origin and conduct of a war in which none could have so deep an interest as themselves. All these are considered as so many overt acts of *Lesce Majesté*, considered as cementing the nefarious design of erecting the Governor-Generalship of that vast colonial empire into something more substantive than the mere trumpet mouth-piece, or mechanical vehicle, through which the high behests of the clerks in Leadenhall-street were to be issued to our handful of eighty millions of Indian subjects without discretion, or modification, or delay! Lord Hastings may feel some consolation in thinking, that if he has fallen, he has fallen with such men as the Directors, Elphinstone and Pattison. The evil days of the monopoly party are come in again, and Mr. Astell and Sir G. Robinson again reign Lords of the Ascendant for a while. It is to be hoped, however, that their time will be as short, and their defeat as certain as it was on the last great struggle.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

We had intended, at the commencement of this publication, to include in it full reports of such Debates as might occur in Parliament, on the subject of Indian Affairs, but our limits have often prevented us; and we find, from the frequent occurrence of Debates at the India House, that the difficulty is likely to be increased rather than diminished. Of the last, the Newspapers do not find it to their interest to give more than outline reports. Of the first, competition and rivalry are sure to secure the most ample and faithful records; and as these, after obtaining the most extensive publicity that the press can command through all the Newspapers of the kingdom, are again transferred to the large collection of "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates" for preservation and reference; there appears to be no immediate necessity for their repetition here. On the other hand, the very imperfect manner in which the India House Debates are reported in the public prints, offers a sufficient reason for paying the greater attention to them in a publication expressly devoted to the consideration of Indian Affairs. This explanation will account for our not doing more than advert to what may transpire in Parliament from time to time, when comment and observation on its proceedings are necessary; as the reader will be sure to see the Debates in the daily papers long before we could print them here; and confining ourselves as much as possible to information not made public through other channels, and only to be obtained through the medium of this.

**DEBATES ON THE HYDERABAD TRANSACTIONS—SCENE OF TUMULT
AND DISORDER AMONG THE TEA BROKERS
AT THE INDIA HOUSE.**

DURING the late protracted debates at the India House on the subject of the Hyderabad transactions, the Chairman, Mr. Astell, complained of the great inconvenience of such frequent adjournments, as it was extremely inconvenient to the tea-dealers of the city to be kept out of the Court in which both the debates and the tea sales were held, and put into another room, not so convenient for their purposes. We were then quite at a loss to understand why one room should not be as good as another for the business of an auction, provided each were large enough to hold all the buyers with ease. An occurrence which took place during the past month has, however, thrown much light on the causes of the dissatisfaction at the tea sales being held any where but in the accustomed place.

To those who have never attended the Court in which the debates of the Proprietors are held at the India House, it may not be superfluous to state, that it is of the following form and arrangement:—The body of the room itself is nearly square, with a semicircular sweep at the principal end; it is extremely lofty, and is lighted by a dome sky-light. About one-third of the length from the semicircle, is cut off by a wooden partition of about three feet in height, forming a sort of partition-wall, and running across the whole breadth of the room; this is what is technically called "the Bar." *Within* this bar are seated the Directors, and the principal clerks of the India House, forming a sort of crescent, their seats following the semicircular sweep of that end of the room, and the Chairman and his deputy occupying the centre of the whole. *Without* the bar is a small space continued on a level with the floor, and from this the seats for Proprietors of India stock rise gradually one above another, after the manner of a theatre, (except that the ascent is much steeper, and continues to rise and recede till it joins the gallery at the further end, which is near the roof, and intended for the inferior clerks of the House, neither strangers nor reporters for the public press being understood to have any right to admission, though it is granted to the latter as a matter of courtesy.

At the Tea Sales, which are always held in this room, the Directors who sell the tea, by putting up the lots to auction, sit *within* the bar; the brokers and buyers, or those who bid for the lots, range themselves on the Proprietors' seats *without*. It is easy to comprehend how, in a tumultuous auction, which this for the sale of the India Company's Teas always is, those bidders who secure the front seats, can make their nods and winks much more intelligible to the auctioneer than their less fortunate brethren in the upper ranges of the back benches can ever hope to do; and it is equally easy to understand how much of this advantage of certain proximity would be lost, by placing the buyers and sellers in a room where all would be on the same level, and the strongest bodied men be able to push their way to the front, and keep the weaker competitors behind them.

The reason of all the tumult, strife, and contention, which occurs at these Tea Sales is simply this: that the English East India Company,

following the same selfish and execrable policy which induced the Dutch East India Company to burn one half of their stock of spices in order to enhance the price of the remainder, do not import, or put up for sale, any thing like the quantity of tea which the consumption of the nation requires. By withholding the full supplies which they might afford, immense competition raises the price to an extravagant standard, and the duty is thus equally advanced, as that is regulated entirely by the price. The contest for particular lots is, therefore, as severe as if the article was to be fought for instead of purchased: the result is a greater gain to the India Company, and a greater gain to the revenue on the small quantity sold at extravagantly high prices, than would arise from a larger quantity sold at more moderate rates. But by this same process, the community of tea-drinkers, now including almost every individual in Great Britain who can pay for this luxury, are made to pay several hundred per cent. over and above the price at which good tea might be had, if this odious monopoly of the India Company did not exist; to say nothing of the vast consumption of British manufactures, which the teeming population of China would take off from us in return, so as to be productive of mutual and reciprocal benefit.

To return to the incident, which we have mentioned as throwing light on the dissatisfaction of the tea buyers, at being put out of the room in which the debates were holding by the tea sellers, and thrust into another where their privileged seats could not be commanded; it is communicated to us in the following paragraph:—

At the Tea Sale, on the 2d of March, the business of the day was impeded for nearly an hour, during which time the greatest uproar and confusion prevailed. The moment the doors of the sale room were opened in the mornng, the junior brokers took their seats on the benches which have, hitherto, been exclusively occupied by the oldest and wealthiest brokers, and such is the value of these, from their contiguity to the Chairman, that a seat has been sold at from 300*l.* to 500*l.* The original occupants alleged, that custom and purchase had given them an indisputable right; on the other hand, the juniors contended, that no part of a public sale room could be made private property, and that as they had been excluded for a series of years from all participation of the thousand pounds per annum, granted by the Company to the oldest brokers, to print tea books, which enabled them, in a great measure, to monopolize the trade, they were determined to vindicate their rights, having repeatedly petitioned the old brokers and the Company without effect. The Chairman (J. Mastermann, Esq.), on being appealed to, stated—he could not interfere with respect to the seats; that there could be no doubt they were open to all brokers indiscriminately; but he would inquire into the way the 1000*l.* per an. was appropriated, and endeavour to see justice done to the complainants. Messrs Twining and Gibbs suggested the necessity of the Company's enlarging the sale room, and arranging the seats more fairly, giving the oldest brokers the priority of choice; instead of the former practice of selling the seats when vacated, or transmitting them to their sons or partners. This proposition was received with applause by the trade, and, under the promise of the Chairman representing the case to the Board, and the expectation of the oldest brokers coming into the arrangement, the junior brokers surrendered their seats.

This grant of a thousand a year to brokers, for the purpose of printing their tea books, must of course come out of the Company's East India stock: yet, even the Director himself, who presided at the Sale, seemed quite ignorant both of the grant itself, and of the manner in which it was

applied ! How many other profligate misapplications of the Proprietors' money may be made in the same secret manner (secret at least to the Director in question, and no doubt to hundreds of other Proprietors as well as himself) it would be impossible to say !

There is something amusing in the notion of a knot of young tea brokers coming into a sale-room and expressing their determination "to vindicate their rights." If they would do this effectually, it must be not in a contention about a front or a back seat in a sale-room, but in an appeal to Parliament and the Nation, detailing all the iniquities of the East India monopoly of tea, exposing their malpractices and evasions of the law as it stands, proving the evils to the whole community of the present abominable monopoly, and demanding the destruction of their charter that the public at large may participate in the benefits of a free trade. Let them "vindicate their rights" after this manner; and the community, instead of laughing at what must appear to them a petty squabble, will sympathize with their demands for justice, and join them in enforcing it on the attention of the legislature.

The following paragraph has appeared in the journals of the past month, and we cannot insert it in a more appropriate place than this :

It is said in a New Orleans newspaper, that the tea plant has been discovered growing in Louisiana. It will be a great advantage to America, if this prove to be the case, and perhaps a still greater to England, by assisting to break up the monopoly of the trade to China by the East India Company.

IMPARTIAL JUSTICE OF THE ASIATIC JOURNAL.

In the Asiatic Journal of February last, was inserted a letter under the title of "Dr. Bryce's Reply to Mr. Buckingham," containing a tissue of calumnies, to which he had affixed his name. A reply to this was sent to the Asiatic Journal, equally substantiated by the real signature of the writer, in the confident expectation that it would be as readily printed in that publication. It was refused insertion, and the following reason was assigned for this refusal, in the public notice to correspondents affixed to that journal.

"The letter addressed to us by *Mr. Buckingham*, commenting upon *Dr. Bryce's reply to him*, we have declined inserting for the following reasons :—1st. Because of its immoderate length : it would occupy at least EIGHTEEN PAGES in the smallest type ; 2dly. because much of it is irrelevant ; 3dly. because it contains obnoxious reflections upon other individuals and the Bengal Government. Whenever *Mr. B.* prefers making *our Journal* his medium of publication, it shall be as open to him as to others, provided he confine himself within reasonable limits, and refrain from extraneous and acrimonious reflections."

The reasons here assigned, are not merely insufficient to justify such refusal, but they are in the most material part untrue.

1st.—As to "immoderate length," it is stated that it would occupy EIGHTEEN PAGES in the *smallest* type. On a reference to the Oriental Herald of the last month, in which this same letter appeared without the curtailment of a single line, it will be seen that it occupied less than ELEVEN PAGES in a *larger size* type than the *very largest* ever used in the Asiatic Journal (Long Primer); whereas, in the smallest size used by it (Nonpareil), it would not have made a single page more than the letter of Dr. Bryce himself, (54) as inserted in the

same publication ! The Convention of Trade (more than half a page) was optional to the Editor to print or not, as he thought proper ; and the Postscript occupying three pages in the Oriental Herald, was not sent to the Asiatic Journal at all : so that there is no escape for it, from the alternative of gross ignorance as to a matter of space to be occupied by a certain portion of manuscript copy, or wilful perversion of the truth. The Editor may take his choice of the alternative.

2dly.—He says much of it was irrelevant. That is a matter of opinion only : but a reference to the letter itself will show that it did not contain a *single paragraph* that was not strictly confined to a refutation of Dr. Bryce's calumnies.

3dly.—It contained "obnoxious" reflections upon other individuals, and upon the Bengal Government !—No doubt, all reflections on the misconduct of men are "obnoxious" to the individuals complained of ; as what we are now saying will no doubt be to the Editor of the Asiatic Journal ; but if reflections being "obnoxious," were a reason why they should not be published, then all censure whatever must be suppressed. Does the Editor think that Dr. Bryce's observations on Mr. Buckingham were not "obnoxious" to him ? Or does he suppose that he or any man living can witness the publication of calumnies against himself without pain ? Yet this did not prevent the Editor from printing Dr. Bryce's letter, though it served as an excuse for him to decline inserting Mr. Buckingham's reply to it. It was "obnoxious to *other* individuals :?" no doubt, to say that the proprietors of the John Bull were found guilty of libel and made to pay damages for uttering the very slanders which Dr. Bryce repeats. But though obnoxious, it was true ; while Dr. Bryce's calumnies are both obnoxious and false. Yet these the Editor willingly assisted him to propagate.

If obnoxious reflections "on the Bengal Government" were a sufficient reason for rejecting a communication ; then the Editor must be as hostile to a free press in England, as he has so often avowed himself to be to a free press in India. But he prints in his own Journal the severest censures on the Bengal Government, when uttered by Mr. Kninaid, Mr. Hume, and others, in the Court of Proprietors. The censures in this letter were better authenticated than even these ; for they bore the signature of the writer himself, and were deliberately penned and revised. Whereas the former depend for their accuracy entirely on the fidelity of reporters. The inconsistency is therefore manifest.

To say that Mr. Buckingham may be heard as well as others through the Asiatic Journal, if he will confine himself to *reasonable* limits, is to say what the conduct of the Editor disproves. His reply to Dr. Bryce, if printed in the *smallest* type, would not have made a page more than the letter to which it was an answer ; and while this same Editor does not take upon himself to reject the speeches of East India Proprietors, because of their being longer than he deems *reasonable*, (a standard of the most vague and indeterminate kind), or because they contain extraneous or acrimonious reflections, no one will believe his assertion that the reasons assigned were the true and only reasons of his rejecting the letter in question. It was a triumphant refutation of every particle of Dr. Bryce's misstatements : and would have set the character of the individual he calumniated in a more favourable light than would be agreeable to the Editor and his patrons : and this is a more "reasonable" solution of his objections than any that he himself has offered. To suffer an injustice is painful enough ; but not so painful as it must be to any man of honourable feelings to inflict it on another. The former is our fate : the latter that of our opponent. We would not exchange lots with him.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA, AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

As we desire to make this Publication a record of Indian History worthy of being preserved and consulted for reference in future times, as well as calculated to gratify the more eager interest of the present moment, we think it necessary to state, that we shall not, after the fashion of more fleeting journals, content ourselves with giving merely the *latest* intelligence that may reach us from different quarters of India, but endeavour to preserve the chain of events as unbroken and uninterrupted as the irregularity of despatches from that distant country will permit. We have received, by the last arrivals from all the Presidencies, intelligence up to the very latest date; but we reserve the details of these to come in due order in their place, and take up the series of public events at the point at which we closed in our preceding Number, namely, about the middle of September, 1824.

We may take this occasion to repeat, what cannot be too frequently impressed on our readers, that the public papers of all the Presidencies are in such a miserable state of thralldom, that nothing can appear in any of them but what is agreeable to the several Governments; so that private letters are now the only sources of full and accurate information: and fortunately our connexions enable us to receive, from every part of India, such details as could not possibly appear in the papers of that country, though they may be relied on for their perfect authenticity.

We shall reserve our comments on the facts developed, until they are laid before our readers; and to do this at once, and in the order of their respective dates, we commence with the following portions of a private letter from Bengal, dated September 25th, 1824.

'The war which our rulers declared with such breathless haste, just when the season rendered it impossible to prosecute it effectually, has necessarily languished. The expedition to Rangoon was expected by the wise people here to strike terror into the Court of Amerapoora; and they confidently hoped that the force sent would either obtain a peace from their terror, or be able to sail up the river with ease and conquer half the country before October. Sir Alexander Campbell occupies Rangoon, but the inhabitants have all left it, and he finds that without boatmen or boats he cannot get up the river; nor in October can he march without cattle for his tents and ammunition. It is expected that Sir Edward Paget will himself advance in December, from Sylhet, with a large army; while another from Chittagong, under Brigadier-General Morrison, will probably penetrate by Arracan to the Irrawaddy River. I fear that our prospects of some interesting, if not brilliant operations, will be haulted by the Burmahs taking fright and offering to humble themselves. If they do that and pay *costs*, Lord Amherst would be glad to get quit of the war, and of the distressing thought, 'what to do with the country he must conquer,' as if there were not abundant materials for setting up new Rajahs of Rangoon and Princes of Prome.

'Colonel Valentino Blacker has compiled a large map of the Burman Empire from such materials as are in his possession, which has been struck

off at the Lithographic Press, very neatly indeed. Copies are distributed with the usual caution here, (no doubt, lest the Burmahs should get any!) But I suppose several must have been sent home to the Court, so that you can easily get a sight of one.*

‘If Sir Edward Paget should stay here to direct the whole operations of the war, or take up his post at Dacca, or some such place for that purpose, Sir Stamford Whittingham, I think, will be the General in advance. The Government want to keep Sir Edward here very much.

‘Mr. Adam, our late Governor-General, is recovering his health and strength at Kemaon. He will come here in November, but will probably be obliged to go away to sea or to Europe in the hot weather.

‘You will have seen the new Regulations which the Court have sent out in contempt of Lord Hastings’s despatch. They gave a Colonel to each Regiment, split each Regiment into two, and raised the furlough and retiring pay to the level of the King’s service. Moreover they abolished half-mountings, and gave command-money. But they added most positive orders, in a style more than usually peremptory, to abolish the whole allowances drawn by officers commanding troops and companies; to abolish the medical allowance of Surgeons; to place the troops at Barrackpore, Berhampore and Dinapore on half batta; and to modify all manner of Staff allowances. The Military Secretary, like a loyal subject, struggled hard to get the orders of the honourable Court obeyed: Lord Amherst was afraid to disobey them; but happily Sir Edward Paget stood firm in the breach. He is independent of the Court in mind and purse, and his high personal character gave weight to his opposition, which I understand was strengthened by Mr. Adam’s letters.’

Other advices from Calcutta represent this matter to have occasioned very sharp discussions in the Council, that recal to our recollection the days of Sir Philip Francis and Warren Hastings. In supporting the new regulations, Lord Amherst is stated to have pleaded that he had come under a promise to the authorities at home, to carry these reductions into effect; an avowal which provoked, we are told, a very severe reply from the Commander in Chief to this effect: that such a promise (if not itself disgraceful) was at least more honoured in the breach than in the observance. And it is understood that if Lord Amherst had not yielded the point, Sir Edward was immediately to resign.

‘The result has been (continues the writer) that the command-money, the promotions in consequence of the increased Colonels, and all the other *Plums*, have been picked out and distributed, while the refuse of the *Pudding*, the part most dear to the Court, (the cuttings and clippings,) is referred home with some remonstrances against the injustice and impolicy of these measures! The only retrenchments that have been carried into effect, are the allowances of officers commanding local battalions, who are reduced to the modified command-money. This was dovetailed into the regulation on that head, and could not be decently left out.’

There is a general impression that our forces at Rangoon had not yet come in contact with any considerable portion of the best Burmese troops, on which the enemy place their chief reliance; and that our skirmishes have generally been with a sort of irregular or local force of much inferior quality. This seems to be confirmed by the accounts given in private letters from Rangoon, dated in the beginning of October, published in the Madras Gazette. They state, that there was a corps of 3000 men, specially denominated “warriors,” and some of them again assuming the title of “invulnerables,” who generally remain about the person of the King. One of them,

* We have a Copy of this map now in our possession, but cannot join in commending its neatness.—Ed.

sent out to reconnoitre the Great Pagoda, struck with terror at the sight of our arms, came over to us as a deserter, and gave intimation of an intended attack on the evening of the 21st of September. They made their approaches very secretly, and commenced a desperate attack, but met with such a sharp reception from his Majesty's 38th, and a twelve pounder of the Madras artillery loaded with grape, that they found it necessary to retire; having lost, it is said, twenty of the first class warriors in this bold attempt, which might have had a very different issue but for the seasonable information of the deserter, which enabled our troops to be particularly on the alert.

The intelligence received at Calcutta from the seat of war, even though softened down to the public through the medium of a fettered Press, is of a nature to inspire alarm in the minds of all acquainted with the tenure by which we hold our Indian possessions; a tenure which will ever continue precarious, while the Government continues its present impolitic system of driving from the soil those who, from national feeling and personal interest, would be attached by the strongest possible ties to British rule, and form a link between the Governors and the governed infinitely more secure than that depending on the point of the bayonet, and that bayonet in the hands of mercenary Indian troops.

It appears from all the information that the Burmese are not slow to profit by experience, however dearly they may purchase it. As the Russians, when comparatively barbarians, by being repeatedly defeated by the Swedes, at last learnt how to conquer them: so whatever be the issue of the present war, there can be no doubt the enemy will treasure up the knowledge they have acquired in this, so as to render future attempts to control them far more hazardous.

In a despatch of Sir A. Campbell's, dated from Rangoon the 11th of October, we learn the particulars of an attack made by Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Smith, with a party consisting of 800 men from the Madras Brigade of the Native Light Infantry, 300 rank and file of the 28th and 30th Regiments, accompanied by four camel howitzers, and a competent number of pioneers, on a position of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Annauben, on the 5th of October. Nothing was seen of the enemy until the advance of the party to a deep nulla near Todagabe, on crossing which, the advanced guard were received by the enemy, who lay concealed under some trees and brushwood, with a smart fire. From this they were soon driven, and in the pursuit a stockade was discovered directly facing the main road. Upon this the party halted, to await the coming up of the howitzers and scaling ladders; on the arrival of which, after due reconnoissance, Major Wahab was directed to take the same by escalade, which was speedily effected, the enemy however effecting their escape. Several skirmishes took place at the same time between the rear guard and other detachments of the party, in which the enemy were compelled to fly. After this affair the troops advanced, and at five o' clock arrived in the vicinity of Kikaloo, having during the march had several minor encounters with the Burmese, who had erected breastworks and other rude fortifications to impede the force advancing. About this time the guides affected to be ignorant of the stockade, which was known to be in that quarter, although they pointed out the direction in which it lay, and as the road appeared to be good and leading directly upon a pagoda, which was represented to lie on the left of the stockade and to be undefended, Colonel Smith determined

pursuing it. And here, to show the improvements already made by the Burmese in the tactics of European warfare, we give the following extract from the despatch of Colonel Smith :

The necessary reconnoissance having been made, which the enemy allowed us to complete unmolested, and the extreme silence that had hitherto prevailed, induced me to believe that the post had been abandoned ; but, notwithstanding, as the lateness of the evening would not allow of any further examination of the enemy's position, arrangements were made for assailing the place, and Major Wahab was directed to move forward in double quick, with ladders to escalate. This gallant officer gave the cheering signal, and the 1st Division, with a spirit and animation I never saw surpassed, and with shouts of huzza and dun dun, rushed forward to the attack. This was only answered by a round of cannon from the pagoda, which, until now, I was led by the guides to believe was undefended. The enemy in the stockade still observed a sullen silence ; not a shot was fired until the division of the 34th and ladders had got well in front of their works. It was then that volleys of grape and musketry were discharged upon the party at the distance of fifty or sixty yards, with an effect and regularity hitherto unequalled in this country : several of the pioneers, with the ladders, were at this instant knocked down, together with the leading Officers ; and the men, consequently, from the awful and destructive fire that fell among them, and the loss of their Commanding and leading Officers, were seized with panic, and lay down to secure themselves from its further effects.

The lateness of the evening rendered this first check irreparable, or otherwise I might have brought up the 3d or supporting division to renew the attack. But to satisfy myself more thoroughly at this momentous crisis of our actual situation, I proceeded to the head of the attacking column, and there I learnt from Lieutenant Shiel, of the 3d Light Infantry, who, in the ardour of zeal, had moved forward with some of his men, that Major Wahab had retired, his wounds not admitting of his remaining any longer in advance. I quickly surveyed the enemy's works, and saw it had a parapet, from which blazed a continued sheet of fire ; under these circumstances I had no alternative, I thought, left me. I must either bring up the 3d division, and renew the attack to the imminent hazard, nay, certainty, of losing all, or saving what remained by speedily retrograding. Of two evils I instantly chose the least, and directed Lieutenant Shiel to file away to the rear without noise or confusion. As soon after as possible I sounded the retreat, and the several parties, and such of the wounded men as could walk, assembled on the ground from which the reconnoissance was taken in the first instance. The firing of the enemy was still kept up from three positions.

On the first fire from the pagoda, Captain Bell, with 100 of the 28th Regiment, had been directed to move round by the left, and endeavour to seize it ; but on his arrival on the other side, he found it to be strongly stockaded, and not assailable without ladders ; and Lieutenant Briggs, who had volunteered to conduct the party, in returning to secure ladders, was attacked by about forty Burmese, armed with long knives, from whom he only escaped by jumping down a deep ravine. The order which had hitherto been preserved now utterly disappeared, and the whole corps crowded indiscriminately into one mass ; and had not Captain Williamson, with his division, fortunately come up in time to cover the flight, it is more than probable the whole party would have been destroyed. The opportune junction of this Officer, however, enabled the broken forces to reach a plain in the vicinity of the attack, upon which they were re-formed, and continued their retreat to Sotajee, without being followed by the enemy.

In this disastrous affair the Officers appear to have exposed themselves most gallantly, and their loss was consequently considerable, ~~two~~ ^{three} European Officers being killed, and six wounded, while but one European private was wounded. The loss of Native Officers and troops was, 19 killed and 57 wounded. The above details require little comment; but the account given by Colonel Smith of the formidable appearance and systematic conduct of the Burmese, will show we have by no means a despicable enemy to contend with. They seem determined to dispute every inch of our advance into the territory, and render conquest, even if we ultimately obtain it, but a dear-bought honour.

On the return of Colonel Smith's detachment, Sir A. Campbell promptly sent out another force under Brigadier M'Creagh, consisting of about 420 European troops and 1100 Natives, with the necessary artillery, in the hope that the enemy, elated with their triumph, would have retained their position. The Burmese appear, however, to combine valour with prudence; for on the arrival of the force at the pagoda, on the 11th October, they learnt that the Rayhoon, with his force, amounting to about 3000 people, had retreated, the preceding afternoon, to Kaghahie, where he had a reserve of one thousand strong, and a much more formidable stockade. The despatch of Brigadier M'Creagh, in speaking of the scene of the previous defeat, gives the following account of the strength of the works then attacked:

A pagoda situated upon an eminence, and slightly fortified, appeared to be the key to their position, as it commanded and overlooked both their stockades within very effective musket range, and would, in fact, render them untenable. The stockades were of a very poor description, the defences low, and faced with crooked and irregular timber, so as to be very easily scaled at any point, even without ladders.

This account appears to show, that the panic of our troops, or the bravery of the enemy, and not their formidable position, caused this disgrace to the British arms. The Brigadier, upon learning the probable place of retreat of the Burmese Commander, immediately made a rapid march on Kaghahie, the road to which was covered with felled trees; and in some places strong breast-works had been erected, which the rapid advance of the British prevented the enemy defending, their outposts successively flying without firing a gun; and on the arrival of the advanced guard at the stockade, it was found entirely abandoned, the barracks within it burning, and the enemy flying in all directions through the neighbouring jungle; the village, which was extremely large, being also in flames in several places. The troops upon this retraced their steps, and, without any further measures, returned to their former positions. During this expedition, several of the bodies of those who fell in the preceding action were seen fastened to the trunks of trees, and mutilated in a most shocking manner.

Another despatch of Sir A. Campbell's, dated October 12, communicates an attack made by a force under Major Evans, on the village and stockades of Thantabain, which were occupied by the Prince of Sarawaddy and a large force of Burmese; and after a very gallant action, during which the enemy attempted to destroy the shipping by means of fire-rafts, the place was occupied by the party, without any loss on their part. Two of the Burmese Ministers of State were witnesses to the

defeat of their people; and the action appears, by the despatch, to confer considerable credit on those concerned.

Under date the 18th October, Sir A. Campbell states the receipt of information, that the united strength of the Burman Empire was collecting in his front, under the command of the Bundoolah, who was possessed of unlimited powers, and the whole of whose immediate followers were armed with muskets. It was said to be the Chief's intention to attack the British lines in the ensuing moon; and he had issued preparatory orders to those posts nearest the British position to cut bamboos, and collect all the earth-oil and cotton in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of forming fire-rafts to destroy the shipping. The grand dépôt for these materials had, however, been destroyed by Major Evans, and, therefore, this plan of the Chief was considered to be disarranged. By the next accounts, however, we may expect the particulars of some attempt by the enemy; and that it will be an important one, from the preparations he was making to ensure success, may be readily inferred.

Prior to the date of these despatches, Tavoy, a port of some consequence in Siam, had been taken possession of by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Miles. It appears that, on the arrival of the British troops, a large party of the inhabitants rose upon the garrison, imprisoned the Governor of the Province and his principal Officers, and, after a smart contest, delivered them over, with the place, to the British Commander. Thirty-six long guns and carronades, 1100 muskets, and numerous other arms, fell into the hands of the captors. Paulang, which the Burmese had erected into a dépôt for fire-rafts, had been taken possession of by a force under Brigadier-General Fraser, and the whole of the materials collected were destroyed. Mergui, a town of some importance, situated on the river of Tennesserian, had likewise fallen into the hands of the British; and indeed it appears that, wherever the co-operation of the naval force can be obtained, our arms have been successful: but the expeditions into the interior, from the treachery of the guides, the want of knowledge of the country, and the extreme difficulty of the roads, appear less promising of success, and far more dangerous of execution. Both the Rajahs of Tavoy and Mergui were, with their suites, taken prisoners in the above affairs.

On the side of Cutchar, the Burmese have shown a disposition to fall back, having evacuated the forts of Tilayn and Doodhathi, and retired on Munnipoor. Indeed, the policy they are expected to adopt, is to allow our forces to advance, and then, by surrounding us with difficulties which the nature of the country enables them to throw in our way, cut off our retreat; a plan they have formerly practised with great success. Colonel Jones, commanding on the Sylhet frontier, had sent a party of troops to Tilayn; but the country, up to the beginning of November, was still too much under water to admit of regular troops marching in pursuit of the enemy.

The following letter, dated November 12, throws much valuable light on the late transactions in India:

'The Burmah war is still protracted. Troops are moving towards Sylhet and Chittagong; but the country is not healthy or fit for military operations before December; and, again, the rains commence in the middle or end of May. As soon as the Chittagong force is increased, Brigadier-General Morrison will advance upon Afracan, and, I have no doubt, will drive the

Burmahs from that;—perhaps will be able to pass the mountains, and take post on the Irrawaddy. The Rangoon expedition, which should have been sent at the end of the rains instead of before they began, has no means of moving, the Burmahs having cleared the country of cattle and inhabitants for fifty miles round Rangoon. Now the season admits of their marching, and they will be reinforced by the Body Guard, and thus be able to keep the enemy at a distance, and give them alarms, and probably time to collect supplies. Government are also purchasing bullocks here for the carriage of their ammunition and camp-equipage; and the conquest of the province of Tavgy, on the Siamese frontier, promises to supply their wants of fresh meat; but, in the meantime, the troops having been at Rangoon all the rains, and fed on salt meat since April, are destroyed by scurvy, dysentery, and fever. The finest regiments of Europeans that went there, are reduced as much as they would have been in the West Indies; and they require reinforcements to enable them to move up. In the Government Gazette, which I send you, you will see a report of a revolution at Amerapootra, which is our latest news from Rangoon, and which appears highly probable. This would certainly, I think, lead to an early peace. I suppose we shall insist on the Burmese evacuating Munnipoor and Arracan, and the remainder of Assam.

There are various rumours of discontents in the north-western provinces, and, undoubtedly, Rohilcund, Hurriana, and Saharanpore, are all ripe for a revolt, if they saw a fair chance of success. There is a party here also, who are afraid of Runjeet Sing; but his hands are full, and he has marched to the north-west against the Afghans and Hill Chiefs. However, most undoubtedly, if he chose to venture to burst into Hurriana and the Doab, we have no adequate force to oppose him, and there would be immediate disturbances from Joudpore to Bareilly; and yet the Court have, as I suppose you know, given absolute *abuse* to Mr. Adam for raising the four regiments (eight battalions) that were embodied last year. In the end, I conclude some man fit to govern will be sent out, and an army formed such as the country requires. About May last, Sir Edward Paget urged upon the Government the want of two regiments more of cavalry, but the Government said it was not within their power, after the late peremptory orders from home!

There has been a very serious disturbance at Barrackpore, among the Sepoys; and the dislike and horror of the climate, and hardships of the service on the Eastern frontier which they entertain is so great, that the battalions ordered to Bengal lose hundreds by desertion. One battalion marched from Seetapore on the 16th ultimo for Midnapore, and, in the first fortnight, lost 254 men. This aversion is to be removed by extending new and special indulgences to the men employed in so (to them) unhealthy and odious a climate, and also by sending officers carefully selected to command them, who would speak to their feelings and prejudices, and command their lives through the medium of their affections. But the first of these modes of cure would cost money, which Government is *averse* to spend; and the second requires an energetic high-minded liberal man, to be in the place now filled by persons of a very opposite cast. The Court of Directors have been pleased from time to time to express great alarm at the consequences of young men rising to high staff appointments. It would be more to the good of this service, if they were to guard against such posts being filled by old women.

In the case of this regiment at Barrackpore, (the 47th,) it had been ruined by its Colonel, who is a plausible clever well-read man, but a partial and capricious commanding officer. It was known five months ago, that the regiment was in a very high state of *indiscipline*, the Colonel having sapped every officer's authority except his own.

The Military Board and Commissariat had found it absolutely necessary to

adopt a higher scale of pay to all establishments going to Dacca or Chittagong, adding twenty-five per cent. to the ordinary pay, and fifty per cent. to that of men going to Rangoon. The Commissariat were also buying up every decent pair of bullocks about Calcutta to send to Rangoon, which rendered it impossible for the men to hire bullocks. Government, indeed, (as soon as it was made known to them,) advanced them money to buy bullocks at a very high price. But this was done too late, and was not the proper course to pursue. How were the Sepoys to get the bullock-men to go to that detested climate? How keep them if once got? Nor could they well afford to pay so high. If a bullock died, or was lamed in a week, the men whose baggage and bedding it carried, must either buy another, (where was the price to come from?) or starve from cold and get fever; thus the regiment would melt away. Government should, under such circumstances, have hired carriages for the regiments going on service, or bought the cattle for that purpose, and let them out to the men at a moderate rate.

You will remark, that the Madras troops have embarked with great readiness for foreign service. They have now ten battalions at Rangoon, who, living on rice, have been very healthy. The whole ten battalions had only five or six men missing when they came to embark. But be it remembered, that they get rations gratis the whole time they are absent, and have great-coats sent down to them to keep them warm in damp and raw weather. Besides this, they have an excellent Adjutant-General.

The first cavalry marched from Sultanpore, Benares, to Purneah, on their way to the Eastern frontier, in October, and have had only five desertions of young lads. This is, in a great measure, owing to the Hindoos (and Brahmins) being mixed in the ranks in smaller proportions; about one-third of the regiments (or five-twelfths perhaps) being Hindoos. In the infantry, you know eleven-twelfths are of that race; it is likewise greatly caused by the officers being much more fixed to their troops, and more closely connected with them, than infantry officers are to their companies. In a battalion, the officers are perpetually changed from one company to another, to make the rotation of detachments fall equally upon the officers present, and also on the companies. Thus, suppose five officers present, the one who goes on command with the company No. 2, must go the next time with the company No. $(2 \times 5) = 7$; and the links which rivet the Sepoy to his old captain, can never be firm and strong until there is an officer present with every company, besides the commandant, the boys, who are learning their duty as subalterns, and two or three surplus officers of five years standing to replace casualties, and supply the place of absentees. The principles established in Lord Hastings's despatch of fixing a necessary complement of officers, and keeping it always untouched, are the only true maxims to follow.

A third cause of the present rate of our infantry, is the mischievous shifting of officers. When the four regiments were rated last year, the military authorities unfortunately concurred in a plan for doing what they intended as a favour (or justice rather) to the younger part of the Lieutenants. Some regiments that had been backward were left, in forming the new regiments, with only seventeen Lieutenants, and even with sixteen. Instead of putting an eighteenth Lieutenant into this place, who would have got two steps for the trouble of moving from his home, (i. e. *his own regiment*,) they took another seventeenth, who was farther from the line step of being sixteenth; and, in this manner, shifted twenty-one of the junior Lieutenants; and all the Ensigns promoted to Lieutenants by the augmentation, as well as all who continued in the rank of Ensign at a trifling and almost evanescent advantage to themselves, but to the great injury of the battalion from which they were taken, which lost so many officers of two, three, and four years standing. In their new regiments they had to begin again to learn the characters of their Native Officers and men, as if they had been new Ensigns. All the Ensigns were unposted and reposted in this way. If you get a file of

Calcutta newspapers for 1823, you may trace the extent of this evil, by referring to Government General Orders of the 11th of September 1823. The Ensigns who were made Lieutenants in other regiments, fill more than two folio pages. Then come the Court's orders to make each battalion one separate regiment; posting the officers, of course, 1, 3, 5, &c. to the 1st battalion, and 2, 4, 6, &c. to the 2d battalion. But this measure sent officers to their new regiments, where three-fourths of them were perfect strangers. The 47th regiment, in which this mutiny broke out, had one Captain and two young Lieutenants that had belonged, in April last, to the 1st battalion 24th regiment. This is about the average. They have got new officers, new adjutants; many have new commandants from the great promotion of field officers; and the Native Officers complain that every thing is without stability or certainty. This has been done with half the army, either in the field or moving to the frontier, and thus the confusion and consequent discontent has been increased. The mischievous consequences of splitting the battalions, were clearly stated by the Military Secretary to the Council. But I fear he stopped there. A man honestly zealous to save the army from such an injury, would, I think, have done more.

Among the retrenchments which came out lately, and which would have all been carried into effect but for Sir Edward Paget's opposition, was a project to abolish the cavalry system of troop allowances, and throw the supply into the commissariat; thus effectually disgusting all the officers of cavalry.

The present system of the cavalry keeps many men and officers with their regiments, with whom they have lived and served for twenty years. Their troops would follow them to the Indus or the Yellow River, while their Captains remained with them; but remove the officers from the men, and put new ones in their places, and the same devotion could not be relied on.

We have given in another part of our publication a detailed account of the Barrackpore transaction, from the pen of a person in the immediate neighbourhood when it happened, to which we refer our readers. To show the sensation created by this mutiny in other parts of India besides Bengal, we insert some portions of a letter from a distinguished servant of the Company, in the Upper Provinces, on this melancholy subject, dated the 9th of November.

Although I had the day before heard that there was a mutiny in the Corps at Barrackpore, I was so shocked at the result which reached me yesterday, in three several letters from Calcutta, that I could not compose myself to sit down to reply to any letter.—I hope the severe example made of the mutineers will have a salutary effect. I have no doubt that it will, so far as to induce the other regiments under marching orders to move quietly to their destinations; but the effects of the measure will be more slow in their development. These will, I fear, be a more general distaste to the service, and a greater degree of difficulty in recruiting the army. This was bad enough before, you will say, without any sweeping charge of a general change in the service, unfavourable to the native soldier.

We should bear in mind that as we beat the sword out of the hands of natives, and extend agriculture and commerce, we remove the great inducement to enlistment, namely, poverty. Men less readily quit their homes too, when their movements, instead of being confined to the line of the Ganges, (between Annapurshulur and Dacca,) is widened to the Indus, the Nerbuddah, Guzerat, and Candah. Unfortunately, as demands on the exertions of our native soldiery have augmented, our attention to their comforts and to the maintenance of attachment to their European officers have fallen off. Yet we exact and expect the same cheerful obedience as in more favourable times.

'I am confident the 47th had some substantial causes for complaint and discontent; I hope these will be sifted to the bottom; and since we cannot remedy the past, let us learn how to act for the future. The grant of money to procure carriage, after the whole country had been drained by Government, was something like a mockery. Instead of money, the State should, in such an unusual contingency, have allotted carriage. The demand for double-fift batta was an idle piece of bombast, and had nothing to do with the real wants or wishes of the soldiers. The evil principle which, like a moth, has worn away all the best feelings and dispositions in our native army, is the want of European officers. Surely both the local and home Governments must open their eyes to the folly of their present system! If India cannot afford an efficient army, we had better make up our mind to lose the country. We must unravel the web we have wove, and begin our new system by making it the benefit of officers to stick to their regimental duties.

'All the little emoluments from commands, guides, and other contingencies, have vanished. The late regulations have carefully provided for the interests of two officers in every regiment, viz. the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel;—but has this not been done, in some measure, at the expense of the other more numerous and equally important classes? I think it has, even in what has been promulgated: and how much more so would this have been apparent had the other parts of the new system been carried into effect? I should like to see half a dozen of His Majesty's best regiments similarly placed to our Native corps, and if they did not become discontented and mutinous, I would forfeit my life. Remove almost every officer twice in one year, and leave the regiments either with only two or three officers, or with boys who have just left school; in the midst of this derangement, order the corps on a distant and difficult service, with little assistance in carriage, &c. and see how they would act! We must not shut our eyes to such a parallel. Until we learn to keep men and officers together, and have, besides, a sufficient number for all staff employ, and contingent services, our army will never go right. It is not by cutting and clipping the staff, the remedy will be found; an army of 150,000 men requires even a larger staff than we allow—and if regiments were kept complete, these would be no more than a sufficiency of prizes to excite emulation, although under the present miserable system, the prizes nearly equal the blanks (which regimental duty is considered.)

'I am so sick at heart that I really want words to express what I feel.—I hear the Military Secretary is very urgent with Government to begin shooting deserters, "*pour encourager les autres*," no doubt. If our service is not a temptation, we certainly shall not improve it by the shooting system. We must make it of advantage; for, without this, no Sepoys will enter it. I am very anxious to hear the subsequent occurrences at Barrackpore, and the steps taken: the sooner what has happened is promulgated to the army the better. If silence is preserved, great evil may follow; for all that has taken place will be open to exaggeration.'

The writer of the above feels that even silence on the subject must have a most injurious effect. But how much more mischievous must it be to promulgate to the world, as they have confessedly done, a false account, prohibiting others, at the same time, from publishing the truth? Is not this calculated to convince the public that Government is afraid or ashamed to publish the real facts; and to take away all credit from its statements in future? Will not this cause private reports to be eagerly sought after, and give even common rumours more weight than official accounts, which are thus brought into disrepute? Now, as far as concealment was concerned, to attempt such a thing to any purpose is evidently absurd and impossible. For it is well known, that among the natives of

Indian news spread with the greatest rapidity, without any aid from the press. It is a remarkable fact, that the motions of Buonaparte in Europe were known among the native inhabitants of Calcutta, through private channels, before intelligence reached the European part of the community. A victory or a defeat in Russia was often reported for several days among the natives in the Calcutta Bazaar, before the public accounts arrived. With regard to events transacted in their own country, intelligence must, of course, pass with much greater facility. As Europeans, however, from being accustomed to the use of the art of printing, are out of the habit of corresponding privately on such subjects, by silencing the press, we, indeed, shut our own eyes. But we do not shut those of the Natives: on the contrary, we give them a great advantage over us; since, never having been habituated to the use of the press, they continue their ancient system of private correspondence, which, whenever they may have any real designs against us, is far more dangerous, being unseen and unsuspected.

Some hostile movements had taken place also among the Sikhs in the North West of India, and the Lahore Arkbar of the 7th September states that "Rajah Runjeet Singh was still encamped at Wuzeerabad, on the Chumab or Acesinea. An Arzee arrived from Sirdaa Huree Singh, at Durbund, stating that the Zemindars of that quarter having risen in great force, to the number of nearly ten thousand horse and foot, he, with Sirdars Jumiyat Singh and Moolraj, marched to attack them at a place about two kos from Gund Gur'h. The insurgents were prepared for battle; but on the arrival of the troops fled, and in the flight several were killed and wounded. After this success, the Sikh troops occupied the ground deserted by the insurgents; and all the Sirdars, with about one thousand horse and foot, encamped in one enclosure, the remainder of the force being dispersed in the adjacent villages. At night the rebels re-assembled, surrounded the enclosure, and commenced a vigorous attack on it. The fight lasted from midnight until morning. Sirdar Jumiyat Singh, his nephew, Moolraj, commandant of horse, Bod'h Singh and the commander of Dhunna Singh's contingent, and Sudda Sookh, were slain, and of the 1000 horse and foot, only about 200 escaped. The remaining 800 were killed by the insurgents.

'On hearing of the heavy loss thus sustained by the Sikh forces, the Maharajah despatched a Shookkeh to Sirdar Huree Singh, desiring him to strengthen his position at Gund Gur'h, and keep up his spirits, as the Maharajah proposed to join him without delay.'

Although doubtless the best policy of the Indian Government would be to let these opponents waste their strength upon each other, yet from the peculiar habit we have of monopolizing all the quarrels of India to ourselves, as well as the restless spirit we always evince to be something more than spectators of disputes, however little they may concern us, it is by no means improbable that this apparently neutral warfare may be the foundation of much work for our troops. The advices from Saugor likewise state that the Pindaree Chief, Sheikh Dulla, had again appeared in arms near the Nerbudda, and that another refractory Chieftain had advanced to the vicinity of Jubbulpore.

A detachment of the 60th N. I. had marched from Bhopalpoor in the direction of Neemawar, reinforced at Seerora by one hundred horse of the Bhopal contingent to intercept Sheikh Dulla, who had been levying con-

tributions on the village, and was said to have one thousand men under him. A detachment was also expected to co-operate from Saugor. The banditti had also been plundering in greater force than usual about Sharanpore and Hansee, and troops had marched for their dispersion from the North Western stations. The general state of the interior may indeed be regarded as labouring under strong excitement, which a reverse in the war now carrying on must render most dangerous. At Delhi and another station under the Bengal Government, the lives of two of the Civil servants of the Company had been attempted by the natives; one of them was beset by a party and escaped with difficulty, and the other, a judge, was shot at while sitting in his own Kutchery (or Court of Justice) by a sepoy who was apprehended.

The accounts received at Calcutta from Cheduba, stated the troops there to be in good health. The gun-boats and frigate on that station had gone against Ramree and taken three stockades without loss. The troops which had been landed then proceeded about three miles along the coast without seeing a single Burmese, and then returned to the first stockade, where they passed the night. At three o'clock in the morning the enemy attempted to surprise the camp, but were repulsed.

The letters from Nusseerabad confirm the accounts of the disturbances in that district, and state that a battering train was about to depart against Jeypore, when the Rancee had assembled all her troops to pay them their arrears, after receiving which, they refused to return to their cantonments. She had also quarrelled with her Prime Minister, who had taken refuge in the British camp. The latest accounts from Ellichpore also stated that Sheikh Dulla had been defeated on the 12th of October, by a detachment under Captain Seyer, and that on the 21st he was surprised by Lieutenant Lermite, and many of his party killed; but that he himself effected his escape wounded.

The private letters from Calcutta, speaking of the expenses of the war, state that the treasuries were empty and specie fast disappearing. Two successive propositions of loan from the government, one a transfer loan at four per cent., and the other a cash loan at the same rate, the exchange to be two shillings, had failed. The following is an extract of a letter dated October 21:—

‘It is impossible to go on this way very long. A blow will be attempted somewhere, but it is said that even the Government have not made up their minds where; and the public, if you can call it a public, has been able to discover nothing like consistency in the plan of the campaign, or caution in the commencement of the business. You must not suppose the natives of the interior are passive spectators; on the contrary, their attention is strongly rivetted upon the operations on our eastern frontier; and the news of any serious disaster, or even the protraction of a doubtful contest, will be enough to raise up hosts of enemies on every side. It cannot be dissembled that our rule, though most beneficial to the industrious classes, even with them is nowise popular, excepting perhaps in the newly-acquired districts, so lately rescued from utter devastation, and hardly settled enough yet to ensure against relapse. What must be the astonishment of the good people in Leadenhall-street to find that, while they have been securely calculating upon two millions of surplus revenue, and a long series of unmolested patronage and dominion, the very existence of their empire has, in a few months, fallen into jeopardy, under the very Governor-General, whose caution, pa-

cific virtues, and economy, they are perhaps at this moment contrasting with the opposite qualities of his predecessor !

‘ I wish you could be a witness of the surprise with which we receive the intelligence of the East India House debates, wherein all manner of indirect abuse is heaped upon our late Governor-General, and all manner of eulogy passed upon our present Lord and Commander-in-Chief.’

Suttees appear still to disgrace the annals of British Government in Bengal; one having taken place in November opposite Isherah. The victim was a woman about thirty years of age, the mother of three children.

Since closing the preceding summary of Indian news, some additional letters from Bengal, dated between the 15th and 18th of November, have been put into our hands, from which we give the following extracts :—

‘ There is a mess of sixteen officers stationed at Kemmendine, which is a great advantage; and they have a messman who is very clever, and gets them fresh meat when no other mess can procure it. It is not *much*; but still, though only a few mouthfuls for each of them, it is of the utmost consequence in keeping off the scurvy, from the worst kind of which disease the European troops have suffered, and are still suffering greatly.

‘ A communication has been opened with a place called Mergui; and Colonel Miles, of the 89th, has taken a place called Tavoy, and bullocks, buffaloes, &c. were coming from these places by the last accounts, so that it is to be hoped the food is improved by this time, and that the ravages of sickness and death will cease in consequence.

‘ The 13th and 38th King’s regiments are coming up here again, and are to be relieved by the Royals and 47th. They went down to that vile place, Rangoon, two of the finest regiments in India, nearly 800 strong, and they are about to return here with scarcely sixty efficient¹ men in each regiment. Is it not dreadful? The damp and bad food (and scarcity of the latter also) have reduced the force, especially Europeans, dreadfully.

‘ It is impossible to predict what measures will be next taken in this ill-conducted, ill-planned war; nothing of consequence has as yet been done. When the season is sufficiently advanced for the army from the frontiers to march towards Unmerapoora, the capital of Ava, it is to be hoped there will be a speedy finale of this business; but how the Rangoon army are to get there, God only knows; and it will be very hard upon them, who have borne all the brunt and hardship of the contest, to be kept as an army of reserve only, without sharing in the triumph.

‘ The Burmese are shocking savages; they mutilate all the dead bodies they can meet with, and crucify the dead Sepoys, greatly to the horror of the living ones. Two chiefs of Mergui and Tavoy are just arrived here as prisoners. I think Lord Amherst must have enough upon his mind at present, for certainly it is a nervous and critical time for India.

‘ The public prints will have told you of the mutiny at Barrackpore, and that the 47th Native Infantry is struck off the list in consequence. The Company’s Artillery, and two King’s regiments were brought out against the mutineers, and, although every thing is now quiet, and it is to be hoped Sir Edward Paget’s decided conduct has quieted the feeling of disaffection, yet it is supposed to have *spread widely* through the Native troops, and there is no knowing whether it may not show itself somewhere else, where there are no Europeans at

¹ This letter confirms what was stated in another place, with the addition of the word “ efficient,” there being perhaps, 100 in each, though half might be inefficient from sickness.

hand to stop it. The ridiculous system of economy, so much in vogue now-a-days, will not do for India; and one would have thought Governments in this country had experience enough of the folly of interfering with the prejudices of the Natives on the Madras side, without cutting their allowance of coolies and cattle for carriage *here*. The Sepoys are high caste men, and will not carry their cooking things, &c. like Europeans.

‘There is a report, that the hero of Ramoo (a place on the frontiers, where we were worsted at the very beginning of hostilities) is about thirty or forty miles off with 9000 men, with the intention, according to *its own account*, of *driving the English into the sea*. Some people hope the gentleman will *try it*; but, for my part, I would rather he should walk quietly into the sea himself instead! At Mergui and Tavoy, as soon as the chiefs were taken, the poor people returned quietly to their homes, and said they had no wish to fight the English, but their chiefs would *make* them. Many poor wretches from the Dalla shore, opposite to Rangoon, came over at that time in boats, and begged General Campbell’s protection, as they were literally starving. They will be very useful in fishing, &c. The sick are getting better as the climate improves. Fresh provision was getting more abundant. One party had just brought in plenty of cattle. Poor creatures! I am sure they have need of every thing that can be got for them. It is, altogether, a disheartening war, and every one seems tired of it. The letters of the officers say, in every other line, that they hope it will soon be ended. There is nothing but privation and expense, and no glory.’

MADRAS.

Our advices from Madras extend to the early part of November, and are neither less important nor less interesting than those from Bengal. It is through letters received from this Presidency that we learn two very remarkable facts as illustrations of the spirit of dissatisfaction prevailing in the higher parts of Hindoostan as well as in Bengal.

It is stated on the authority of letters from the upper provinces, and appears entitled to as much credit as information coming through such channels generally deserve, that Mr. Oldfield, a civil servant on the Bengal establishment, while on duty in the neighbourhood of Agra, at the Zillah court, of which he is the registrar, or assistant to the judge, was beset by a party of natives, and in the affray was wounded, though not dangerously, before he could effect his escape. It is not said whether the cause of this assault arose from any personal hostility to the individual himself, or a feeling of hatred to the class of which he was a member. In either case, it must be matter of deep regret.

The other instance of a similar nature, which is communicated through the same channel, is, that Mr. Scott, also of the Bengal civil service, registrar of the Zillah court at Moradabad, and joint magistrate of a neighbouring district, was actually shot at, while sitting on the bench and administering the affairs of his own court. This was done by a Sepoy, one of the guards of the court itself: but fortunately the musket either missed fire, or was turned aside so as to save the life of the intended victim, and the Sepoy was accordingly secured and taken into custody.

Such events as these are indications of a spirit that cannot be mistaken: and although no more cause for this spirit may exist now than formerly, yet it at least proves that men are emboldened by the aspect of the times, to display that spirit in a manner which they had hitherto hesitated to do.

Accounts received from Bareilly, which is also under the Bengal Government, state that the squadron of the 5th cavalry, which had arrived

there, and were under orders to march off again on the following day, to join their head quarters, had been directed to stand fast, in consequence of some intelligence from Moradabad, to which the papers could but vaguely allude; the fear of offending Government preventing them from more fully explaining.

The most recent accounts from this Presidency (Madras), are of an equally alarming nature; and show that the spirit of resistance to the British authority, which we have already noticed under the preceding head, has more ramifications than could have been supposed. Letters of the 3d Nov. mention an unfortunate affair as having taken place between a small body of our troops and the garrison of a fort belonging to a Native Chief. From the slight detail furnished by the Indian papers, it appears that a troop of horse artillery, under the command of Captain Black, being on the march from Fort St. George to another station, when about thirty miles from Darwar, was ordered by Mr. Thackeray, the chief Commissioner and Collector in that part of the country, to attack a small fort, the chief of which had manifested a disposition to revolt, and had put himself in an attitude of resistance. An attack was consequently made, nearly at the commencement of which a sally took place from the fort, and the whole troop it was found had been cut off, (with the exception, it was added, of Dr. Turnbull, the Assistant Surgeon.) Captain Black, Lieutenants Sewell and Dighton, and Mr. Thackeray, were reported to be killed, and Assistant Collectors Stevenson and Elliot taken prisoners, after being severely wounded.

Such is the only statement of facts which the Indian papers thought it safe to give. We are enabled, however, from private sources, (now unfortunately the only one through which truth can be obtained,) to add some further particulars respecting this affair, from letters written on the spot. The following are extracts from a letter, dated near Darwar, October 24:

‘The affray commenced on the 23d. The day previous, Mr. Thackeray gave orders for sentries to be placed over the treasure and jewels in the fort, amounting to about fifteen lacs. He also ordered two guns of the horse artillery to be brought into the fort on the morning of the 23d. As a party of artillery was coming in to relieve the party sent in the day before, the people refused to admit them. When this was made known to Mr. T. he ordered Captain Black to proceed to the gateway and plant his two remaining guns, giving them one hour’s law. This having elapsed without their compliance with the requisition, another half hour was allowed; after the expiration of which, the guns were fired and the gates blown open, upon which the enemy commenced a tremendous fire upon our horse artillery and infantry. Mr. Thackeray then proceeded towards the fort from his tent, and was almost immediately shot; receiving a matchlock ball in the groin, he fell, as also did Capt. Black and Lieut. Dighton; and Lieut. Sewell was badly wounded.

‘They shortly afterwards took Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot prisoners, and brought them in front of our troops, who were still firing. The above Gentlemen requested our troops to desist from firing, saying, that their lives would be instantly sacrificed if they persisted; consequently all surrendered, and were taken prisoners. On the 24th, a sergeant of the horse artillery, a jumadar, and all the Sepoys, were released and allowed to proceed unmolested, and they came in yesterday morning. Mr. T.’s body was likewise allowed to be brought in; and the sight of it was dreadful, indeed. He was cut on the head, one arm was cut off, the face dreadfully disfigured by sword wounds, and hardly to be recognized. We attended his last remains yesterday even-

ing. Thus fell our much lamented friend. A better man never existed.—
Darwar, 26th Oct. 1824.'

The cause of this rupture is said, in the *Bombay Gazette* of 3d Nov. to be this :

'It appears the Deshai or Chieftain of this place dying in September without any issue or natural heirs, the lands held by him as a Jagheer lapsed to the sovereign state. The management of them had therefore been assumed by Mr. Thackeray, until he should be furnished with further instructions for his guidance. Some of the principal servants of the late Deshai had concealed the fact of his death, and endeavoured to impose on the Government the adoption of a child of the late Deshai, but which proved to be totally false and unfounded.'

A letter of the 26th of October, from the same quarter, adds the following particulars :

'It is to be feared that Mr. Thackeray acted with unfortunate precipitation in ordering the guns to be fired; the insurgents having, it is understood, repeatedly required him to withdraw his troops, adding, that they would then conform to the orders of Government. This he would not accede to, and we have paid dearly for it. Letters have been received from Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot, in which they say, that if the force from Belgaum should take summary measures against the place, their lives would be instantly forfeited. We are given to understand that the Kittoor people are willing to negotiate with the Bombay Government, upon condition that their lives shall be spared, and the country given over to them on its former footing of complete independence; that it is only on these conditions they will liberate Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot; that, on the other hand, they will put those Gentlemen to death, and afterwards defend the place to the last man.

'There are various reports raised hourly. I have related the substance of such as have reached me. The bodies of Captain Black and Lieut. Dighton have come in; and Lieut. Sewell is here in a very dangerous condition. The force from Belgaum is in the vicinity of Kittoor, and Mr. Edco is now the principal civil authority on the spot. It is understood that he will join Col. Pierce, escorted by a party of horse artillery, amounting to about two troops, being those who were so lucky as to escape; but their four gallopper guns and ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy. Col. Pierce will be likely to stand in need of reinforcements, and will, probably, call for every disposable man.'

A letter from Madras, of a later date than those from the scene of action, and embodying apparently the facts and opinions then most currently known and entertained, contains the following remarks :

'I take the earliest opportunity of sending you some of the news in this quarter. Two days ago despatches arrived from Darwar and Belgaum, announcing that Mr. Thackeray had directed an attack on Kittoor, in which himself, Captain Black, of the horse artillery (Madras), and several other officers, were killed; only Messrs. Stevenson and Elliott, two of Mr. Thackeray's assistants, and about 10 Sepoys, have survived, and they are all prisoners of the Raja in Kittoor, which is garrisoned by about 4 or 5000 men. Mr. Stevenson was permitted to write and to state, that it was the resolution of the Raja and his people, to sacrifice themselves as well as the prisoners, if a shot was fired against the place. Mr. Fullerton was left in charge at Darwar, with only 30 or 40 Sepoys, to protect the Cutcherry; and, by his letters, appears to have been in a great fright on hearing of this occurrence; but, probably, the brigade at Kulladghee was able to afford protection to Darwar. The Belgaum force, it seems, have been unable to reach Kittoor

immediately, in consequence of Appa Desshai, commonly called the Mepankur, having destroyed all the boats on the rivers, so that he also must be in rebellion. Major Lodwick's regiment, the 6th, was countermarched by orders from Poona, and returned here by forced marches yesterday; but is ordered to proceed on field service immediately, and to join the troops assembling near Darwar, under the command of Colonel Pierce.

'We expect a movement to the southward of the horse artillery, and irregular horse from Poona, in the course of a few days. These preparations appear to indicate apprehensions of a general disturbance amongst the southern Mahratta Chiefs; but we are all here entirely in the dark, and I have not heard of any agitation amongst the Putwendhan Chiefs, who are our nearest neighbours; if they get up, we shall have enough to do to protect the Raja's territory, although a wing of the 14th Regt. from Ahmednuggur is ordered down to replace the 6th Regt. We are ignorant of all particulars of the unfortunate event at Kittoor, and every one is a good deal surprised at the attack of such a place by a few companies of Sepoys, and also at Mr. Thackeray and his assistants, having been, it would appear, in the thick of it. Captain Black also, and two other officers, were merely on a visit, it seems, when the event took place. The business altogether is very obscure.'

The attack at Kittoor appears, by all authorities, to have been rashly and unnecessarily determined on by Mr. Thackeray; and although there can be no doubt that the refractory Natives will be at last put down there as well as elsewhere, it would have been much better if such an exposure of our weakness had not taken place, particularly at the present time, when there is much distress in the country, and no great force within immediate reach.

The Coolies, (a race of natives so called, and not porters, as that word implies,) near Ahmedabad, have also shown a disposition to revolt; and, in quelling them, one officer (Lieut. Ellis) is said to have been killed, and about 200 Sepoys who were with him.

All the treasuries of the three Presidencies were at a low ebb; and in one, the payment of the civil servants was suspended until further orders. The 6 per cent. loans had not succeeded at either of the Presidencies. Provisions were quite exhausted at Rangoon. Several native regiments were ordered to Darwar, and money was wanted for them also. Add to which, there was expected to be a deficiency of the usual revenue from a failure of rain. The threatened payment of the crore and half of 5 per cent. loan in March, 1825, would, no doubt, be abandoned. The merchants at Bombay were looking to the opening of a loan at 5 or 6 per cent., and as the demand for bills became less, the exchange was expected to rise.

A letter from Madras, dated early in November, contains the following passage:—

'The 4 per cent. loan has been successful at Bombay; you are, no doubt aware of its disrepute in Calcutta. Here very little has been subscribed to it; nothing by calculating men, whose expectations having been raised by the rumoured excessive expensiveness of the war, and further stimulated by the indiscreet exposure of the impoverished state of the Treasury, manifested by the offer of Treasury Notes for all further demands, hold back in hopes of necessity obliging the Bengal financiers, ere long, to offer better terms. But it will be dire necessity alone which will induce them to advance in terms once offered.'

We shall conclude our summary of news, obtained through the letter from Madras, by the following statement, of the accuracy of which

we have no reason to doubt; but as the Chairman of the East India Company, in his place in debate, thought fit to question even its probability, we shall repeat it here in words at length. It is this: that H. M. 13th and 38th regiments of foot, who had embarked with the original expedition to Rangoon, in battalions of 800 strong, and were to be relieved by the Royals and H. M. 47th, had, in consequence of living in the swamps of a flat piece of land almost continually under water, and deprived of all nutritious sustenance, being fed chiefly on salt beef, without even the luxury of wholesome water to drink, being reduced, the one of them to about 80, and the other to 60 efficient men; and these in so debilitated a state, that a day's march was more than they could have performed. We can have no possible interest in the exaggeration of facts like these. We give them on the best authority that can now be had—letters from the country itself. Let the British Government only emancipate the press of India from its present degrading fetters, and then we may have fuller, as well as more accurate information, on all that relates to the country.

As a proof of the heartlessness and perversion of all good feeling which a fettered press, and the suppression of all honest opinion is almost sure to produce, we need only offer to the indignant notice of the English reader, the following specimen of flippant mockery, and disgraceful indifference to the sufferings of a starving population; which cannot be read without abhorrence. It is from the *Madras Courier* of Sept. 7, 1824, and is as follows:

'LOCAL.—We have nothing *novel* to offer under this head:—PEOPLE ARE STARVING,—no sign of rain,—and the Madras Assembly took place last evening.'

We need not add a word of comment to such a text as this.

The following are portions of a letter containing some intelligence from the seat of war at Rangoon, which has not before transpired:

'The state of Indian affairs have undergone a great revolution since you departed from the Tropics;—both at home, as to the new organization of the army, which is doubtless a great improvement, in as much as it will keep up that acquaintance between men and officers, which was formerly prevented by so constant removals; and also, because a second battalion can no longer form a place of refuge for those whose conduct has disgraced them in a first; this Burman war, too, is a great innovation, but few seem inclined to think for the better. You will, no doubt, if justice be done, hear sounding reports of the zeal of the Madras army; and, indeed, the very circumstance of our having sent five Brigades, (containing five European regiments,) and being in readiness to embark *two more*, will speak for itself. The Sepoys walked into the boats as carelessly as the Europeans, not a man missing,—nay, more, corps not ordered on the service have, in several instances, turned out one hundred volunteers for other colours, to be shipped off at twenty-four hours' notice.

'The case in Bengal was somewhat different,—the first onset was the total destruction of thirteen companies near Chittagong,—the refusal of the *Marina Battalion* to embark,—the arrival of an order for a Madras brigade, to protect Chittagong, which is now there under Colonel Fair, and for a Madras force to protect Calcutta, which has, however, since been countermanded. Sir E. Paget wrote to Sir Alexander in the highest terms of us,—"I envy you your Presidency," &c. After all this you will be astonished when I say, that our troops have been so ill-treated as to cause a general disgust through the whole. It was generally supposed that our force, under Brigadier-General

Major Bean of the 54th, would act in some degree independently of that under Sir Archibald Campbell, from Bengal, after the capture of Rangoon. The reverse has unfortunately been the case;—he is either the most prejudiced or the most misguided man they could have sent,—his conduct to our staff, &c. has approached to insult. The last private letters hint at his having put our engineers and pioneers under Bengal officers; and it is a fact, that our artillery has never been employed, while he has taken four-fifths of their ammunition for the Bengalees.

'The despatches have been filled with their exploits, and the Madras troops have been only once mentioned; which once, however, may give rise not improbably to an inquiry. Two columns of ours, under Colonels Hodgson and H. Smith, were ordered to the attack of a Stockade a few miles up the river, which Sir Archibald Campbell himself, in the Hastings Frigate, was to attack by water. His report says, *the columns failed through a mistake*, and private letters explain this to be, that the Madras Europeans got in and were fired on by the Hastings; the men becoming confused fired at random, and what with the rain, the thick jungle, and the fire of the Hastings, the Stockade was abandoned with the loss of four officers and fifty men, killed and wounded, chiefly by our own fire. By the last accounts they were so hemmed in, that no one could stir a quarter of a mile from the camp except in force. We are in such want of provisions as to be supplied from the ships, though the Bengal troops have four months' stock. Nothing has been done since the capture of Rangoon in May.—'Tis the height of the Monsoon, and though the Burmese made no resistance in the town, they are now like bees round us,—the jungle is so thick that they cannot be seen within pistol shot, and they make a Stockade in *one night* so silently, that our men cannot discover them till fired on.—Every day they have to thrust them out of these enclosures, which are burnt regularly, but always replaced before morning; in fact, they are the worst enemies we have had for a long time. The portion of the Bengal army that are still in the north are watching *Ranjel Sing*, who has a large and very fine army in readiness, as *he* says, for Kabool.'

There is one remarkable fact stated in this letter, of which we had not heard before: namely, that *the Marine Battalion at Bengal had refused to embark!* This was indeed a much more decided and open act of mutiny than the conduct of the 17th N. I. at Barrackpore. The Marine Battalion, as its name imports, is raised expressly for the purpose of serving by sea, and generally furnishes the Marines to the Company's ships of war. For *them*, therefore, to refuse to embark, was a bold step indeed! But what was done to remove the causes of their dissatisfaction (for causes no doubt they had) we do not know. We only know that they were not massacred and mowed down by a masked battery of artillery; or we should certainly have heard of that. Sir Edward Paget, who, be it remembered is a king's officer, and therefore not likely to have much sympathy with what are called the "idle prejudices" of the Sepoys, was then up in the interior of the country: and those having the military command at Calcutta, thought it perhaps wiser to satisfy the reasonable demands of the men, than to blow them out of existence by a discharge of cannon. The fact is, this mutiny was appeased by gentle means, and not a life was sacrificed. We have no hesitation in expressing our firm belief that the subsequent mutiny might have been suppressed in the same easy manner, and the evils of the dreadful carnage and its dispiriting effects throughout all India have been saved. Let those who neglected these means answer to their own hearts and to the world for the consequences!

BOMBAY.

THE letters and papers received from Bombay since our last, extend from the 1st of October to the 5th of November, the latest date received. The contents of the papers are as meagre and uninteresting as they must always be under such a system of terror as that which keeps down free discussion and public opinion in India. The banishment of Mr. Fair from Bombay is likely to operate as a check upon all independence of the Press in that island for some time to come; and this, added to the fact of there being only two papers in the Settlement—one of them the Government Gazette, published by authority, and the other the Gazette of a Member of Government, equally careful not to speak freely, except to censure those opposed to men in authority—is sufficient to account for the base use to which this powerful engine, the Press, is used by those who wield it without an opponent or even the power of reply. Our private letters are, however, more unrestrained in their communications, and from these we accordingly draw our most valuable information.

From a letter written early in October, we learn that the hostile feelings of the Barristers towards the Judges, at Bombay, had in no degree abated. The Advocate-General, it is said, though less violent before the two Judges of the Supreme Court than he was before the single one, as Recorder, continues to conduct his cases in such a manner as even those best acquainted with the modes of proceeding in England, think offensive and disrespectful in the highest degree. It is said, indeed, that formal representations on this subject have been made to the Board of Control, and that his recalc had even been thought more than probable. It is now universally understood, that the secret cause of all this hostility towards the Judges, but to Sir Edward West especially, arose from his honest and praise-worthy endeavour to stop the career of extortion which the lawyers were running with unchecked reins at Bombay. This conduct in a Judge deserved the thanks of the whole community, and the especial patronage of the Government under which it was displayed: but unhappily for Sir Edward West's peace, though much to his honour, he espoused the cause of the oppressed and injured Natives of India, and extended the protection of the law to those who had before experienced little else but its evils. It was this, unquestionably, which brought upon him the hatred of the Ruling Powers; and we have, therefore, no difficulty in believing what is currently rumoured and generally credited in the best circles of Bombay, namely, that in all their insults and opposition to the Court, the Barristers were backed by two of the Members of Government, Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Warden; by the latter more openly, but not more effectually, than by the former. The *Bombay Gazette*, of which Mr. Warden was himself the chief Proprietor from the time of the suspension of the Bar, until the unhappy Editor, Mr. Fair, was sent home, (it being rumoured that he had relinquished his proprietary right in it since that event,) regularly and systematically misrepresented almost all the proceedings of the Court; and it is now ascertained and believed by many, that the Barristers themselves assisted in furnishing those garbled reports, and that Mr. Fair was by much the most innocent of all the persons engaged in these transactions, though the parties who supported him had neither the virtue nor the courage to come forward and avow themselves like men in the hour of need. Sir Ralph Rice, the late Recorder of

Penang, had arrived, according to the latest accounts, to take his seat as one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and as Mr. Elphinstone had found it necessary to redeem his former opposition to the Judges, by offering up Mr. Fair as a victim to their offended dignity,—a measure which no circumstance whatever can justify, and which, though in our estimation it was undignified in the Judges to ask, it was still more degrading to the ex-liberal Governor to grant—it was thought that matters would be more amicably conducted than heretofore. We trust, however, that neither Sir Edward West, nor his colleagues, are thus to be won from that part of their duty which consists in protecting the helpless Natives from the oppression of their Governors, however they may have committed themselves by consenting to let their countrymen be dealt with according to arbitrary power, and not according to law. We should be more satisfied to see all classes equally shielded by its protection.

As an illustration of the uses to which the Press of Bombay is applied, we may mention, that in Mr. Warden's Gazette of the 6th of October, there is a letter, probably written by himself, but certainly from some one high in authority, commenting on an assertion made in Parliament, as to the threatened deportation of a Native, which the writer pretends to insinuate is incorrect, though he must have known at the time that no man in Bombay, even if he knew the circumstance referred to, dared to come forward with his proofs, as he might be sent to overtake Mr. Fair, in his circuitous voyage by the way of Bengal and China to England, for the benefit of his health, and the improvement of his manners! The magnanimity of these Indian authorities in affecting to throw down the gauntlet when they know that no man dare take it up, in giving a challenge which it would be little short of treason for any man to accept, cannot be sufficiently admired. This is the evil of a *FETTERED PRESS*: the cure is only to be found in establishing a *free* one. This letter, however, deserves, perhaps, something more than being merely referred to: we shall, therefore, give the whole of it to our readers, in separate portions, making a few remarks on it as we proceed.—The writer says:

‘ In the debates that appear in the periodical prints in England on Indian affairs, nothing surprises an Indian so much as the ignorance which some Members of the House of Commons betray of the subject on which they are enlightening the nation. This is very apparent in some of the speeches on Mr. Buckingham's case; while others are led away by misrepresentation or misinformation. I have to notice only one on this occasion. There is a passage in the speech of an honourable Baronet in that debate which has certainly surprised me very much; and as the point is susceptible of elucidation, I should feel obliged by any individual pointing out the year in which the transaction occurred:

“ It appears that a Native had made a good bargain with the Government, which they were desirous he should abandon, and which he was determined to keep. (*A laugh.*) He was threatened with deportation, (to what place is not specified,) and his answer was to be found on the Company's records. With a spirit becoming an Englishman, with that spirit which the Natives always manifested, if not crushed to the ground, as they too often were, (*hear, hear,*) he answered to this effect:—‘ Honourable Sir, I have been informed that you threaten to turn me off the Island. I believe it is untrue. I am satisfied, Honourable Sir, that you are too well acquainted with the laws of your country, and the rights of British subjects to take that course.’ ” (*Hear.*)

‘ Those individuals who have never been in India, or who, having visited it, are little acquainted with the country, and still less with the measures of

the local Governments, are the most ready to imbibe unworthy impressions of the mode in which the Natives are treated by their rulers. With such false impressions they blindly run on the rock of prejudice, which tinctures and distorts the whole of their proceedings.'

This is all very lofty and very fine : but supposing it to be even true, which, as long as the History of Mr. Mill exists, any man may fairly doubt, as that great and excellent work, unrivalled for its comprehensive, as well as accurate information on Indian affairs, is the production of an individual who never set foot in the country ; yet, supposing it to be perfectly true, it is, unfortunately, most inapplicable to the present case. The Honourable Baronet to whom the writer alludes must have been known to him by name, as he quotes this portion of his speech from the reports of the debate in the newspapers, where his name is mentioned at length. He ought to have known, therefore, (for no man in India besides himself can be ignorant of the fact) that this worthy Baronet passed the best years of his life in India, at the head of a mercantile house of the first character, and most extensive connexions ; that his opportunities of knowing the character of the Natives of India was as great as that of almost any man that ever visited the country, and that throughout his whole career, as well as up to the present moment, he was, and still continues to be, one of their warmest advocates and most faithful friends. The reasoning of the Bombay Member of Government, (for so we must consider the writer in Mr. Warden's Gazette) is hardly more accurate than his knowledge of facts. He says :

' But can any thing more strongly prove the enlightened character of a Native ; (which in this instance was so much more so than that of the Government which he seems to have been instructing in its duties ;) can there be a more decisive proof of the spirit of independency, and *therefore* of the improvement in THEIR habits that has been generated by British rule, than the reply which is said to have issued forth from the pen of a Native !'

We beg the reader to admire the logic of this short sentence. It is quite worthy of one who speaks with an authority, and who is not, therefore, bound to be reasonable, as other men are. A whole race of people, composed of all manner of men, Hindoos, Musulmans, Jews, Parsees, and others, living under British conquest, and British rule, are so subservient to those who govern them, that not one man in a million dares utter a murmur of complaint. *One* such man, however, *does* arise, from a class possessing the greatest portion of intelligence and spirit to be found among the Natives generally, we mean the Parsees, and *he alone* ventures to speak his mind more freely than his neighbours : When lo ! the Bombay Counsellor assumes, that because a Native had been found not "enlightened" enough, merely, but rather *bold* enough to do this, therefore, he exclaims, "What a striking proof that *all other* Natives have been *improved* in their habits by our rule !" Alas ! the truth is, and the writer himself must well know this, that the Natives want no "enlightening" to teach them the nature of the English rule : they *feel* it too accurately, and *know* much more on this subject than we are willing to believe. They want "emboldening" only : and if they were at liberty to speak freely, without fear of punishment for so doing, hundreds would be found as able to teach their rulers their duty, as this bold and independent Parsee ; not, however, because we have taught them this lesson, since the very na-

ture of our despotism in India has a directly contrary tendency. The writer proceeds :

‘Some abuses were discovered some years ago in the office of Superintendent of Police, who was accustomed to send suspicious *strangers* off the Island,—a kind of power similar to that which is exercised even in England under the Alien Bill. With all the overwhelming power which the Governments of India are imagined to possess, and with which they “*too often crush*” the Natives of India, they have none so arbitrary in reference to foreign Natives, even as that exercised under the Bill in question. Any attempt, however, or even a thought, to banish a Native of Bombay from the Island—with views of economy too—is so very extraordinary a procedure, that its proof or disproof is desirable on many grounds; and especially in vindication of the character of the Government.’

Here is an Englishman—can he be worthy the name?—who thinks that the Government of India have no power so arbitrary as that which the Government of England possess, to send away aliens! and he thinks it necessary to “vindicate the character” of the Indian Government from what he would have us believe to be a foul aspersion on its purity. Why, it was only one short month before his letter was penned, that one of his own countrymen, not an alien, but a brother, Mr. Fair, was sent, in the most arbitrary manner that can be well imagined, a voyage round the world; was transported, like a felon, untried and unheard (for the offer made by him to substantiate the truth of his report by respectable witnesses, was rejected with scorn, and thought to be only a fresh insult to Government, by presuming to be able to prove as true what they had already pronounced to be false). Does the Government of England possess any power equal to this? Can they kidnap any Englishman they choose, and send him to Bencoolen or China, for merely mentioning his friend and patron’s name, as was done in the case of Mr. Arnot? or giving an incorrect report of public proceedings, as in the case of Mr. Fair? The Bombay writer may, perhaps, suppose that in India, even Englishmen are aliens. Perhaps they may be; and, as such, may really have no business there at all! But then, what becomes of the right of his honourable masters to all the wealth and power of the country in which they themselves are strangers? By what authority has Mr. Warden a seat in their Council? By what authority does he maintain his Gazette? And why does he and others write in it? If Mr. Fair was an alien, Mr. Warden is equally so. If free-speaking Englishmen have no business in India, enslaved and tonguetied Englishmen ought not to have a better right to be there: and as to the vindication of the British name and character, it is not difficult to pronounce in whose hands that duty might be most safely reposed.

We may mention, *en passant*, that even the threatened deportation of a native of India is not so “extraordinary a procedure” as this official writer supposes. In Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, such things have been often heard and often known. We are not so insensible to the safety of the parties as to mention their names here, for that would ensure them some signal proof of the vengeance of their oppressors elsewhere, if the parties themselves are still living; and if dead, their descendants would not fare the better for our indiscretion. We proceed, however, to give the last portion of this memorable letter, being desirous that not a syllable of it should be lost:

‘It is evident from the tenor of the letter from this Native that he had received no official communication of any intention to banish him; and

little doubt exists in my mind that no such measure has ever entered into the imagination of the Governments of this Presidency from the year 1668 to this hour,—a hoax must have been passed on the Native which he has transferred to others, but if any one can state the year, or furnish a clue to discover when this extraordinary bad bargain, which required the adoption of so extraordinary a measure to cancel, was contracted, they will oblige, Sir, your most obedient servant,
VINNEX.

The first portion of this paragraph is most probably true. The Governments in India know well enough what to communicate in writing, and what to keep in the more safe and irresponsible form of verbal communication. When the determination of the Bengal Government was taken, not to suffer the property of the Calcutta Journal Press to be made any use of whatever as long as one hated individual was likely to derive any profit from that source, they took care to cause this to be intimated in those "winged words" which are not afterwards to be produced in evidence against their utterers. So, also, in the case of this or any other native of India, a verbal threat would be as effectual as a written one: and we all know what a *hint* from men in authority can do, in every country under the government of an avowed and absolute despotism, as that of India is admitted to be.

But the highest flight of this official writer's absurdity is left for the last. He assumes to himself the attribute of omniscience as well as of omnipotence: and entering into the heart of every man that has held authority in India from the year 1668 up to the present hour, he asserts his belief that no such idea as that of deporting a native ever entered into the imagination of these immaculate men! Here is a searcher of hearts indeed! An ordinary man would have been content to say, that no such event had actually happened: but men who speak with the tongues of oracles, and whom no one dares to question or contradict, assume a higher tone, and presume, at least, to know what is hidden from all other eyes but their own. If even the *acts* of Indian rulers were told in the language of truth, we should have a sad picture of human infirmity; but if all these collective *imaginings*, from 1668 to 1824, could be presented in their true colours on the tablet of history, we believe that even they themselves would turn from the picture with horror and dismay.

The last modest request, inviting any one who remembers it, to state the particulars of this "bad bargain," is quite worthy of the author's pen. He well knows that no Englishman on the spot, no, not even the worthy Baronet's relatives and friends, dare come forward to substantiate the assertion, without risking more than it would be worth to put down such an empty vindication of offended authority as this: and he knows also, that no native, acquainted with the disgraceful transaction, would be so silly as to suffer himself to be ensnared by such a trap as this, into further difficulties, by accepting the invitation offered. No, no! while the press of India remains in its present state, free for all men in authority to say what they please, and fettered to all men who could contradict them; if a hundred "vindicators" were to appear in the ranks of authority, and Mr. Warden's *Gazette* were to be filled with nothing else but their lucubrations, they would obtain no credit here. If they will not themselves speak the truth, let them permit others to do so for them: till then they are unworthy of consideration.

To return to the subject of general news from this Presidency, we

shall first give an extract from a letter, written at one of the principal stations in the Deccan, toward the end of October 1824, which is as follows:

'We shall have a famine all over the Deccan—Government must know it, and could, in a great degree, soften the misery by coming forward in time, and laying out four or five lacs of rupees in grain; for there is plenty in the country, but all getting into the hands of forestallers; and if Government came into the markets against them, many thousand poor wretches would be saved; but no—they would lose considerably, and that tells bad in Leaden-hall Street. This country has been going to the dogs ever since it was conquered; and it must ever be the case under such a rapacious revenue system. In 1823, there was grain enough raised for five years' consumption. It was then of so little value, that the tyots could not realize enough to pay the collector; still Government insisted on cash, and the consequence was the sale of five times the usual quantity of grain to parts of the country (Benar particularly) which had not been so productive, and two bad years following, the people have now neither money nor grain. God help the poor inoffensive wretches! They really deserve something better than the East India Company's blessings—missionaries and starvation.'

It would be well, perhaps, if the Government at Bombay could have heard this under their own Presidency, and at the moment when it was most useful, instead of its coming to their ears for the first time, as it now will, through these pages, after performing a voyage to England and back again in the interim: but if the paragraph given above had been printed in Bombay, *in any paper not the property of a member of Government*, the paper would probably be suppressed; and if sent to either of the Public Secretaries by an officer in the service, he would, perhaps, have had a reprimand for his officiousness as a reward. The following is a portion of a letter from Bombay, dated early in November:

'There appears to be but little doubt on the public mind as to the pecuniary wants of the Bengal Government, although the attempt to impress it with a contrary opinion, by opening a loan at 4 per cent., did for an instant blind a few of the Natives as to the real state of the finances. The subscriptions to this loan amount to about 40 lacs, including 25 from the Bank of Bengal, I understand; and that Government calculates largely on the subscriptions here, at Bombay, and at Madras. They have applied to the King of Oude for a supply of cash, and, it is said, will obtain 50 lacs from him. Another loan, however, on terms more favourable to the public is confidently looked for at Calcutta, and money is scarce in consequence of intending purchasers hoarding their means. The one and a half crore will not be paid off in March next, as far as present appearances indicate, and paper has risen a little within the last few days.

'The Government of Bengal is making large purchases of cattle for the expedition, and collecting, *per force*, all the hackeries (carts) they can find. Their preparations are now, indeed, beginning to look somewhat in earnest, and troops are in motion towards each point of attack. From Rangoon we expect soon to hear of the army having commenced their advance towards Amrapoora.'

By subsequent accounts it appears that the expectations formed of the 4 per cent. loan had been completely disappointed, the paper having fallen to a discount of 1 or 2 per cent., which of course compelled Government to commence drawing it in again.

Some accounts of the proceedings of the Sikhs had been received at Bombay, by which we learn that the Maharajah arrived at Umrutseer

early in September, and immediately intimated to the chiefs his intention of proceeding to Cabool, and if that kingdom should submit to his authority, he promised to perform all required of him. The ditch and fortifications of Umrutseer were directed to be put in repair, and orders were given for purchasing a considerable quantity of iron for the purpose of being cast into shot. A subsequent account mentions his arrival at Lahore with the whole of his army, shortly after which he despatched a letter to the Ameers of Sindé demanding the tribute which they had been accustomed to pay to the king of Cabool, and threatening, in event of a refusal, that he would resort to hostile measures.

Letters of November 3, advert to the disturbed state of the Bheels, and say they are plundering in the northern Concan, which is close to Bombay. The whole of the surrounding country is, it is said, in a most disordered state; and one writer says, nothing is more certain than that, with the troubles in India Proper, the war in the Burmese territories, and the hostile movements in the north, the Company's Government will have their hands full. All the letters from this quarter, as well as from every other part of India, earnestly pray that Lord Amherst may be recalled.

With respect to the disturbances in the north, alluded to above, we have an illustration of what is meant by these expressions, in the heads of a letter received from Bengal, dated the 15th of November, but which we place here for the purpose of affording the explanation which it gives. This letter states, that the Jeypore states are in open rupture with us; that Sir David Ochterlony has taken the field in that quarter to keep them in awe, or to quell them;—that the Sikhs are in motion;—that Runjeet Singh has a large force collected;—that Ameer Khan is gathering troops around him from all quarters;—and that every person or state in acknowledged enmity with the British power, is more than usually active and stirring. Such is the threatening aspect of affairs!

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

THE constant inquiry in all circles connected with India appears to be — *When* is Lord Amherst to be recalled? No one seems to entertain a doubt that this *must* sooner or later happen: their only uncertainty appears to be as to the time. Neither the Ministers, however, nor the Court of Directors are willing to undo what they have done, as long as there is a hope of its being avoided. It requires the magnanimity of a great mind to acknowledge an error, and still more to set about repairing it as soon as it is discovered. But for such greatness of mind, the strictest search at the India House, or Board of Control, would be a waste of time. The Directors *know* that he has shown himself incompetent to govern India: but not one of their whole body rises to avow this. Nay, they even show, by their silence, an acquiescence in the complaint of the only Director who has spoken on the subject, and who rose to deprecate the idea of passing any unfavourable opinion on the conduct of an absent man! The Board of Control are equally satisfied of the incompetency of Lord Amherst to discharge the high and arduous duties of his station: yet neither will they admit this publicly to the world. The practice of both these

bodies is to uphold and defend, outwardly at least, whoever is acting under their immediate authority; though, as in the case of Lord Hastings—at the very moment they are applauding him in public to the skies—they may be writing the severest censures on his measures in secret despatches.

It is hardly just, however, in the present instance, to attribute all the disastrous changes which have taken place in India since Lord Hastings left that country, to his successor, Lord Amherst. It is his misfortune to be a weak man, or he never would have consented to make such pledges as were required of him before he went out, to carry all the dirty orders of the Directors into effect for curtailing the allowances of the Military Service, already too scanty, and needing increase rather than abatement. It is his weakness also which has enabled those more wicked men by whom he was surrounded to carry their iniquitous measures into effect. We do not believe that Lord Amherst would, had he acted on his own unaided views and feelings, have invaded the rights and property of individuals in the manner which, backed by Mr. Adam, Mr. Bayley, and Mr. Harrington, he has, conjointly with them, suffered to be done. Neither would the notion of a Burmese war, or a Rangoon expedition, have originated with him. The former, it is said, was the advice of the Political Secretary, Mr. Swinton, a quiet and inoffensive man in his way; but as much fit to be Political Secretary in India, as Mr. Trant to be Prime Minister of England. The latter is attributed to the great professional talents of the Military Secretary, Col. Casement, than whom, perhaps, the Bengal army hardly ever had a more unpopular man at its head.

To the interests of India and England it is the same thing, however, whether the wickedness of many, or the weakness of one, had the largest share in producing the evils that have resulted.—without the one, the other would have been unequal to the production of the misery entailed by both; and the most desirable event would be, to see the whole governing body changed. As this is not likely to happen, however, the next best step would be, the appointment of an able and popular Governor-General, to unite the office of Commander-in-Chief in the same person. For this appointment we know of no two men more suited than Lord William Bentinck or Lord Hastings. The former has not sufficient interest at Court; and the age of the latter may be thought an objection. But, it is said, that Ministers have actually sent out the *Lifley* frigate to bring Lord Amherst home; and that to Lord Hastings, who is shortly expected in a frigate from Malta, they are prepared to offer the joint offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India, if he will accept them.

Nothing could be better for India, at the present moment, than his return, especially as it appears to be so ardently wished by all classes in that country, and would undoubtedly restore confidence in a greater degree than could be done at once by an untried stranger. If Lord William Bentinck could be appointed to accompany him, in order to succeed, in the event of the Marquis meeting the fate of Lord Cornwallis, who returned only to leave his remains in India, it would be a wise provision for keeping that confidence unbroken. It is added, that, in consequence of this intention of Ministers, Lord Combermere, though actually appointed to the office of Commander-in-Chief, will not leave England until this point is settled. From all we hear on this subject, his remain-

ing at home will not be a matter of deep regret to those who think the highest qualifications necessary for such distant and difficult commands.

In the debate on Mr. Hume's motion, for the production of a military despatch of Lord Hastings to the India Company, in 1819, which occurred in the Commons, on the 24th of March, Mr. Wynne made an assertion which, if true, would make the whole Civil Service of India (than which a better educated, more gentlemanly, or more honourable class of public men, taking them in the whole, does not anywhere exist,) as a set of triflers and fools. He asserted, that the fact of Lord Amherst having handed the lady of Commodore Hayes (of the Company's Marine) to table, when he ought to have handed the wife of an elder Civil Servant, had been the cause of more outcry against his Lordship's whole administration, from the indignation of the Civil Servants generally, at this public insult to their body, than any ill-success attending his public measures.

Really, Mr. Wynne must be one of the weakest of men himself, or he must have thought all those who heard him men of the most contemptible intellects, if he believed that such a statement as this could obtain credit among them. Half a dozen of the Calcutta ladies, who thought themselves ill-used by seeing Mrs. Hayes put above them, might have been angry at such a mark of precedence, and two out of the three old ladies, of the *other* sex, who guide his Lordship's councils might have been a little nettled to see *their* wives neglected. But to say, that the whole Civil Service, or any other part of them than the half dozen named, cared a straw about such an unimportant matter, is to pass a censure on their understandings, which we do not believe they deserved. We shall take an early occasion to say something on the peculiarities of Indian society, more at large, but content ourselves for the present, with assuring Mr. Wynne, that his poor attempt to help Lord Amherst out of a difficulty, will only excite ridicule in India, however he may delude himself with the hope of its being successful here.

When the debates at the India House, and in Parliament on Indian affairs are mentioned, little remains to add under the head given above; though we hope the time is approaching when there will be less of secrecy in the proceedings of the Board of Control and Court of Directors than at present.

In our last we omitted to notice, that on the 21th of February Mr. Hume had moved, in his place in Parliament, for a return of the number of British born, and other European subjects banished from India from the year 1784 up to the present period, distinguishing the circumstances attending each individual case; which, after a slight alteration by way of amendment from Mr. Wynne was agreed to. When the papers are printed we shall examine their details.

In the course of the past month Sir Charles Forbes adverted, in his place in Parliament, to a cruel regulation of the India Company, preventing their large ships sailing in company with each other for mutual succour or relief, in consequence of their having once had to pay demurrage on one of their large ships, which had been detained in assisting to save the drowning men from the wreck of another. The fact of

the *Kent*, Indiaman, being in that situation, without a consort or companion; the periods fixed for the separate sailings of the ships carrying troops from England to India; and the announced departures of the China ships, at intervals of a few days only after each other from Canton, tend to corroborate the accuracy of the assertion.

The East India Company have been making the most extensive preparations to send out reinforcements to India. About seventy vessels, many of the largest dimensions, have been tendered to them to carry out men and stores; and the report is, that 30,000 tons of shipping will be taken up by the Company. The average tenders are 15*l.* per ton, out and home, and for the voyage out about the half.

The destruction of the *Kent*, Indiaman, by fire, affords materials for a melancholy tale. The details have been repeated in all the public papers of the kingdom, so that it is the less necessary to repeat them here. The conduct of Captain Cook of the *Cambria*, who, accidentally falling in with the *Kent* soon after she took fire, succeeded, notwithstanding a boisterous sea, in getting on board his little vessel of 200 tons upwards of six hundred men, including troops, women, and children, and saving them from destruction, was highly enterprising and admirable. Though outward-bound with miners and materials for Mexico, he brought them back safe to England, landed them at Falmouth, where they were humanely treated by the inhabitants; and received, as he richly deserved, the thanks of his own employers, of the Commander-in-Chief of the army, of the Underwriters at Lloyd's, and of the East India Company, each of whom presented him and his crew with liberal rewards; in addition to which, he had the strongest manifestations of gratitude from those he had saved, and the general approbation of all classes of his countrymen.

On the 4th of March, a deputation of the Merchants connected with the Cape of Good Hope waited upon the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER respecting the duties on Cape Wine. In the reduction of wines generally, from 7*s.* 7*d.* to 4*s.* per gallon, wine from the Cape was entirely overlooked. As it forms the return payment of two-thirds of the exports, the article is of the first importance to that colony, and has lately averaged eight thousand pipes annually. The present duty on Cape Wine is 2*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* 7*d.* per gallon, and the merchants pray for a reduction, on the scale of that of the other duties. The wine from the Cape cannot, they contend, without this reduction, stand the competition with Portugal and other wines. The Deputation was favourably received, and informed that the representation would be immediately taken into the serious consideration of Government.

It is the avowed determination of Government to pay the troops in the Colonies in British coin for the future, instead of dollars; in consequence of which, 200,000*l.* are to be transmitted to the several islands and stations. The Samarang has already sailed with 60,000*l.* for the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius; and upwards of 70,000*l.* are to be shipped on board the *Ferret*, Captain Holson, for conveyance to the Bahamas, Jamaica, and Barbadoes.

Mr. George Ricketts has been presented at Court, on his being appointed one of the Puisne Judges in India, and received the honour of Knighthood.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, the 23d of March, a Quarterly General Court was held at the East India House.

The CHAIRMAN took his seat at 12 o'clock.

SUPERANNUATION LISTS.

The CHAIRMAN begged to call the attention of the Court to a List of Superannuations of the Servants of the Company, made by the Court of Directors, since the last Quarterly General Court of Proprietors.

The SECRETARY was desired to read the list, when he read the heads of it as a matter of form only.

Mr. HUME begged that before the Chairman proceeded with other business, the paper might be read entirely, so as to show the names and the services of the persons to whom the superannuated allowances had been granted.

The CLERK accordingly read the paper, which contained only the name of one individual, whose salary having been 110*l.* a year, it had been resolved by the Court of Directors, that in consideration of his long services, he should be placed on the Superannuated List, and allowed two-thirds of his salary, being 73*l.*

Mr. TRANT said, it had often occurred to him, that such papers as these ought to be laid on the table in the adjoining room, for the perusal of the Proprietors, previously to their being called upon to vote upon them.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that this course had never been considered necessary, and therefore had never been adopted. But the Court was required by Act of Parliament to lay these papers before the House of Commons; and according to a bye-law of the Court, all papers whatever that were to be laid before Parliament were, first of all, to be laid before the Court of Proprietors; it was therefore necessary that this Court should have the present list submitted to it.

Mr. HUME wished to be informed, whether any regulation existed at the present moment to prevent aged persons from entering the service of the Company; for it appeared to him, that if there were no such regulation, the consequence would often be that many persons would enter their service at a

time of life that in a very few years they would become superannuated.

The CHAIRMAN said, that there was always in these cases attention paid to the age of the individual, although there might be no particular regulation upon the subject. But the general rule was not to take persons into the service of the Company beyond the age of thirty-five. The individual who had been placed on the superannuation list, had served the Company faithfully seventeen years, and he thought was an object deserving of the allowance proposed to be made to him.

The Resolution was then agreed to. APPOINTMENT OF FIRST ASSISTANT TO THE SURVEYOR OF BUILDINGS.

The CHAIRMAN said, he had further to inform them, that this Court had been made Special for the purpose of laying before the Proprietors, for their approbation, in conformity of the 17th section of the 6th chapter to the bye-laws, a resolution of the Court of Directors of the 26th of January last, for the appointment of a person in the capacity of First Assistant in the office of the Surveyor of Buildings, at a salary of 350*l.* per annum, but his successor to be at a salary of 300*l.* per annum. All that he should do, therefore, was to move—That the Court do approve of this Resolution of the Court of Directors, and of the appointment made by them.

Mr. HUME was desirous of being informed who was the surveyor of buildings. It was quite evident that the individual who filled that appointment should be a person qualified by education, experience, and talent, to perform the duties of it. He, therefore, wished to know whether the person who had been named by the Court of Directors had been regularly bred to the business of a surveyor, so as to enable him to act efficiently in his situation?

The CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member had wholly mistaken the object of the motion; he was confounding the two offices of Surveyor and First Assistant together. The person now appointed was the First Assistant to the Surveyor, and not the Surveyor himself. The Surveyor was a gentleman whose merits were well known to every body. He had built our College at

Haileybury, which was considered by all who had seen it as the finest monument of his talent and genius. The Gentleman whose appointment was now under consideration was formerly the Clerk of the Works, and in that capacity had shown himself a most useful and meritorious servant. Upon the retirement of Mr. Cockerell, the Court of Directors thought it fortunate to be able to appoint him on the ground of merit only. He had no increase of emolument by the exchange, but only a few more privileges, which by his past services he was considered eminently entitled to.

Mr. HUME did not object to the amount of salary; he only wished to know whether this person was capable of affording that assistance which the Report of the Court of Directors said would be required of him.

The CHAIRMAN said, the Court of Directors were quite satisfied of his ability to perform the duties of his situation.

A PROPRIETOR asked, what was the salary of the Surveyor, and what were his duties, that it should be necessary for him to have a first and second assistant?

The CHAIRMAN said, the present salary of the Surveyor was 500*l.* a-year. The increase of his duties was very considerable. Hon. Members need only look over the very great extent of the building they were now in to satisfy themselves that the appointment of Assistant Surveyor was absolutely necessary.

The CHAIRMAN then put the motion, that the Court do approve of the appointment, which was agreed to.

PENSION TO SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

The CHAIRMAN begged to inform the Proprietors, that this Court had been further made Special for the purpose of laying before them, for their approbation, a Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 5th of January last, granting to Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B. a pension of 1000*l.* per annum, from Christmas last, in consideration of the eminent services, both civil and military, which had been rendered by him during a long period of active service. He should content himself with moving—"That this Court do approve of the Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 5th of January last."

General THORNTON fully approved of this grant, and he was only sorry that, seeing the gallant General in

such a state of health and vigour, he was no longer in the service.

Mr. PARTISON begged to say a word or two in answer to the observation which had just been made. When the gallant General, whose meritorious services every person must acknowledge, returned from India, great hope was entertained by the Court of Directors that that Officer would soon be again employed in some public capacity. He had the honour to be in the Chair on the occasion when the subject was discussed, as to sending out a mission to Persia; and at that time Sir John Malcolm evinced the greatest readiness to go upon that mission; but this appointment was opposed by the Colonial Department, and therefore nothing was then done. When he left the Chair, it was upon the pledge, that if their present hon. Chairman did not take the matter up, he (Mr. Pattison) should consider it his duty to pursue it; but the consideration of the Hyderabad Papers put a stop to all other business, and prevented him from proceeding as he had intended. It was thought, however, by many of the Court of Directors, that we ought to appoint this distinguished Officer to one of the Governorships of India; (*hear, hear;*) and if that had been done, it would have prevented them from coming to this Court to-day to ask for a pension. But that attempt had also failed, and the consequence was, that this eminent person was now put upon the shelf, for reasons which he could not well understand, but which he dare say were very sufficient. Under these circumstances the Court of Directors thought that they could not allow this illustrious Officer to go out of their service without some signal mark of their entire approbation of his conduct during a long series of splendid services to this Company.

Mr. HUME said, that he should most cordially vote for the motion; but he wished to state the grounds why he did so. Although we had had many valuable Officers in our service, whose merits were worthy of being rewarded, yet few had enjoyed the opportunities of rendering such eminent services to the Company as the gallant Officer whose name and merits were now under the consideration of the Court. It happened that he (Mr. Hume) was in India when Sir John Malcolm was coming fairly into the service, and he could only say, that the universal feeling towards him, both on the part of the Natives and Europeans, was that of

the highest respect and gratitude. He was not aware that any public servant before that period, he might say nor since then, stood so well in India as Sir John Malcolm. He mentioned this fact, because he considered, that if there were any of their servants who deserved more encouragement than others, they were those who by their conduct and example taught and encouraged others to endeavour to make the Natives of India look up to us as their friends, their fathers, and their benefactors, instead of contemplating us as their masters and their tyrants. (*Hear, hear.*) It was such men whom we ought to keep in our service and ought to reward. He could not help contrasting the state of India during the time of Sir John Malcolm and the present period. Then all was confidence and respect towards the British name—now every thing was mistrust and doubt.

Mr BRCKINGHAM said he did not rise to disturb the unanimity which seemed to prevail in the Court. He was happy to observe the general feeling in favour of the motion; and he had therefore the less scruple in offering himself to their notice; as he might now indulge the hope that his rising to advocate the claims of Sir John Malcolm would not prejudice his cause in the eyes of the Directors. He could not consent to give a silent vote upon this occasion—and, although the services of Sir John Malcolm were too well known to require any lengthened detail from him, yet he could not refrain from adverting more particularly to a few of the striking points of his character and career. (*Hear.*) It was at a very early period, under the administration of Marquis Wellesley, that, in a political sketch of India, published by Sir John Malcolm, he had the merit and the honour of being the first to draw public attention to the state and condition of the Indo-British, or half-caste population—a race for which little has yet been done—and to point out to the Government the importance of elevating and ameliorating their condition. (*Hear.*) In his maturer years, Sir John Malcolm had acted a most distinguished part in diplomatic transactions with the Natives of India, and it might be said, to his honour, that no man understood better than himself, the most effectual means of securing their attachment, which was by a system of kindness and conciliation, and not by force. (*Hear, hear.*) Perhaps no man that ever served in India was more generally or

more justly beloved by the Natives of that country: and his benevolent wish, to promote their happiness was not satisfied with all he could himself do to promote it; for, on his quitting India, he left behind him a code of instructions to the Residents serving under his authority, which was attached to his Report on Malwa; the chief feature of these instructions being a marked attention to the interests and happiness of the Natives, which he seemed on all occasions anxious to promote. (*Hear, hear.*) Nor was his fame confined to India alone. He (Mr. Buckingham) had had occasion to travel through Persia in the year 1816, and he felt peculiar satisfaction in stating, that at every step of his progress he heard the name of Sir John Malcolm, as one familiar to all Persian ears, and it was never pronounced but with feelings of gratitude and respect. He had no hesitation, indeed, in declaring his belief, that the high consideration enjoyed by the English about that period in Persia was more owing to the excellent and judicious conduct of Sir John Malcolm, during his diplomatic Residence in that country, than to any other cause. (*Hear.*)

He paid this tribute of his praise to that gallant Officer with the greater alacrity, because, upon the subject of the restrictions on the Indian press, he had been compelled to differ with him, and certain discussions of rather an unpleasant nature had taken place in consequence. That subject had, however, nothing to do with the object of the present motion, to which, as no man had a higher opinion than he had of the gallant General's military and diplomatic services, he should give his most cordial and hearty concurrence. (*Hear, hear.*)

The question was then put, and carried unanimously in the affirmative.

LATE MUTINY IN INDIA.

Mr. HUME would not have troubled the Court upon this occasion, if the subject which he was about to introduce was not one of considerable importance. No one was ignorant of the events which were now passing in India, and for which he found it impossible to furnish himself with any explanation. When he was in India, he had always witnessed the most ready obedience on the part of the Native troops, and the greatest confidence reposed in them by the Europeans, which had combined to produce the most brilliant results. His sentiments respecting

the press were well-known; he had foretold that the interference of Government with the press in India would be attended with unpleasant consequences. Those consequences had not only taken place, but still continued.

Mr. S. DIXON rose to order.—He begged to ask the honourable Gentleman if he meant to follow up his observations by proposing a resolution? If so, he thought he had better move it upon notice.

Mr. HUME assured the honourable Proprietor he should have the benefit not of one, but of two or three resolutions. He was observing that his prophecies were fully borne out. They were now entirely ignorant of what was passing there; the only communications received were from persons who were afraid to speak out, lest they should be punished with banishment. When he (Mr. Hume) was in India, the idea of such proceedings taking place was never conceived. The Court was bound to consider, out of respect to themselves, and consideration for the millions intrusted to their charge, of the best means to put an end to them. He laid it down as the subject of every letter from India which he had seen, that the white as well as the black population of that country had lost all confidence in the Governor-General. (*Hear.*) They looked most anxiously for the measures of the Court; they expected that the Government of England would have sent out some person competent to conduct the Government of that country. The public press was prevented from affording them the least assistance in the way of information. It was well known that every occurrence that took place any where, was told in a different way by each of the spectators, by which means the public had the advantage, by seeing and comparing all the several accounts, of being able to form an accurate judgment of the fact. But in India they were deprived of this advantage. In the instance of the unfortunate affair at Barrackpore, a circular letter was sent round to each paper, forbidding them to publish or notice any part of what had taken place there until the official account was first published. Not only this, but letters had been written to the editors, informing them that if they published any observations respecting Mr. Buckingham's removal from the country, they would incur severe displeasure. This was beneath

the conduct of men who were conscious of acting right, and was only to be understood when pursued by such men as Mr. Bayley and Mr. Adam, who had forgotten what they owed to themselves as Englishmen. It was to this system that he attributed the want of confidence in the Government which at present prevailed; and if it were allowed to continue, the consequences also would not only continue, but would be fearfully aggravated. Now, he asked, had any measures been taken to procure the recall of Lord Amherst? In all the letters which he had seen, the writers said, "For God's sake, don't mention my name." Such was the dread of the consequences of imparting information. The honourable Proprietor then mentioned the circumstance of two Gentlemen having been recently taken away suddenly from their indigo plantations and transported; of which, he said, he supposed they would receive the accounts in a few days. In fact, India at present could be compared to nothing but a person sitting on a barrel of gunpowder with a train just ready to be lighted. Such was the state to which it had been brought by the conduct of the present Government. "It began with the putting down the press, and individual oppression, and all its subsequent acts were marked by the utmost imbecility. The troops were ordered away in the rainy season; the consequence of which was, that out of a body of 8,000 or 9,000 men, 1,100 were destroyed by disease. Now if the whole of that body had been cut off by the enemy in one day, it would not have had so great an effect upon the other troops as the death of these men by disease. Next, there was a great unwillingness on the part of the Native troops to march without cattle to carry their baggage; but there was no corresponding disposition on the part of the Government to meet that feeling on the part of the troops. The difficulties thickened; desertion became frequent; in one corps, on the 18th of October, (and here he begged to be understood as not blaming the Government so much for plunging the country into this war, as for not taking measures to meet the feelings and prejudices of the troops), no less than 254 men, out of a body of 1,000, deserted within eight-and-forty hours. This ought to have been a warning, and such warnings were constantly taking place, yet the Government persisted in a reduction of the troops' allow-

ances. In consequence of the activity of the Burmese to cut off all supplies, the Sepoys found it difficult to exist on their allowances. Every raganuffin that went on the gun-boat expedition from Calcutta received an advance of 25 per cent., yet they refused to increase the allowance of cattle to the Sepoys, which, combined with the dread of an evil power in the Burmese country, produced the unfortunate proceedings which had taken place at Barrackpore. The mutiny, however, having taken place, he admitted it ought to have been suppressed, but in a different manner from that which had been resorted to. He saw no occasion, for instance, for opening masked batteries upon their own soldiers, many of whom had fought and bled for them; and he had, therefore, been ready to weep over the fate of these old soldiers. But further, it appeared that on the field the Native officers retired, and were no parties to the rebellion; but what was the conduct of the Government? Instead of rewarding them for their fidelity, they drew no distinction between the innocent and the guilty, but they ordered them all to be dismissed and disgraced. Here, therefore, were men who remained honourable and faithful, classed with the mutineers. How very different was the conduct observed upon the occasion of a regiment mutinying at Charing-cross, at the time of the Queen's trial? The Duke of Wellington rode into the mews, and the regiment was instantly marched off to Kingston. The conduct of the Commander-in-Chief upon this occasion deserved great credit. What would have been the consequences had this regiment been treated in the same way as the troops at Barrackpore? The European officers were hardly less dissatisfied than the Natives: they said they hoped the Marquis of Hastings would be sent back to them; and yet how lamentable it was to see that individual at that very moment disgraced, as far as this body had the power to disgrace him. He would say no more; they must have the proceedings under Lord Hastings's administration, and those under the present Government, before them. Lord Hastings did not have his conduct to be guided by people here who knew nothing about the matter. (*Laugh.*) He did not trust to the opinion of a committee of merchants and bankers. The Court would not do their duty, unless they had the recent proceedings fairly unravelled,

and the grounds of action as far as possible before them. Then, if he found he was in error in blaming Lord Amherst's Government, he would be the first man to acknowledge that error. The honourable Proprietor concluded by moving—"That there be laid before this Court a copy of the military despatch of the Marquis of Hastings, in 1819, to the secret department of the Court of Directors, on the organization and allowances of the Bengal army; and a copy of the despatch of the Court of Directors to the Government in India, in 1823, on that subject; together with a copy of the despatches from India, stating how far their orders had been carried into execution."

Mr. BUCKINGHAM, concurring fully with the opinions of the hon. Proprietor who preceded him, thought it his duty to assist in removing the doubts which some of the hearers seemed to him to entertain, as to the connexion of the Indian Press with the late melancholy and disastrous transactions adverted to. He contended, that the suppression of all freedom of the Press, and consequently of the expression of the public opinion, in India, was intimately connected with the present unfortunate situation of that country. This fact had indeed been stated by Mr. Hume, but it seemed to make so little impression on the Court, that he begged to state a few observations in illustration of that position. It might be recollected, that, in the early part of Lord Hastings's administration, a rebellion broke out at Cuttack. The Press was then under a censorship, and the Government was unable to obtain that full and accurate information respecting the complaints of the people there, which it undoubtedly would have obtained through the Press, if it had been free. From the moment that the Marquis of Hastings removed the censorship from the Press, India enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity; (*hear:*) but no sooner had the press been again fettered by his successors, than the old evils began to reappear. He believed that the mutiny at Barrackpore never would have come to such an extremity as to have broken out into open disobedience, if the Press had been free. For weeks before the mutiny came to this crisis, the men had meetings and discussions among themselves. The reason why these circumstances were not communicated to Government was, that individuals did not like to be considered officious meddlers, which those who send com-

plaints or representations to Government are too frequently considered; but if the Press had been free, many persons would have had no objection whatever to make communications to the Editors of the Newspapers, and thus the whole affair would have been brought, without risking displeasure to the informant, to the knowledge of the Government and the public. (*Hear.*) He would state another instance in which injury had resulted from the enslavement of the Press. All persons who had been resident at Calcutta knew that a trade had long existed between that place and Rangoon. The ship masters and pilots at Calcutta were better acquainted with the state of the climate and winds, as regarded Rangoon, than the civil or military servants of the Government could possibly be. If the Press had been open, he had no doubt that a hundred letters would have been written, communicating that information, which the result of the expedition showed that the Government themselves really did not possess. But if any man, under the present state of the Press, had ventured to question the wisdom of Government, with regard to the Rangoon expedition, he (Mr. Buckingham) was a *living instance* of what would have been his fate. (*Hear, hear.*) The result of the expedition had shown that the Government was in a state of lamentable ignorance respecting the climate of the Burmese empire and other important particulars. Had the Press been free, Government would have received information through it, by which not only hundreds of brave lives might have been saved, but the British name might have been preserved from a tarnish which he feared the result of this expedition had cast upon it. (*Hear.*) He thought that if the native troops alone had suffered in the expedition, little sympathy would have been called forth on their behalf in this Court; but it unfortunately happened that two British regiments, he believed the 13th and 38th, which had proceeded to Rangoon in battalions of 800 strong, had, in consequence of being obliged to live in a swampy spot, wading almost constantly through the water—living almost like amphibious creatures, and without proper sustenance—returned to Bengal, one, he had heard, with only sixty, and the other with something more than eighty men. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) While such was the extreme debility of even these poor

remnants of the whole body, it was the opinion of those who had seen their condition, that a heavy days march would have destroyed them altogether. The hatred that these unfortunate transactions would cause, should press on the attention of the country, before it was too late, the importance of giving to India the advantage of a free Press; and, if no other arrangement could be made, he would prefer even restoration of the odious censorship, by which, if the public were kept in ignorance, the Government at least might benefit by the information conveyed to them in the suppressed sheets, to the present abominable system, by which all parties were kept entirely in the dark. As he thought, on all occasions, that publicity was beneficial, he would support the motion for the production of papers. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. TRANT said, that the hon. Proprietor was in error as to the rebellion of Cuttack. He (Mr. Trant) knew that persons had been sent there to inquire into the revenue system, and the Government was not in ignorance of what was taking place. Every body who knew the constitution of the Government in India, knew that it was open to any mode of communication. He would oppose this motion as being unnecessary, and thought this was rather an unfortunate period for bringing it forward. The information respecting the late proceedings was not yet complete; and he would rather leave it in the hands of the Directors. This was not the first time there had been a mutiny in India. In Lord Clive's time there was one very similar to this, and it was treated in the like manner. From his (Mr. Trant's) knowledge of Sepoys, it could not have taken place without being previously known to the native officers. He denied that the latter had been treated alike with the mutineers; for the mutineers had been condemned to death. It was perfectly true, however, that a total want of confidence in the present Government prevailed throughout India. All his (Mr. Trant's) information from that country confirmed the statement of the hon. Member for Aberdeen; (*hear.*) and he, for one, had been very much surprised at the appointment of Lord Amherst. The state of India required a man of fully as much talent as the man who had just left it. He did not say, that Lord Amherst could have prevented the war, but he had shown himself quite incapable of conducting

the affairs of India; and he (Mr. Trant) would never cease to complain until he saw some other person intrusted with the Government. He knew enough to say, that an impression had been made which could not easily be removed, in consequence of which, their neighbours, and those who now called themselves their friends, might take liberties they would not otherwise have taken. He hoped, therefore, that those who had the power, would lose no time in using every means to put a stop to this state of things. A man of the greatest experience and talents ought to be sought for without a moment's delay. He would, however, oppose the production of papers.

Sir CHARLES FORBES expressed his disappointment that the motion did not go at once to the recal of Lord Amherst; and he stated his opinion of the necessity of this step before in the House of Commons. He was met by the assertion, that Lord Amherst's private character was that of an amiable man: but it was not an amiable man, but an able statesman that they wanted. Because he had been engaged in a squabble, knocking his head against the Chinese government, he was therefore to be sent out to knock it against the wall in India. It had been said, that it would be as easy to transform his Lordship into a tiger as into a tyrant; perhaps this might be thought by some, but there was another animal which he much more resembled.—(Hear.) He had lost the confidence of all classes, and if his recal was not decided on here, it would soon be proposed in another place. He had letters from all sorts of persons in India, and even from ladies, on the subject. He had one very well written letter from the wife of an officer at Rangoon.

The CHAIRMAN would not trouble the Court with any remarks on the intended motion of the hon. Baronet, but would confine himself to the actual motion of the hon. Member, which he would oppose with all the influence that he possessed in that Court. This was not a new subject. When the Papers relating to Lord Hastings were before the Court, a motion had been made for the production of that, amongst other despatches, which motion had been refused. The whole of the late misconduct was attributed by the hon. Member to the want of information derived through the Press; but an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Trant) had stated that the Government had abundant means of information. This mo-

tion was unnecessary, since the hon. Member had given notice of a similar motion to-morrow in the House of Commons, where he would have an opportunity of giving them his advice. But what right had he to say, that they (the Directors) were incapable of understanding this subject, as Bankers and Merchants? He doubted the assertion of another hon. Proprietor, relative to two regiments of eight hundred men being reduced to sixty or seventy; if such had been the case, he (the Chairman) should have had intelligence of it. On the contrary, he had grounds to hope, that future results would be more satisfactory.

Mr. EDMONSTON said, that the most brilliant and successful part of the Indian administration was during a period when the censorship of the Press existed. If any effect could be attributed to a free Press in that country, it was a tendency to produce insubordination.

Mr. WASHBURN observed, that there were regulations for fettering the Press in this country, as well as in India—such as the necessity of giving notice respecting the type, and registering the names at the stamp office; and a man might be banished for publishing a libel. He admitted, he must be tried and convicted first, which was not necessary in India; (hear;) but there was a difference between the two countries. He read an extract from a French paper, to show that what was said in that house was analyzed in other countries, and how necessary it was, therefore, to be accurate in their statements.

Mr. HUME briefly replied. He wished to have all the information he could, before he had recourse to moving for the recal of Lord Amherst.

Mr. MILLS (a Director) had not risen sooner, in the hope that some more important person would have protected the character of an absent man. All the information on the subject had not yet arrived. He considered, that the remarks made in this Court were calculated to prevent any English Nobleman of talent from going to India.

Mr. GAIAGAN protested against the doctrine, that because Lord Amherst was not in London, no opinion was to be pronounced upon his acts. He opposed the motion of Mr. Hume; he should be content to abide by the wisdom of Parliament to-morrow night.

General THORNTON considered that the remarks here were only calculated to prevent English Noblemen who had

not great talents from going to India. He had never heard that Lord Amherst was a man of talents. It was the duty of Englishmen to speak out, when they saw India in such a perilous state. It was the duty of the Directors also to speak out; information ought not to be checked and stifled; if so, a free Press would be necessary in India.

The resolution was then put, and negatived without a division.

Mr. HUME then moved, that there be laid before the Court, a copy of the despatches from the Government of Bengal, stating the extent and causes of the mutiny among the native troops at Barrackpore, and the proceedings of that Government thereon.

Mr. TRANF opposed the motion.

Sir C. FORBES said he would now read an extract from the letter of the Lady at Rangoon, to which he had alluded. The writer stated that dissatisfaction was supposed to have widely circulated amongst the native troops; that the ridiculous system of economy now so much in vogue would not do for India. (*Hear from Mr. Hume, and laughter.*) That the Sepoys were high caste men, and would not carry their cooking utensils. (*Hear, hear.*) He would look for no more information than that afforded by the Government orders themselves, to warrant him in condemning Lord Amherst. He had heard that Government had such a measure in contemplation; and he

would be very willing to let them have the credit of it. The country possessed fit men for the situation, and he therefore trusted he should soon see Lord Amherst recalled.

Captain MAXFIELD opposed the motion. He should be sorry that such papers should travel out of England.

After a few observations from Mr. HUME, the motion was put, and negatived.

General THORNTON gave notice of a motion at the next quarterly Court, relative to the suppression of information by Residents at Native Courts.

Mr. HUME notified his intention of making a motion respecting the conduct of Lord Amherst.

LORD HASTINGS.

Sir CHARLES FORBES asked when the Court was to be favoured with the Papers connected with the Marquis of Hastings's administration, particularly that connected with the transactions at Oude?

This question gave rise to a long conversation, in the course of which, Mr. Hume stated, that the Hyderabad question, so far from being disposed of, was but just begun. The conversation dropped, with the understanding that the Papers were in the course of being printed, and would be produced at the earliest opportunity.

The Court then adjourned at half past three o'clock.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

BENGAL.

Calcutta.—Aug. 26. Mr. C. W. Smith reappointed Judge of Zillah, of Purneah. —Sept. 2. Mr. S. Bird, Fourth Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal and Court of Circuit, for Division of Dacca; Mr. C. W. Steer, Fourth Judge of ditto ditto, of Moorsheadabad. —Oct. 14. Mr. J. T. Rivaz, Registrar of the Zillah Court of Etawah; and Mr. G. F. Brown, Second Registrar of the Zillah Court of Allahabad.

ECCLIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

General Department, Nov. 4.—The Rev. J. Torriano to be a Joint District Chaplain at Cawnpore; the Rev. H. R. Shepherd to be District Chaplain at Berhampore; the Rev. J. C. Proby, District Chaplain at Ghazee-pore.

MADRAS.

Fort St. George.—Oct. 1. Mr. W. Montgomerie to be Deputy Commercial Resident at Ingham.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters.—Aug. 18. Lieutenant Holyoke to act as Interp. and Quartermaster to 18th N. I., and Lieut. Dowling to act as Adj. to detached wing of ditto;

Lieut. Vernon to act as Interp. and Quarterm. to 33d N. I., vice Hewitt; Lieut. and Adj. Oldfield to perform duties of detachment staff to troops assembled at Goalparah and Guahatee, under the command of Major Cooper; Lieut. K. F. Mackenzie to act as Adj. to 64th

N. I. vice Pollock. 24. Maj. Swettenham, 2d L. C. to be Member of the Annual Arsenal Committee on Military Stores received from Europe. 25. Lieut. W. Ewart to be Interp. and Quarterm. to 54th N. I. vice Penrose, deceased; Brev. Capt. Bacon, 65th N. I. to act as Adj. to Capt. Young's Levy at Dinapore.

Fort William.—Sept. 2. Lieut. Col. R. H. Cunliffe, Com. Gen. to be a Member of Board of Superintendence for Breed of Cattle, vice Taylor, deceased.

Head Quarters.—Aug. 30. Lieut. R. C. Macdonald to be Interp. and Quarterm. to 49th Regt. vice Phillips, promoted; Lieut. P. Grant to be Adj. to 59th Regt. vice Wooley, resigned. Sept. 1. Brev. Capt. Hepburn to act as Adj. to 2d L. I. Batt.

Fort William.—Sept. 2. Lieut. Col. R. H. Cunliffe, Com. Gen. to be a Member of the Board of Superintendence for Breed of Cattle, vice Taylor, deceased.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—Oct. 11. Lieut. S. F. Hannah, 25th Regt. N. I. to be Adj.; Lieut. V. Cary, 57th Regt. N. I. to be ditto. 13. Lieut. F. Hawkins, 38th Regt. N. I. to be Aide-de-camp to Major-Gen. Loveday, vice Herring, resigned. 14. Lieut. T. Lysaght, 2d Europ. Regt. to be Adj. vice Marshall, promoted; Lieut. H. A. Boscawen, 54th Regt. N. I. to be Interp. and Quarterm. Gen. of 2d Light Inf. batt. 18. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. G. Burges to be Interp. and Quarterm. 5th Regt. L. C. vice Rocke; Lieut. C. Farmer to be Adj. to the detached wing of 21st Regt. N. I. 21. Lieut. Col. T. Garner, 1st Europ. Regt. to be President of the Arsenal Committee, vice Becher. 28. Lieut. H. Clayton, 4th Regt. L. C. to be an Aide-de-camp, on his Lordship's personal Staff; Lieut. E. C. Archbold, 8th Regt. L. C. to be a Supernumerary Aide-de-camp to his Lordship; Lieut. C. V. Wylde to be Adj. 14th N. I. vice Gairdner.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—Oct. 29. Capt. Herring, 57th Regt. N. I. to be Aide-de-camp to Major Gen. Sir G. Martindell, K. C. B., commanding the Cawnpore Division, from Oct. 11; Capt. Colnott, 7th Regt. N. I. to be a Member of the Arsenal Committee; Lieut. Kirby to be Adj. to Chittagong Division of Artillery, vice Lamb, promoted.

Head Quarters, Barrackpore.—Nov. 6. Capt. Swayne, 5th N. I. to raise recruits for the Line, in the Azimgur and adjacent Districts; Lieut. J. C. C. Gray, 21st Regt. N. I. to be Adj. vice Malden, deceased; Lieut. W. Grant to be Interp. and Quarterm. 26th Regt. N. I. vice Hodgson, promoted; Lieut. C. Bracken, 45th N. I. to be ditto, vice Ward, deceased.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Aug. 12. Mr. B. Wilson to be an Assist. Surgeon. 26. Assist. Surgeon W. Bell to perform medical du-

ties of Civil Stations of Moorsheadabad, vice Stinms. Sept. 2. Dr. A. Walker to be an Assist. Surgeon.

Oct. 28.—*Officiating Assist. Surgeon* Oliver to the medical charge of Captain Scott's Detachment of Artillery.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted as Assist. Surgeons:—

Mr. H. Taylor, date of arrival Oct. 5; Mr. J. H. Palsgrave, Oct. 8; Mr. W. Thomson, Oct. 11; Mr. W. Stevenson, M. D. Oct. 11; and Mr. B. C. Sully, M. D. Oct. 12.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William.—Aug. 19. Infantry.—Maj. W. D. Playfair to be Lieut. Col. from July 30, 1824, vice Taylor, deceased.

24th Regt. N. I. Capt. St. John Heard to be Major; Brev. Capt. and Lieut. R. Burney to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. G. E. Vanheythusen to be Lieut. from July 0, 1824, vice Playfair.

45th Regt. N. I. Brev. Capt. and Lieut. R. H. Phillips to be Capt. of a comp., and Ens. J. W. Michell to be Lieut. from Aug. 10, 1824, vice Wilkie, deceased.

Mr. J. Dowdeswell admitted to Artillery, and promoted to 2d Lieut.

Messrs. W. Hope, H. P. Burn, and H. Johnson, admitted to Infantry, and promoted to Ensigns.

Aug. 26.—Messrs. G. T. Graham, and F. K. Duncan, admitted to Artillery, and promoted to 2d Lieuts.

Sept. 2.—53d Regt. N. I. Capt. H. F. Denty to be Major; Brev. Capt. and Lieut. W. E. B. Leadbeater to be Capt. and Ensign; L. C. Brown to be Lieut. from Sept. 2, 1824, vice Canning.

57th Regt. N. I. Brev. Capt. and Lieut. A. Syme to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. G. M. Sherer to be Lieut. from Aug. 23, vice Vyse, deceased.

Oct. 14.—*Infantry.* Maj. W. Nott to be Lieut. Col. dated Oct. 2, 1824, vice Watson.

25th Regt. N. I. Capt. W. Vincent to be Maj.; Lieut. T. R. Fell to be Capt.; and Ens. W. D. Kennedy to be Lieut. dated Oct. 2, 1824.

42d Regt. N. I. Brev. Capt. and Lieut. A. McKinnon to be Capt.; and Ens. W. B. Gould to be Lieut.

The Right Hon. the Governor-General is pleased to promote the undermentioned officer to the rank of Brig. Gen. during the continuance of the present war, or until further orders:—

Col. J. W. Adams, C. B., of 16th Regt. N. I.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments.—

Artillery. Mr. T. E. Sage; date of arrival Oct. 7, 1824.

Cavalry. Mr. D. G. A. F. H. Mellish, date of arrival Oct. 5, 1824.

Infantry. Mr. W. Fenton, date Oct. 5; Messrs. G. Turner, J. H. Low, and W. Innis, date Oct. 6; Messrs. J. P. Sharpe,

T. Gould, J. Campbell, W. Alston, C. J. C. Collis, A. Learmouth, J. Grissell, H. J. Guyon, H. B. Harrington, Oct. 7; W. Thursty, W. Lyford, J. H. Blanshard, M. Nicolson, H. W. Burt, J. J. Hamilton, C. Campbell, A. F. Tytler, T. Irving, W. F. Campbell, G. F. Tytler, E. T. Erskine, and J. Robertson, date Oct. 8.

The Cadets of Cavalry, and those of Infantry, with the exception of Messrs. Turner, Low, Learmouth, Grissell, Guyon, and Harrington, are promoted to Cornets and Ensigns respectively.

Oct. 16.—The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments, and promoted to the rank of Ensign:—

Infantry. Mr. R. Haldane, date of arrival Oct. 11, 1824; Mr. J. H. Phillips, ditto.

Oct. 21.—*Artillery.* Lieut. Col. W. Hopper to be Lieut. Col. Commandant, from May 30, 1824, vice Carnegie, deceased; Major J. F. Dundas to be Lieut. Col.; Capt. J. McDowell to be Major; 1st Lieut. W. Oliphant to be Capt. of a comp.; and 2d Lieut. J. B. Backhouse to be 1st Lieut. dated May 30, 1824.

7th Regt. L. C. Lieut. J. Allen to be Capt. of a troop; Cornet H. Halded to be Lieut. dated Oct. 2, 1824.

26th Regt. N. I. Capt. A. Trotter to be Major; Brev. Capt. and Lieut. W. Hodgson to be Capt. of a comp.; and Ens. R. B. Lynch to be Lieut. dated Oct. 31, 1824.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments, and promoted to Ensign:—

Infantry. Mr. R. H. De Montmorency, date of arrival Oct. 16; Mr. G. Greene, and Mr. F. B. Lardner, ditto.

Cavalry. Lieut. Col. L. R. O'Brien, C. B., to be Lieut. Col. Commandant, vice Clarke, deceased, dated Oct. 7, 1824; Major K. Swettenham to be Lieut. Col. from Oct. 7, 1824, vice O'Brien.

2d Regt. L. C. Capt. G. Arnold to be Major; Lieut. J. C. Lambie to be Capt. of a troop; and Cornet J. Inglish to be Lieut. dated Oct. 7, 1824.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments, and promoted to the rank of Ensign:—

Infantry. Mr. A. Jack, date of arrival Oct. 6, 1824; Mr. T. Macintosh, ditto Oct. 10.

Fort William, Oct. 28.—*Artillery.* Capt. R. M. O. Gramshaw to be Major; 1st Lieut. H. J. Wood to be Capt.; and 2d Lieut. E. Madden to be 1st Lieut. from Oct. 28, 1824, vice McQuhane.

Nov. 1.—*21st Regt. N. I.* Ens. J. Dyson to be Lieut. from Oct. 14, 1824, vice Malden.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointment, as Cadets of In-

fantry, and promoted to the rank of Ensign:—

Date of Arrival at Fort William.

Mr. C. Cooper 12th Oct. 1824.
Mr. C. C. Jenkin 28th ditto.
Mr. W. C. Birch 29th ditto.
Mr. B. W. D. Cooke 29th ditto.
Mr. R. Fitzgerald 29th ditto.

Nov. 11.—The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointment by the Honourable the Court of Directors, as Cadets of Infantry on this Establishment, and promoted to the rank of Ensign, leaving the dates of their commissions for future adjustment:—

Date of Arrival at Fort William.

Infantry.
Mr. W. H. C. Bluett 4th Nov. 1824.
Mr. J. De Winter C. J. Moir 8th ditto.
45th Regt. N. I. Ens. W. Biddulph to be Lieut. from Oct. 21, 1824, vice Ward, deceased.

52d Regt. N. I. Ens. W. S. Monteith to be Lieut. from Oct. 26, 1824, vice Gore, deceased.

The undermentioned gentlemen are admitted to the service, in conformity with their appointments by the Honourable the Court of Directors, as Cadets of Cavalry and Infantry on this Establishment, and promoted to the rank of Cornet and Ensign respectively, leaving the dates of their Commissions for future adjustment:—

Date of Arrival at

Cavalry. Fort William.

Mr. W. W. Fraser 2d Nov. 1824.

Infantry.

Mr. T. Hutton 1st Nov. 1824.
Mr. W. Fraser 2d ditto.
Mr. W. J. Martin Ditto.
Mr. W. F. Phipps Ditto.
Mr. A. P. Graham Ditto.
Mr. G. W. Hamilton Ditto.

His Lordship in Council is pleased to make the following Promotions in the Ordnance Commissariat Department:—

Assist. Commis. Christopher Bowman to be Deputy Commissary; Dep. Assist. Commis. Joan Lawrence to be Assistant Commissary; Conductor Gerard Ovinger to be Deputy Assistant Commissary: from Oct. 7, 1824, in succession to Matherall, deceased.

MEDICAL PROMOTIONS.

Fort William,—Aug. 12. Mr. W. Twining, Surgeon, to be an officiating Surgeon; Deputy Superintend. Surg. W. L. Grant to be an officiating Superintend. Surg. and to proceed to Berhampore.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort William, Nov. 4, 1824.

No. 334 of 1824.—It being highly expedient to check desertion in the Native Corps of this Army, of whatever description, the frequency of which, in consequence of the crime not having hitherto

been viewed in the light which its character demands, probably from the facilities attendant on recruiting, has of late years become discreditable to certain regiments, and as such has been brought to the notice of Government by the Commander-in-Chief; the Governor-General in Council is therefore pleased to direct that the following orders shall have immediate force:—

1. A reward of ten rupees, sicca or sonat, according to the currency of the district, shall in future be paid to the person or persons apprehending or giving information which may effect the apprehension by any public authority of a Native deserter from any corps of this Army, of whatever rank.

2. All Thannadars, Police Darogahs, ~~off~~ Bukundassas, and all Peons or Chupassies of Government, in whatever department, shall be entitled to the same reward for each and every military deserter they may apprehend, on their being either identified or convicted with their corps as such; and all the police officers of Government are ordered to aid and assist in every way towards the security and transmission of deserters either apprehended by themselves, or made over to them by others.

3. All Native military, travelling without passports or authenticated certificates of leave of absence, are to be considered as deserters, apprehended as such, and transmitted to the nearest military or civil station for examination and orders.

4. A printed form for such leave of absence, in English, Nagree, and Persian, will in future be substituted for the manuscript ones heretofore in use. These forms will be furnished to corps respectively by Government, through the office of the Adjutant General of the Army. The blanks to be regularly filled up in each language complete, and the certificates to bear the usual countersignatures and to have the regimental seal affixed in wax. No erasures ever to be permitted.

5. The reward for apprehending deserters shall be payable in two ways; first—In ready money, when the captors themselves bring the deserters to their cantonment or corps, so that they can be recognized at once.—Second, By bill of exchange, payable at sight, when the captors are at a distance, and unable personally to attend to their delivery, intrusting that office to others.

6. In the former case, on deserters being received and identified with their corps, the commanding officer shall, by a written Regimental Order, direct the officer commanding the troop or company, to which each deserter belongs, to pay to those who have apprehended, and brought them the sum of ten rupees currency, taking a full receipt for the same from the parties, the completion of which, shall be sufficient quitance for

the officer, and enable him to write off the sums so paid against the names and pay of the deserters remaining due to them at the time of desertion.

7. In the second case of deserters being sent from a considerable distance, and not in the charge of those who apprehended them, it shall be the duty of commandants of corps, and stations of districts respectively, to cause the amount of the apprehension money for every recognized deserter to be lodged by the officer commanding the troop and company with the paymaster of the division, who will grant a bill of exchange for the same, on the treasury of the district in which the captors or informers reside, and in his or their favour payable at sight, or in favour of the magistrate, in case the apprehension has been made by the police, or by persons unknown: should the arrears due to a deserter fall short of the apprehension money, the difference will be charged to Government, and drawn for in a contingent bill regularly vouched; but in all practicable cases the deserter must be made to pay for his own apprehension.

8. When a soldier deserts, the commanding officer of the corps will consider it his immediate duty to forward a minute descriptive roll of the deserter, with all further information in his power, to each magistrate of the surrounding Zillahs, and to the Resident at Lucknow, should the deserter be a Native of Oude, and adopt the promptest measures in every other respect to ensure his apprehension.

9. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is requested to give the fullest effect to these orders, and to issue such directions as may be necessary regarding the registry and care of the leave of absence passports to be used in future.

10. Measures will likewise be adopted in the Judicial Department for giving the fullest effect to these orders through the Police Establishments of the country, and for preventing, by suitable arrangements, any abuse on their part, which a too zealous execution of the authority vested in them might possibly lead to.

This order will be translated into Hindoostanee under the instructions of Government, printed in the Nagree character, and transmitted to Corps through the Adjutant General of the Army, with such further orders as may to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief appear necessary.

W. CASEMENT, Lieut. Col.
Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

Fort William, Nov. 4, 1824.
No. 335 of 1824.—It is with much regret that the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council feels himself called on to announce to the Bengal Army the consequences of a most disgraceful un-

tiny in the 47th Regiment of Native Infantry at Barrackpore, on the 1st instant, in which the corps was joined by a number of Sepoys, equal to about two companies of the 62d, and perhaps 20 men of the 26th Native Regiment.

These Corps had been under orders of march for some time, and had experienced some difficulty in procuring carriage; this, however, was immediately removed, on its being brought to the notice of Government, by an advance of cash to each corps to aid the Sepoys in procuring the necessary carriage cattle for their baggage: as the event however proved, the difficulty served but to cover a subterfuge; a bad spirit possessed the corps, and when all difficulties were removed, and it was no longer possible to practice evasion, they refused on the parade to march, with the exception of about 180 men, and the non-commissioned and commissioned Native officers.

On the receipt of a report to this effect by the Commander-in-Chief, his Excellency immediately adopted the necessary measures to bring those misguided men to a sense of their duty. He instantly proceeded to Barrackpore, and on the following morning having made a disposition of the other troops at the station, and those which had arrived during the night, the Adjutant General and Quartermaster General of the Army, with his Excellency's Persian Interpreter, and the Officer commanding the 47th Native Regiment, were deputed to make a last effort to induce the mutineers, drawn up, loaded, and in regular parade order, to lay down their arms, but without effect.

Nothing then remained but to inflict the punishment so justly merited: the Commander-in-Chief gave the preconcerted signal for an attack by a part of the force; the mutineers instantly broke, and betook themselves to flight, under the fire of the troops who attacked them; and such an example was made on the spot as the necessity of the case, and the infamy of the Regiment merited; the most guilty of those who were made prisoners having been subsequently executed by the sentence of a General Court Martial.

That a transaction so unusual in, and disgraceful to, this Army, could have been planned and carried into execution without the knowledge, not to say participation, of the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Corps, is not for a moment to be credited, composed as the Native Regiments are in Bengal. Connected by relationship, and living as the Native officers and Sepoys do, almost under the same roofs, it is not to be believed for a moment that the grossest neglect of the duty the former owed to the State has not been shown by the parties in question; the Governor-

General in Council consequently considers the 47th Regiment Native Infantry, including its Native commissioned and non-commissioned Officers, to be disgraced; directs that No. 47 be struck out of the Army List, the Native commissioned and non-commissioned Officers to be instantly discharged the service, as totally unworthy of the confidence of Government, or the name of soldiers, and that a New Regiment, to be numbered 69, to which the European Officers of the late 47th will be appointed, be immediately raised in its stead, for *general service*, agreeably with the detail as laid down in General Orders of the 11th July, 1823, No. 65.

To the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Bengal Army, the Governor-General in Council now more particularly desires to address himself. He is perfectly satisfied that no instance of insubordination can take place in a corps without such coming to their early knowledge. He hereby demands from them, a rigid execution of their duty, and observes that even on the rumour of any discontent in a corps, it is their particular duty to communicate it instantly to their European officers, and to exert their utmost endeavours to put down in the first instance any appearance of combination; his Lordship in Council further desires it to be distinctly understood, that in failure of that line of conduct which is expected from the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Army, they will be held personally and collectively responsible for any misbehaviour of the men, who are more immediately under their eye and command in the lines, than they can be under that of the European officers; and that the most prompt dismissal from the service will be the inevitable consequence of any want of exertion and zeal, or any abandonment of duty. In short, he warns them to profit by the example of the 47th, who have drawn down on themselves a punishment they most justly merited.

The Governor-General in Council, in order to make known the sentiments of Government to the Native Army as fully and correctly as possible, is pleased to direct that this order shall be translated into the Hindoostanee language, and printed in the Nagree character for the purpose of transmission to corps respectively, through the Adjutant-General of the Army, under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, who will be pleased to issue such subsidiary orders as his Excellency may consider necessary, drafting the privates of the late 47th, whose fidelity remained unshaken, into such Regiments as may appear most expedient.

WM. CASEMENT, Lieut. Col.
Sec. to Govt. Mil. Dept.

The troops assembling at Chittagong, and on the Frontier of Sylhet, for service, are brigaded as follows:—

1st Brigade. H. M.'s 44th Regt., 47th Regt. N. I., 62d Regt. N. I. To command, Brigadier Shapland, 27th N. I. Brigade-Major, Capt. White.

2d Brigade. H. M.'s 54th Regt., 42d Regt. N. I., 26th Regt. N. I. To command, Brig. Colquhoun Grant, H. M.'s 54th.

3d Brigade. H. M.'s 47th Regt., 7th Regt. N. I., 41th Regt. N. I. To command, Brig. Gen. Cotton. Brig.-Major, Capt. Sullier, H. M.'s 47th.

4th Brigade. 14th Regt. N. I., 39th ditto, 52d ditto. To command, Brigad. Innes, C. B. Brigade-Major, Captain Garrie, 14th N. I.

5th Brigade. 10th Regt. Madras N. I., 16th ditto. To command, Brigadier A. Fair. Brigade-Major, Lieut. A. B. Dyce.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Fort William.—Aug. 19. Ensign S. J. Grove from 8th to 68th N. I. as junior of his rank. 20. Local Lieut. H. Foster posted to Bangalore Light Inf.; Ens. the Hon. B. V. Powys and H. Drought to do duty with 61st N. I. at Barrackpore; Ens. Stubbs from 6th to 41th N. I.

Aug. 21.—Unposted Ensigns are appointed to do duty as follows:—Ens. M. Huish, 67th N. I., at Benares; Ens. W. Hope, 42d ditto, Berhampore; Ens. H. Johnson, ditto, ditto; Ens. H. P. Burn, ditto, ditto.

Oct. 14.—Ens. Cade to 13th Regt. at Cuttack; Major Gen. A. Ferguson to 31st N. I.; Lieut. Col. Com. M. White to 19th N. I.; Lieut. Col. W. D. Playfair to 12th N. I.; Lieut. Colonel W. Nott to 20th N. I.; Lieut. Col. T. Newton to 48th N. I.; Lieut. Col. Alexander from 44th to 39th N. I.; Lieut. Col. W. R. Gilbert from 39th to 31st N. I.; Lieut. Col. T. Wilson from 31st to 44th N. I.; Lieut. Col. W. C. Baddely to 36th N. I.; Lieut. Col. G. Sargent from 14th to 57th N. I.; Lieut. Col. Grage from 57th to 13th N. I.

16. Ensign Abbott, 47th N. I. to 15th N. I. 26. Lieut. Greene, lately appointed to do duty with the 6th company 3d batt. of Artillery, is directed to join the 6th company 2d batt. to which he is posted; Lieut. Dyke is directed to do duty with the 7th company 2d batt. until further orders.

The Ensigns of Infantry, to whom rank was assigned in Government General Orders of the 30th September, are permanently posted to Regiments as follows:—

Ensign M. Huish to the 2d European Regt. at Dinapore; Ensign H. P. Burn to the 1st N. I. at Gurravarrali; Ensign H. Johnson to the 26th N. I. at Barrackpore; Ensign Wm. Hope to the 57th N. I. at Gowhaty (Assam); Ensign Wm. Cole to the 67th N. I. at Benares; Ensign E. T. Tierney to the 29th N. I. at Ber-

hampore; Ensign H. C. Wilson to the 40th N. I. at Cheduba; Ens. R. Wyllie to the 6th N. I. at Lucknow; Ensign C. Prior to the 64th N. I. at Neemuch; Ensign T. S. Price to the 8th N. I. at Baitool; Ensign J. Awdry to the 55th N. I. at Neemuch; Ensign J. L. Murray to the 49th N. I. at Dacca; Ensign J. Grissell to the 2d N. I. at Dinapore; Ens. H. B. Harrington to the 37th N. I. at Benares; Ensign H. J. Guyon to the 31st N. I. at Mirzapore; Ensign G. Turner to the 38th N. I. at Keitah; Ens. A. Learmouth to the 54th N. I. at Dinapore; Ensign J. H. Low to the 39th N. I. at Sylhet.

The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to make the following postings and removals in the Regiment of Artillery:—

Lieut. Col. Com. W. Hopper to the 2d batt. vice Carugio, deceased; Lieut. Col. J. F. Dundas to the 3d batt. vice Hopper; Major J. M'Dowell to the 2d batt. vice Dundas; Capt. W. Oliphant to the 15th comp. 4th batt. vice M'Dowell; 1st Lieut. J. B. Backhouse to the 3d comp. 3d batt. vice Oliphant; Capt. H. C. Baker of the 2d comp. 2d batt. to the 1st comp. 4th batt. and Capt. E. Biddulph from the latter to the former; Capt. F. Croxton of the 8th comp. 3d batt. to the 4th comp. 2d batt. and Capt. J. Brodlhurst from the latter to the former; Ca. R. Roberts, now doing duty with the Artillery at Dum-Dum, is directed to proceed and join the 3d troop at Meerut, to which he stands posted by General Orders of the 11th August last; 2d Lieut. Thos. Edw. Sage, lately arrived, is posted to the 6th comp. 2d batt. Artillery.

Second Lieuts. of Artillery (recently admitted) are posted to batts. and comps. as follows:—

F. Gairakell, 6th comp. 3d batt.; G. D. Scott, ditto; G. T. Graham, 7th comp. 3d batt.; F. K. Duncan, ditto; J. D. Shakspear, 5th comp. 2d batt.

Ens. J. L. Browe removed from 42d to 29th N. I. and Ens. C. Hutchinson from 29th to 42d ditto.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Oct. 28.—

The undermentioned Cornet and Ensigns are directed to do duty with regiments, respectively as hereafter specified, until further orders.

Cornet D. G. A. F. H. Mellish with the 7th Regt. Light Cavalry at Nusseer. Ensigns M. C. Carter, W. Fenton, W. Innes, J. P. Shappe, T. Gould, W. Alston, C. J. C. Collins, W. Thursty, W. Lyford, J. H. Blanchard, M. Nicholson, H. W. Bait, J. J. Hamilton, C. Campbell, T. Irving, W. F. Campbell, R. Haldane, H. H. De Montmorency, G. Greene, F. B. Lardner, A. Jack, T. Mackintosh, with the 2d Europ. Regt. at Dinapore.

Ensigns James Campbell, A. F. Tytler, G. F. Tytler, 10th Regt. N. I. at Barrackpore.

Ensigns E. T. Erskine, J. Robertson, J. H. Phillips, 61st Regt. N. I. at Barrackpore.

The above young officers, with the exception of those appointed to do duty with regiments at Barrackpore, are to proceed to their destination as soon as boats for their accommodation can be provided by the superintending officer of Cadets, under the charge of an officer to be appointed hereafter to that duty.

Nov. 1.—Lieut. Talbot to 8th Regt. N. I. Ensign C. Cooper to do duty with 2d Europ. Regt. Ensign E. T. Erskine, ditto, and to join the Detachment of Young Officers for the Upper Provinces. 10. Lieut. Col. J. W. Blackney, from 35th to 69th Regt. N. I. and directed to proceed to Benares.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort William, Oct. 14.—Lieut. Col. T. Newton to rank from 22d Sept. 1821, in succession to Baines deceased.

14th Regt. N. I. Major J. H. Littler, Capt. W. J. Gairdner, and Lieut. E. J. Dickey, from 22 Sept. 1824.

MEDICAL POSTINGS.

Fort William, Aug. 13.—Surg. J. Falloffield to 2d Light Infantry at Ghazepore; Assist. Surg. H. S. Meicer, to Ramghur Corps; Assist. Surg. T. Forrest to 46th Regt. N. I.; Oct. 14. Assist. Surg. G. M. Paterson, &c. to join 16th N. I.; Surg. E. Phillips to 62d Regt. N. I.

EXCHANGES.

Fort William, Aug. 13.—Capt. C. T. G. Weston, 29th, and R. Foster, 66th N. I. permitted to exchange corps; Lieuts. N. Stewart, 11th, and J. T. Kennedy, 20th N. I. permitted to exchange corps. 20. Lieuts. H. C. Clarkson, 42d, and T. Polwhele, 41st N. I. permitted to exchange corps; Lieuts. Oldham, 62d, and McGrath, 60th N. I. permitted to exchange corps. Oct. 26. Lieuts. Vansandiar, 67th N. I., and R. P. Fulcher, 62d, are permitted to exchange corps.

FURLONGHS.

Fort William, Aug. 20.—Captain C. Pearce, 29th N. I. to Europe, on sick certificate; Lieut. C. Douglas, 14th N. I. do. on sick cert.; Lieut. J. Black, 33d do. Madras N. I. on sick cert. Sept. 2. Lieut. W. W. Rees, 50th N. I. Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. do. on sick cert.; Assist. Surg. T. Inglis, do. on sick cert. Oct. 14. Lieut. F. Beatty to Europe, on account of health; Surg. W. Farquhar, do. on account of health. 16. Major B. Thomson, 6th Regt. L. C. to Europe, on account of health. 28. Surg. H. Moscrop, of Med. Dep. do. on account of health; Capt. E. Browne, 59th N. I. to New South Wales, on sick cert.; Brev. Capt. A. Syme, 57th Regt. N. I. to Europe on account of health.

Nov. 4.—The following officers are

permitted to proceed to Europe on furlough on account of their health:

Major J. L. Gale, of the 1st Regt. N. I.; Lieut. R. Balderston, of the 43d Regt. N. I.; Lieut. C. Bracken, of the 45th Regt. N. I.; Lieut. J. S. K. Biscoe, of the 9th Regt. N. I. Madras Establishment.

Lieut. R. Deacon, of the Madras Establishment, lately doing duty with the 10th Madras N. I. at Chittagong, is permitted to proceed hence to Europe on account of his health, on the production of the prescribed certificate from the Pay Department.

Brev. Capt. J. J. Casement, of the 39th Regt. N. I. Brigade Major Bareilly, is permitted to proceed to New South Wales via Mauritius, for the recovery of health, and to be absent from Bengal on that account for twelve months.

Nov. 11.—Surg. J. Hare M. D. to Europe, on account of his health; Assist. Surg. W. Duff, do. on account of health.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 3.—Capt. J. Macintosh, re-appointed Superintending Engineer in the Southern Division, from 2d ult. 7. Capt. T. Cox to be Assist. Com. Gen. vice Cumming; Lieut. T. R. Manners to be Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. vice Cox; Lieut. J. Prescott to be a Dep. Assist. Com. Gen. until further orders; Lieut. A. Douglas, of the 49th Regt. N. I. to be a Sub-Assist. Com. Gen.; Lieut. Col. J. Nixon of the Invalid Establishment, is appointed to command the 3d Native Vet. Batt. vice Vaughan deceased. 10. Capt. W. Strahan, Assist. Adj. Gen. with the Light Field Division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Jaulnah, to be Assist. Quarterm. Gen. of the Army, vice Peile deceased; Capt. S. W. Steele, Assist. in the Quarterm. General's Dep. to be Assist. Adj. Gen. to the Light Field Division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Jaulnah, vice Strahan; Capt. R. Gibblings, Assistant Quarterm. Gen. at Jaulnah, to act as Assist. Adj. Gen. to the Division at that station, until the return of Capt. Steele from Foreign Service, or until further orders. 11. Capt. M. Tweedie, of the 20th Regt. N. I. to command the escort of the Resident at Tanjore, vice Hardy, deceased; Capt. J. Smith, 4th Nat. Vet. Batt. to command Negapatam.

Sept. 17.—The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to place Major Gen. H. Hall, on the General Staff of this Presidency, to complete the number authorized by the Hon. the Comt of Directors for the General Staff of the Madras Army; Major Gen. Hall is appointed to command the troops in the ceded districts; Col. W. H. Hewitt, C. B. of the

Infantry, to command the Southern Div. of the army, during the absence of Major Gen. Sir T. Pritzler, K. C. B. or until further orders; Capt. F. Hunter, of the 1st Regt. L. C. to be Assist. Adj. Gen. to the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. S. W. Steele of the 24th Regt. N. I. to be Assist. Quarterm. Gen. to the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. W. N. Pace of the 25th Regt. N. I. to be Persian Interpreter to the officer commanding the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. J. Ardago, of the 47th Regt. N. I. to be a Dep. Judge Advocate General; Capt. J. Crokat, of the 50th Regt. N. I. to be Paym. to the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. R. G. Polwhele of the Artillery to be Com. of Stores to the Nagpore Subsidiary Force; Capt. Hunter, Assist. Adj. Gen. at Nagpore, to act as Assist. Quarterm. Gen. to that Force, during the absence of Capt. Steele on foreign service, or until further orders; Capt. W. J. Bradford of the 35th Regt. N. I. to be Assist. Adj. Gen. to the Light Field Div. of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Jaulnah, vice Steele; Capt. E. Cadogan, of the 33d Regt. N. I. to be Aide-de-Camp to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, vice Bradford; Lieut. R. D. O'Dell, of the 25th Regt. N. I. to be Fort Adjutant of Masulipatam, vice Bowmes deceased; Capt. T. MacLeane, of the 1st European Regt. and Sec. to the Military Board is permitted to proceed to sea on sick certificate, with leave of absence for four months. 21. Lieut. Clarke, of the 37th N. I. and Lieut. E. Armstrong, 34th Light Inf. to be Sub. Assistants Commissary Gen.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 7.—Assist. Surgeons De Burgh Birch, M.D. R. Lindseil, and G. Pearce, M.D. are permitted to enter on the general duties of the army; Sen. Assist. Surg. T. Tomkinson to be Surg. vice White deceased, date of rank 28th May 1824; Sen. Assist. Surg. J. Jones to be Surg. from 1st June 1824, vice Richardson deceased; Sen. Assist. Surg. G. Hewitson to be Surg. vice Spiers deceased, date of rank 23d July 1824; Assist. Surg. D. Reid to be Surg. vice Hewitson, deceased, date of rank 10th Aug. 1824.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 7.—The undermentioned Gentlemen Cadets for the Artillery and Infantry are admitted on the Establishment in conformity with their appointment by the Hon. the Court of Directors, and are promoted to the rank of 1st Lieutenant and Ensign respectively, leaving the dates of their commissions to be settled hereafter:

Artillery. Mr. T. K. Whistler, and Mr. W. H. Miller, arrived at Madras, 2d Sept. 1824.

Infantry. Mr. H. Griffith, and Mr.

W. E. L. Evelyn, arrived at Madras, 2d Sept. 1824.

Sept. 10.—39th Regt. N. I. Sen. Ensign C. G. Otley to be Lieut. dated 5th Sept. 1824.

Sept. 14.—*Infantry.* Colonel W. H. Hewitt, C. B. to be Col. of a Regt. from the 10th April 1824, vice G. Doveton deceased on the 9th April 1824; Sen. Lieut. Col. C. T. G. Bishop to be Lieut. Col. Com. from 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment; Lieut. Col. W. Clapham to take rank from 10th April 1824, in succession to Hewitt promoted.

6th Regt. L. C. Sen. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) W. Babington to be Capt. and Sen. Cornet E. Armytage to be Lieut. vice Johnstone, dated 20th May 1824.

8th Regt. L. C. Sen. Cornet T. M. Hislop to be Lieut. vice Price, dated 22d Aug. 1824.

Artillery. 1st. Lieut. R. G. Polwhele, to be Capt. vice Wilkinson, dated 4th Sept. 1824.

21st Regt. N. I. Lieut. Col. F. Bowes to take rank as Lieut. Col., and Senior Major J. W. B. Howell from the 10th Regt. N. I. to be Lieut. Col. from 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment.

6th Regt. N. I. Sen. Capt. C. de Carteret to be Major, Capt. H. Mitchell and Lieut. H. J. Dallas, to take rank from 1st May 1824, in succession to Bowes promoted.

35th Regt. N. I. Senior Major H. Swayne, from the 25th Regt. N. I. to be Lieut. Col. vice Howell deceased; date of commission 10th May 1824.

25th Regt. N. I. Sen. Capt. F. Browt to be Major, Sen. Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) R. M'Leod to be Capt. and Sen. Ens. H. Brooks to be Lieut. in succession to Swayne promoted; date of commission 10th May 1824; Sen. Major H. Bowdler from the 41st Regt. N. I. to be Lieut. Col. vice Smyth deceased; date of commission 15th Aug. 1824.

41st Regt. N. I. Sen. Capt. W. B. Spry to be Major, Sen. Lieut. (Brevet Capt.) H. Robinson to be Capt. and Sen. Ens. H. Hall to be Lieut. in succession to Bowdler promoted; date of commissions 15th Aug. 1824.

7th Regt. N. I. Sen. Ens. R. H. Bingham to be Lieut. vice Mansfield; dated 29th March 1824.

Mr. Charles Milborne West is admitted on the Establishment as a Cadet of Infantry, in conformity with his appointment by the Hon. the Court of Directors from the 12th inst., and is promoted to the rank of Ensign, leaving the date of his commission to be settled hereafter.

GENERAL ORDER.

Fort St. George, Sept. 7.—In obedience to instructions from the Hon. the Court of Directors, the Hon. the Governor in

Council notifies in General Orders, that the rank of Brevet Captain will not in future be granted to any officer until he shall have completed a period of fifteen years' service, reckoned from the date of his first commission as second Lieut. Cornet, or Ensign.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 16.—Cornet T. W. T. Prescott, 1st L. C. to do duty with 8th L. C. at Bangalore. 14. Lieut. Col. J. Knowles, C. B. commanding Nellore, is permitted to proceed to that station. 16. Capt. Walker, Carnatic Europ. Vet. Batt. removed to 3d Nat. Vet. Batt. and directed to join detachment at Vizagapatnam; Capt. C. S. Lynn removed from 1st to 3d Nat. Vet. Batt. and will join detachment at Condapilly; Major W. B. Spry, 4th N. L., relieved from doing duty at Condapilly, and will join his regt. 17. Cornet J. E. Watts removed from 4th to 6th L. C. in which he will rank next below Cornet W. Shairp; Captain B. Baker removed from 3d to 2d Nat. Vet. Batt. and will join detachment at Guntour.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort St. George, Sept. 11.

6th Regt. L. C. Capt. R. Wooll and Lieut. J. S. Lushington to take rank from the 16th Oct. 1823, vice Scott retired; Capt. R. H. Russell and Lieut. J. R. Brown to take rank from the 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment.

8th Regt. L. C. Lieut. J. C. Wallace to take rank from 27th May 1823, vice Aveline retired; Lieut. J. R. Robertson to take rank from 1st May 1821, to complete the Establishment.

Artillery. Capt. F. Derville and 1st Lieut. D. B. Dighton to take rank from 19th Oct. 1820, vice Thoresby resigned 18th Oct. 1820; Capt. C. Patton and 1st Lieut. J. Anderson, to take rank from 13th May 1824, in succession to Hopkinson promoted; Capt. T. Bennett to take rank from 9th July 1821, vice Poggenpohl deceased; Capt. N. Hunter to take rank from 16th Aug. 1821, in succession to Cleaveland promoted; Capt. J. J. Gamage to take rank from 17th Oct. 1821, in succession to Mackintosh promoted; Capt. T. Y. B. Kennan to take rank from 26th Jan. 1822, in succession to Taylor promoted; Capt. H. Gregory to take rank from 1st Feb. 1822, vice Mackintosh deceased; Capt. P. Montgomerie to take rank from 21st May 1823, in succession to Taylor invalided; Capt. G. Conran to take rank from 1st June 1823, vice Moonhouse deceased; Capt. D. H. Mackenzie to take rank from 17th Jan. 1824, vice Palmer promoted; Capt. T. Biddle to take rank from 1st May 1821, to complete the Establishment; Capt. J. Lambie to take rank from 9th June 1824, vice Bennett invalided; Capt. J. M. Ley to take rank from 25th June 1824, vice Rudyerd deceased.

4th Regt. N. I. Major W. Jollie, Capt. H. S. Hall and Lieut. C. Church to take rank from 10th April 1824, in succession to Clapham promoted; Lieut. Col. J. Woulfe to take rank from 23d April 1824, vice Frith deceased.

21st Regt. N. I. Major H. Downes, Capt. R. S. Wilson and Lieut. A. Shirrefs to take rank from 23d April 1824, in succession to Woulfe promoted.

6th Regt. N. I. Major M. J. Harris, Capt. J. Howison, and Lieut. F. A. Clarke to take rank from 6th May 1821, vice De Carteret deceased.

10th Regt. N. I. Major B. Short, Capt. W. Stokoe and Lieut. A. Wight, to take rank from 1st May 1824, in succession to Howell promoted; Lieut. Col. J. S. Fraser, to take rank from 6th May 1824, vice Hall deceased.

35th Regt. N. I. Major J. Mallandaine, Capt. E. E. Bruce and Lieut. W. B. Brooshooff to take rank from 6th May 1821, in succession to Fraser promoted.

7th Regt. N. I. Lieut. B. Staplyton to take rank from 4th Dec. 1823, vice MacKinnon deceased.

45th Regt. N. I. Major S. S. Gummer, Capt. M. H. Davidson, and Lieut. L. B. Wilford to take rank from 3d March 1824, vice Beckett deceased.

MEDICAL ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort St. George, Sept. 21.—Surg. G. Mather to rank from 29th June 1820, vice Parrock retired; Surg. C. Simson from 21th July 1820, vice Rich deceased; Surg. J. Hastie from 1st Aug. 1820, to complete the Establishment; Surg. J. Irving, M. D. from 5th Nov. 1820, vice Briggs deceased; Surg. W. E. E. Conwell, M. D. from 11th Jan. 1821, vice Ingledew retired; Surg. D. Henderson from 18th May 1821, vice Cooke deceased; Surg. D. Provan from 20th June 1821, vice Patterson struck off; Surg. H. Atkinson from 9th July 1821, vice Sutton deceased; Surg. J. Wyllie from 29th Nov. 1821, vice McAndrew deceased; Surg. A. Campbell, M. D. from 6th Dec. 1821, vice Currie retired; Surg. G. Mickle from 6th Jan. 1822, vice Sherwood retired; Surg. J. T. Conran from 9th Aug. 1822, vice Hastie deceased; Surg. D. Donaldson from 11th Aug. 1822, in succession to Harris deceased; Surg. J. Harwood from 23d Jan. 1823, vice Longdill retired; Surg. J. Smart, M. D. from 16th Aug. 1823, vice Mather deceased; Surg. J. White from 17th Sept. 1823, vice Dalton, deceased; Surg. Sir T. Sevestre from 1st Jan. 1824, vice Goldie retired; Surgeons R. Prince, J. Aitkin, W. Wilson, M. D., R. Neilson, 1st May 1824, to complete the Establishment; Surg. J. Cruickshank from 22d May 1824, vice Kelly deceased.

FURLONGHS.

Fort St. George, Sept. 7.—Lieut. Col. Commandant J. Russell, C. B. 7th Regt.

L. C. to Europe, on furlough; Lieut. Brev. Capt. J. T. Webbe 19th Regt. N. I. to Europe on sick certificate. 10th. Lieut. J. Black 34th Regt. N. I. to Europe on sick certificate. 14. Capt. J. N. Abdy of the Artillery to Europe on sick certificate.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 4.—Lieut. E. Burgess, 21th N. I. to be Adj. vice Outram, exchanged to 23d N. I. date 1st Sept. 1824; Lieut. H. Dampier, 19th N. I. to be Interp. in Hindoostanee, and Quarterm. vice Westley transferred to 20th N. I. date 1st Sept. 1824; Lieut. J. W. Gordon, 7th N. I. Adj. of 1st extra batt. removed and appointed Adj. to 2d extra batt. vice Watts appointed Quarterm. of 1st Europ. Regt. date 1st Sept. 1824; Lieut. J. Fawcett, 5th N. I. to be Adj. to 1st extra batt. vice Gordon removed to 2d ditto, date 1st Sept. 1824. 13. Lieut. Law to be Staff officer to a detachment of Bombay Art. now at Rangoon; Lieut. G. Le Grand Jacob, 2d N. I. to be Interp. in Hindoostanee, and Quarterm. vice Teasdale, exchanged into 1st N. I. 15. Capt. J. Fattle, 2d Europ. Regt. to be Superintending Officer of Cadets, vice Room promoted, date 10th Sept. 1824. 16. Lieut. G. Brown, 7th N. I. to act as Int. and Quarterm. to 6th N. I. until relieved by officer appointed to situation. 20. Lieut. G. McIntosh to be Interp. in Hindoostanee and Mahatta, and Quarterm. to Marine batt. 21. Lieut. Foster, of Engineers, to be an Assist. of 1st class to survey department in Deccan. 23. Capt. J. Livingston to be Bar. Mast. at Presidency, vice Morrison resigned, date 23d Sept. 1824. Lieut. Col. Willis to be President of Standing Committee of Survey, date 23d Sept. 1824.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the *London Gazette*.]

BENGAL.

14th Foot. To be Lieuts. without purchase—Ens. J. R. Smith, vice Kirkman, deceased, dated 25th March 1824; Ens. R. R. Naylor, vice Crawford, deceased, dated 21st March 1824. To be Ensigns—F. Capadosi, Gent. vice Smith, dated 20th March 1824, and R. Budd, Gent. vice Naylor, dated 21st March 1824.

Lieut. A. Stewart from half-pay Rifle Brigade to be Lieut. vice Tindling, appointed to 81th Foot, dated 3d March.

38th Foot. Lieut. L. Hopper to be Capt. without purchase, dated 16th Feb. 1825; Ens. J. Campbell, Lieut. C. Mudie,

Oriental Herald, Vol. 5,

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 4.—Mr W. Troop, admitted an Assist. Surg. 8. Surg. Purnell recalled from Southern Concan, his services being required in Mil. Dep.; Assist. Surg. Shaw to succeed Mr. Purnell as Civil Surg. in Southern Concan; Surg. Smytton to succeed Mr. Shaw as Vaccinator at Presidency; Surg. R. Wallace to succeed Surg. Ogilvy, as Civil Surg. at the Presidency.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 4.—Messrs. T. B. Hamilton, J. Penney, and G. W. Monecy admitted Cadets of Cavalry, and promoted to Cornets; Messrs. H. H. Doherty, A. Shephard, and W. Thatcher admitted Cadets of Infantry, and promoted to Ensigns.

15th Regt N. I. Capt. F. M'Cy. Fredell to take rank vice Collis, date 12th Feb. 1824; Lieut. H. C. Holland to be Capt. date 1st May 1824; Ens. T. Mitchell to be Lieut. vice Fredell promoted, date 12th Feb. 1824.

Sept. 20.—Mr. R. E. Phillips admitted a Cadet and promoted to Ensign.

REMOVALS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 8.—Lieut. J. R. S. Fenwick, 1st Gr. Regt. N. I. having been found guilty of murder in Supreme Court of Judicature at this Presidency (though judgment has been suspended), the name of that officer is directed to be struck out of List of Army from 8th Sept. 1824.

MARINE PROMOTIONS.

Sept. 6.—Midshipman G. Loughton to be Lieut. vice Goreham deceased, date 17th July 1824. 18. Junior Capt. T. Tanner to be Commodore at Surat, in succession to Capt. Blast.

CEYLON.

APPOINTMENTS.

1825. 27.—The Rev. J. S. N. Glennie to perform duties of Archdeacony of Colombo, now vacant by death of the Hon. and Venerable T. J. Twissleton, D. D. late Archdeacon of Colombo, till a successor be duly instituted to the same.

from half-pay 22th Foot, and Ensign R. Mends, from 87th Foot, to be Ensigns without purchase, dated 10th Feb. 1825. R. Deane, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Campbell, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

41st Foot. Lieut. R. N. Bluff to be Capt. without purchase, dated 10th Feb. 1825; Ens. J. G. Bedingfield and J. Douglas, from 21st Foot, and Ens. E. S. Spencer, from 73d Foot, to be Lieuts. without purchase, dated 10th Feb. W. Evans, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Bedingfield, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

87th Foot. Lieut. J. Moore to be Capt. without purchase, vice Clifford, deceased, dated Aug. 1824; Ens. R. R. Harris, to

be Lieut. vice Moore, dated 18th Aug. 1824; R. Loveday, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Harris, dated 18th Aug. 1824; D. Herbert, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Mends, promoted in 38th Foot, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

MADRAS.

1st Foot. Gent. Cadet C. Curtis, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign without purchase, vice Williamson, appointed to 73d Foot, dated 10th Feb. 1825. To be Lieutenants—Ens. H. C. Fraser, from 34th Foot, by purchase, vice Stoyte, promoted, dated 23d Feb. 1825; Ens. J. McGregor, without purchase, vice Suter, deceased, dated 10th March 1825.—To be Ens. without purchase, R. G. Hill, Gent. vice McGregor, dated 10th March 1825.

49th Foot. Lieut. T. Broderidge, to be Capt. without purchase, dated 10th Feb. 1825; Lieut. R. Vincent, from 89th Foot, Ens. J. T. Hall, from 16th Foot, and Ens. E. C. Smith, from 56th Foot, to be Lieuts. without purchase, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

89th Foot. Ens. J. W. Harris, from 81th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Vincent, appointed to 49th Foot, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

30th Foot. Lieut. W. Baxter from half-pay 23d Regt. to be Lieut. vice Rumley, who exchanges, dated 3d March 1825.

69th Foot. A. C. Anderson, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Penn, promoted; 2d Lieut. J. W. Bennett, to be Ensign from half-pay of 3d Devon Regt. dated 3d March 1825.

BOMBAY.

14th Light Dragoons. C. Villiers, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase vice Somerville, appointed to 2d Dragoons, dated 25th Feb. 1825; L. Timm, Gent. to be Veterinary Surg. vice Bird, deceased, dated 17th Feb. 1825.

20th Foot. Lieut. D. Campbell, from 79th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Butler, who exchanges, dated 3d March 1825; Ensign J. Petts, to be Lieut. by purchase vice Keppel, promoted in Bombay Foot, dated 17th Feb. 1825; J. Taylor, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Petts, dated 17th Feb. 1825.

CAPE.

6th Foot. Lieut. H. S. Larpin, from half-pay, 24th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice T. N. Clarke, who exchanges, dated 19th Feb. 1825.

Cape Corps. J. N. Reishton, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Fraser, promoted in 44th Foot, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

ISLE OF FRANCE.

82d Foot. Lieut. T. Hadwin, from 34th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Harford, who exchanges, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

ROYAL EAST INDIA VOLUNTEERS.

Lieut. R. Smith to be Capt. vice Medley, who resigns, dated 23d Feb. 1825; Ensign C. Hebord, vice Smith, W. Heathcote, vice Keith, who resigns, J. Brown, vice Fletcher, to be Lieuts.; J. D. Rethendon, gent. vice Hebord, R. Codrington, vice Heathcote, W. W. White, vice Brown, and G. Cox, vice Powell, to be Ensigs, dated 23d Feb. 1825.

BREVEF.

The undermentioned Cadets of the Hon. East India Company's Service are to have temporary rank as Second Lieutenants, during the period of their being placed under the command of Lieut. Col. Pasley, of the Royal Engineers, at Chatham, for instruction in the art of sapping and mining.

Gentlemen Cadets, C. W. Willis, W. B. Goodfellow, W. H. Atkinson, W. Scott, dated 10th Feb. 1825.

[From the Indian Gazettes.]

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Oct. 14.—Col. J. Dun-kin, C.B. of H.M. 4th Regt. to be a Brigadier-General; Col. N. McKeller, C.B. of H.M. 1st, or Royals, to be ditto; and Col. W. Cotton, of H.M. 37th, to be ditto. 20. Capt. F. Champagne, H.M. 20th Foot, to be Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, vice Marlay, Lieut. C. A. Wootlesly, 16th Lancers, to be Aid-de-Camp on His Excellency's Personal Staff, vice Champagne. 26. Col. W. McBean, of H.M. 51th Regt. Foot, is re-appointed, from 25th Aug. last, a Brigadier-General with the army serving in the dominions of the King of Ava. Nov. 11. Capt. W. Fendall, H.M. 4 Regt. Light Dragoons, to be an Aid-de-Camp on his Lordship's Personal Staff, vice Cook, deceased, dated 9th Oct. 1824.

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Oct. 5.—14th Foot. Lieut. H. Mansell, to be Capt. by Brevet, dated 24th Sept. 1824.

38th Foot. Lieut. A. Campbell, to be Capt. by Brevet, dated 11th Dec. 1824.

14th Foot. Brevet Lieut. Col. J. Campbell, from half-pay, Royal West India Rangers, to be Major, vice C. Gardiner, dated 6th May, 1824.

38th Foot. Lieut. J. Matthews, to be Capt. without purchase, vice Read, deceased, dated 23d Oct. 1823; Lieut. M. Semple, from 24th Foot, to be Capt. vice Will-hire, dated 21st Oct.; Ensign H. Grimes, to be Lieut. vice Matthews,

and F. Bagot, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Gimnes, dated 23d Oct. 1823.

44th Foot. Brigade Major A. Brugh to be Major without purchase, vice Nixon, deceased, dated 7th Nov. 1823; Lieut. J. Connor to be Captain without purchase; Ensign W. Ogilvy to be Lieut. without purchase; Second Lieut. R. B. McCrea, from Ceylon Regt. to be Ensign, vice Browne, dated 28th April, 1821; Gent. Cadet J. D. De Woud, from Military College, to be Ensign, vice Ogilvy; Ensign W. C. Lanza, from 76th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Wood, dated 25th April, 1821.

46th Foot. Ensign W. N. Hutchison to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Law, dated 25th Oct. 1823; G. Woodburn, gent. to be Ensign, vice Hutchison, dated 29th April, 1824.

59th Foot. Lieut. N. Chadwick to be Capt. by purchase, vice Clutterbuck, who retires, dated 29th April 1824; Ensign C. Coote to be Lieut. by purchase, ditto; D. J. N. Barron, gent. to be Ensign by purchase, ditto.

Oct. 30.—His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India is pleased to make the following promotions, until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known.

Lieut. E. Hopper to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Brigade Major Foster, deceased, dated 18th Sept. 1824; Ensign F. Tudor to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Hopper, promoted, dated 18th Sept. 1824.

41st Foot. Capt. E. B. Stehelin to be Major without purchase, vice Hill, deceased, dated 19th Aug. 1824; Lieut. A. McIntyre to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Stehelin, promoted, dated 19th Aug. 1824; Lieut. A. H. Maclean to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice McLeod, deceased, dated 27th Aug. 1824; Ensign L. Tallon to be Lieut. without purchase, vice McIntyre, promoted, dated 19th Aug. 1824; Ensign H. A. O'Neill to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Maclean, promoted, dated 27th Aug. 1824; Ensign G. R. Read to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Hume, deceased, dated 10th Sept. 1824; J. Smith, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Tallon, promoted, dated 19th Aug. 1824; J. Boyce, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice O'Neill, promoted, dated 27th Aug. 1824; — Siodhart, gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Read, promoted, dated 10th Sept. 1824.

54th Foot. Lieut. R. Woodgate, to be Capt. of a Company, without purchase, vice Black deceased, 27th Sept. 1824; Ensign H. W. Harris, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Woodgate, promoted, 27th Sept. 1824.

89th Foot. Lieut. W. Bell, to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Coates deceased, 21st Sept. 1824; Ensign J. Currie, to be Lieut. without purchase,

vice Taylor deceased, 31st Aug. 1824; Ensign J. M. MacLean, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Bell promoted, 21st Sept. 1824; J. Gray, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Currie promoted, 31st Aug. 1824.

MEMORANDUM.

41st Foot. The promotions of Lieut. McIntyre to be Captain, Ensign Tallon to be Lieut., and John Smith, Gent. to be Ensign, in succession to Macleod deceased, as stated in General Orders of the 22d Sept. last, are cancelled.

EXCHANGES.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.

Oct. 12.—4th Light Dragoons, Major G. Brown from 4th Light Dragoons to be Major, vice Onslow who retires upon half-pay 42d Foot, receiving difference, dated 13th May 1824.—16th Light Dragoon, Cornet W. Penn from 17th Light Dragoons, vice Brett who retires on half-pay 21th Light Dragoons, dated 21th April 1824.—20th Foot, Capt. R. Swinton from 17th Foot to be Captain, vice Botton who exchanges, dated 29th April 1821.—Lieut. M. Day from half-pay Royal West India Regt. to be Lieut., vice Warren, whose appointment has not taken place, dated 22d April 1821.

FURLOUGHS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.

Aug. 23.—Lieut. Col. Clifford, 89th Foot, to Europe for health. 30. Lieut. Thompson, 30th Foot, ditto; Capt. Cuppage, 16th Foot, ditto; Capt. Coates, 89th Foot, for health; Major Brugh, 41th Foot, for health; Lieut. Tollrey, 27th Foot, for health. Oct. 11. Ens. G. Johnson, H. M. 59th Reg. to Calcutta, on sick certificate, from thence to make application for leave of absence to Europe, should his health require it. 13. Capt. Milne, 11th Light Dragoons, for two years to Europe, on sick certificate. 18. Lieut. Harding, 89th foot, to Europe, for two years, on account of health; Ensign Gordon, ditto, ditto, for one year, for retiring on half pay; Lieut. Fraser, 47th Foot, to Europe, for two years, on account of health. Nov. 2. Brev. Lieut. Col. Major Bell, of 16th Lancers, to Calcutta, on sick certificate, for 3½ months, on the expiration of which term, should the state of his health require it, he is to make application for leave to proceed to sea, or eventually to Europe, for recovery. 10. Capt. Ellis, 16th Lancers, to Europe, for two years, on urgent private affairs.

13th Drag. Brev.-Maj. Thornton, from date of embarkation, for 2 years, to Europe, on urgent private affairs.

13th Lt. Inf. Lieut. Meredith, from date of embarkation, for 2 years, to Europe, for the benefit of his health.

59th Lt. Lieut. Kelly, from the date of embarkation, for 2 years, to Europe, for the benefit of his health.

89th Lt.—Lieut. Moore, from date of embarkation, for two years to Europe, for the benefit of his health.

Capt. Enderby, of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, has permission to repair to

Calcutta on sick certificate, and to be absent on that account for 3 months. On or before the expiration of which, should the state of his health require it, and be certified accordingly by the Medical Board, he is to make application for leave to proceed to sea for the recovery of his health.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Aug. 4th. At Kernal, the lady of Capt. J. Barclay, 4th Light Cavalry, of a son.—14th. Mrs. C. Wiltshire, of a daughter.—17th. Mrs. A. M. Inglis, of a daughter.—At Suagor, the lady of A. Garden, Esq., of a son.—19th. At Barcilly, the lady of W. F. Dick, Esq., civil service, of a son.—At Hameetpoor, Bundelkhand, the lady of M. Ainslie, Esq., civil service, of a son.—22d. Mrs. John D'Rozario, of a son.—The lady of Capt. Roberts, superintendent of buildings, Western Prov., of a daughter.—24th. At Chowringhee, Mrs. Nays, of a daughter.—25th. At Suagor, the wife of Conductor A. Facy, of a daughter.—27th. Mrs. C. Waller, of a son.—29th. Mrs. W. Oxborough, of a daughter.—30th. Mrs. R. Williams, of a son.—31st. Mrs. A. Fleming, of a daughter.—Sept. 1st. The lady of T. G. Vibart, Esq., civil service of a son.—Sept. 1st. At Duna Dum, the lady of Dr. B. W. Macleod, of a son.—3d. The lady of Lieut. Houghton, H. C. Marine, of a daughter.—6th. The lady of Mr. T. Marriott, of a daughter; at Chowringhee, the lady of J. M. Seppings, Esq., of a son.—8th. At Serampore, Mrs. T. St. J. Byrne, of a son.—9th. At Dacca, the lady of Lane Maguier, Esq., civil service, of a daughter.—10th. At Rammagur, near Coolbariah, the lady of I. H. Savi, Esq., of a son; Mrs. S. P. Singer, of a still-born child.—12th. At Barrackpore, the lady of Lieut. Col. D'Aguiar, of a son.—15th. The wife of Mr. D. Burnett, of a daughter; Mrs. L. F. Pereira, of a daughter.—19th. At Ahmedabad, the lady of J. Williams, Esq., C. S. of a daughter.—23d. At Secundabad, the lady of Lieut. H. R. Kirby, 4th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.—26th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Capt. W. M'Leod, 35th Regt. of a daughter.—Oct. 12th. Mrs. W. Walter, of a daughter; At Jubulpore, the wife of Lieut. M. Nicolson, of a daughter; at Poonawallee, the lady of W. R. Smith, Esq., Medical Establishment, of a son.—13th. At Chittoor, the lady of R. Gibbon, Esq., of a daughter.—15th. The lady of W. P. H. Sheddin, Esq., of a daughter.—17th. At Calcutta, Mrs. G. Johnson, of a daughter.—18th. At Calcutta, the lady of Capt. J. A. Currie, 14th N. I. of a daughter; the lady of N. Pallogius, Esq., of a son.—

20th. At Benares, the lady of Capt. S. Watson, 55th Regt. N. I. of a son.—21st. At Calcutta, the lady of Capt. D. Kitchenner, of the Fyzel Kurren, of a son; at Hunsceabad, the lady of Dr. Weichman, of a son.—29th. At Serampore, Mrs. D. Rodrigues, of a son.—Nov. 1st. At Arrah, the lady of Lieut. Col. Com. Baldeck, of a son.—2d. At Bauleah, Mrs. C. Parkinson, of a son.—5th. At Midnapore, the lady of J. H. Doyley, Esq., of C. S. of a son.—7th. At Calcutta, the lady of R. W. Poe, Esq., of a son; the lady of Capt. Swinhoe, 2d Grenadier Batt., of a daughter; Mrs. Sevestre, of a son; in Fort William, the lady of Capt. Chesney, Bengal Artillery, of a son.—10th. At Chowringhee, the lady of Lieut. Col. Tombs, 3d Regt. Cavalry, of a son.—11th. At Calcutta, Mrs. J. Sutherland, of a daughter.—13th. At Serampore, Mrs. J. C. Fink, of a daughter.

Marriages.—Aug. 30th. At Allahabad, A. W. Begbie, Esq., civil service, to Margaret Anna, daughter of the late James Grant, Esq., formerly of the same service.—Oct. 9th. Mr. A. D'Souza, to Miss C. D'Rozario.—15th. At Barrackpore, Lieut. W. Glasgow, son of the late Lieut. Gen. Glasgow, to Amelia, second daughter of the late R. Campbell, Esq., of Calcutta.—18th. At Calcutta, H. S. Pennington, Esq., to Miss C. A. Lyons.—19th. At Calcutta, W. Thacker, Esq., to Miss M. Edwards; at the Cathedral, T. Palmer, Esq., to Miss J. H. Adams.—20th. At Allahabad, Lieut. E. Winter, 41st Regt. N. I., to Fanny, second daughter of Capt. B. Wilkinson, of H. M. service.—24d. At Barrackpore, Capt. A. F. Richmond, 23d Regt. N. I. to Miss A. F. Cumberlege, eldest daughter of late Col. Cumberlege, of Bengal Establishment.—26th. At Calcutta, Lieut. J. C. Whiteford, 63th Regt. to Jane, third daughter of the Rev. J. H. Rice, L. L. D.; J. F. Hara, Esq., to Miss M. R. Grimwood.—Nov. 1st. At Lucknow, M. Ricketts, Esq. to Mrs. C. E. Ravenscroft.—9th. At Calcutta, Rev. L. B. E. Schmed, to Miss M. Jackson; at Cawnpore, Mr. W. Pothill, to Miss S. P. Remball.

Deaths.—Aug. 12th. At Chaudernagore, Mr. T. J. Williams, aged 63.—13th. At Ahmednagar, Eldred, infant son of Capt. H. Pottinger.—17th. At Bankipore,

Robert Edward, youngest son of Mr. J. Bell, aged eight months.—20th. At Meerut. *Lieut. J. Lison, R. M. 14th foot.*—21st. *Mr. T. Browne, Mirzapore printing establishment, aged 32.*—23d. *James Sheriff, son of Mr. J. Urquhart, aged five years;* at Rungpore, *Capt. J. Vyse, 37th N. I.;* at Guriawarah, *Lieut. T. Goldney, 1st N. I.;* Harapet Arathoon, Esq., an Armenian merchant, aged 58.—24th. *Mr. L. Verdoncel, aged 44.*—26th. On the river, by the upsetting of aboat, *Capt. Head, of the H. C.'s ship Canning.*—30th. At Barrackpore, *Norman, infant son, of Capt. A. McLeod, commanding Rungpore L. I.*—31st. At Serampore, *Charles William, eldest son of Mr. J. Cashman.*—Sept. 1st. *Miss A. N. Chalcraft, aged 21;* the wife of *Mr. Huggins, of Seebore.*—2d. *Eliza, infant daughter of Mr. John Peterson;* at Dum Dum, *Sophia Russell, infant daughter of Capt. Perena, of artillery;* *Mr. A. Salter, late shipwright, aged 27.*—3d. At Chowringhee, *Andrew Young, infant son of Lieut Col. H. Faithful;* *Mr. W. Gilgus, steward in the General Hospital.*—6th. *Agnes, infant daughter of J. C. Burton, Esq., 15th Mrs. Anna Williams, wife of Mr. R. Williams, aged 22.*—Oct. 7. At Kurman, *Lieut. Colonel Clark, 7th Light Cavalry.*—11th. *Mr. R. Wallace, 2d Officer of the ship Hindostan;* *Mr. Patterson, Surgeon of Ship Henry Porcher;* *Major A. Owen, 29th Regt. N. I.*—17th. At Calcutta, the infant son of *Mr G.R. Gardener.*—18th. At Coel, *E. Harding, Esq., H. C. C. S.*—26th. At Calcutta, *Mr. T. Lockwood, Assistant Surveyor-General's Officer;* at Jessore, *Mr. J. De Silva, Sen.;* at Chunar, *G. W. M. Gore, Lieut. 52d Regt. N. I.*—30th. At Chittagong, *Mr. C. Da Barros.*—Nov. 1st. At Hazareebaugh, *Sergeant Major C. Wakstaffe.*—1th. *Mrs. J. D'Rozario.*—5th. *Isabella, second daughter of late Capt. J. Wilkie, 49th N. I.*—6th. At Calcutta, *J. Dowling, Esq;* at Secrole, *Major Gen. R. B. Gregory, Col. 3d Regt. N. I.*—8th. At Fort William, *Mrs. Mary Sheen;* at Allipore, *Mr. R. Beaby, Head Clerk in the Board of Superintendence Office.*—10th. At Calcutta, *Robert, infant son of J. Payne, Junr.*—13th. At Chandernagore, *Miss M. Brunet.*

MADRAS.

Births.—Sept. 25th. At Wallajahbad, the lady of *Lieut. Col. Brodie, of a son.*—27th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of *Capt. W. McLeod, 35th Regt. of a daughter.*—Oct. 1st. At St. Thome, *Mrs. A. Williamson, of twin daughters.*—3d. The lady of *Lieut. W. Cotton, 10th Regt. N. I. of a daughter.*—9th. At Arungabad, the lady of *Capt. G. Tomkins, 10th Regt. Bengal, N. I. of a daughter.*—15th. At Trichinopoly, the lady of *J. Bird, Esq., of a son.*—18th. At Madras, the lady of *P. Raket, Esq., Secretary to the Netherland Chief, of a still-born son;* at Vepery

Miss M. Fitzgerald, of a son; at Madras; the lady of *Lieut. Col. Com. Wahab, of a daughter.*—19th. At Madras, the lady of *E. R. M'Donnell, Esq., C. S., of a son.*—21st. At St. Thomas' Mount, the lady of *P. Pulham, Esq., Madras Medical Establishment, of a daughter.*

Marriages.—Oct. 4th. At Madras, *Mr. A. T. Jones, to Amelia Maria, youngest daughter of J. Martin, Esq., of the Marine Yard;* *Mr. W. Grant, to Miss Biles.*—6th. At Darwar, *Lieut. S.W. Prescott, 5th Regt. Mad. N. I., to Sarah Georgina, eldest daughter of the late Lieut. Col. N. M. Smyth.*

Deaths.—Sept. 17th. At the Presidency, *C. Fullerton, Esq., late Judge of Chingleput.*—22d. At the Presidency, the lady of *Lieut. Hon. Justice Franklin.*—24th. At the Presidency, *Lieut. P. Brady.*—26th. At Chindadrepattah, *Mr. J. H. Heal.*—29th. At Madras, the lady of *Lieut. Gen. Bowser, Commanding the Mysore Division of the Madras Army.*—Oct. 7th. At Madras, *G. A. Rutter, eldest son of W. Rutter, Esq.*—10th. At Madras, *J. Hawwood, Esq., Surgeon to 5th Regt. L. C.*—13th. At Royapooran, *Mr. J. Thornhill;* at Madras, *H. De Fries, eldest son of L. De Fries, Esq.*—14th. At St. Thome, *Capt. D. Ogilvie, 2d. Regt. Madras, N. I.*—15th. At Trichinopoly, *John Frederic, son of Mr. W. Stapleton.*—25th. At Madras, *Mr. J. B. Baptist.*

BOMBAY.

Births.—Sept. 12. At Kaira, the lady of *Capt. R. Burrows, H. M. 4th Light Dragoons, of a son.*—Oct. 1st. At Bombay, the lady of *L. Hathway, Esq. Garrison Surgeon of Tannah, of a son.*—At Surat, the lady of *E. Grant, Esq. Civil Service, of a son.*—12th. At Bombay, the lady of *Richard Woodhouse, Esq. of a son.*—At Colabah, the lady of *Major Barr, of a son.*—20th. At Bombay, *Mrs Briggs, of a son.*—21st. At Bombay, the lady of *J. Farish, Esq. Civil Service, of a son.*—24th. At Seroor, the lady of *Lieut.-Col. Pierce, of the Horse Artillery, of a son.*—26th. At Bombay, the wife of *Conductor J. Kilkenny, of a son.*—28th. At Bombay, the lady of *Capt Black, Assistant Quarter-Master-General, of a son.*

Marriages.—September 6th. At Kaira Church, *Dr. Cockerill, Horse Artillery, to Theresa, second daughter of Francis Daly, Esq. Ballylee Castle, Galway, and sister to Capt. Daly, H. M. 4th Light Dragoons.*—8th. At Kaira, *Lieut. Chas. Lucas, Horse Brigade, to Miss Eleanor Greene, daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. T. Greene, Bengal Artillery.*—21st. At St. Thomas's Church, *Capt. Geo. Bolton, H. M. 20th Regt., to Mary, only daughter of the late John Vye, Esq. of Ilfracomb, Devonshire.*—27th. At Bombay, at the Roman Catholic Church in the Fort, by

the Right Rev. Don. F. Pedro de Alcantara, three daughters of Sir R. de Faria, to his three relations and partners in his mercantile establishment. Rita Maria, the eldest, to Mr. F. A. de Carvalho, Anna Apollonia, the second, to Mr. L. F. da Silva, and Rozaura Ditoza, the third, to Mr. J. M. Pinto.—Oct. 9th. Capt. Soppitt, 18th Regt. to Caroline, daughter of L. Phillips, Esq. of Montague-place, Cheltenham.—14th. At Bombay, Mr. W. Benton, to Miss Longdon.—26th. At Lombay, Mr. Nelson, Garrison Sergeant-Major, to Elizabeth Cullen.

Deaths.—Sept. 12. Geo. Taylor, Esq. Assist.-Surgeon, Madras Establishment, aged 25.—17th. George Michael, infant son of Mr. George Phillips.—24th. Mr Charles Mitchell, aged 39.—Oct. 25th. At Bombay, James Evans, infant son of Major Gray, 1st Regt. N. I.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—March 7. At Blackheath, the lady of Capt. Beadle, of a son.

Marriages.—Feb. 22. J. R. Watts, Esq., Hon. East India Company's Service, to May Ann, only daughter of J. Grace, Esq. of Rotherhithe.—21. At Colchester, Rev. J. Whiting, Chaplain to Hon. East India Comp., to Susan, daughter of the late Mr. C. White of Colchester; W. K. Hay, Esq., Hon. East India Company's

Service, to Catherine, youngest daughter of the late Capt. S. Nowell.—March 3. At St. Clement Dunes, T. Hennah, Esq., Hon. East India Company's Service, to Jemima Hayes, youngest daughter of the late T. Edgley, Esq., of Essex Wharf, Strand.

Deaths.—Feb. 25. At Bath, J. J. Franklin, eldest son of the late Capt. J. R. Franklin, Hon. East India Company's Service.—March 1. At Southampton, Mrs. Baird, daughter of the late T. Dickson, Esq., of Burstow Park, Surrey, and grand daughter of the late Sir W. Baird, Bart., R. N.—8. At Cheltenham, Capt. R. Boon, Commander of the Lady Nugent.—9. The Rev. J. Saffery, Baptist Minister at Salisbury.—12. Mary, widow of Lieut. S. Kuisse, of St. Helena Establishment.—In Chester Place, Lambeth, on the 14th of March, sincerely regretted by a numerous circle of friends; John Swiney, Esq., aged 75, one of the oldest officers of his Majesty's Customs, having been collector at Savannah le Mer, in the island of Jamaica, upwards of 45 years ago. He was the father of John Swiney, Esq., M.D., Garrison Surgeon of Fort William, Calcutta; of Lieut. Colonel George Swiney, of the Bengal Artillery, principal Commissary of Ordnance; and of Lieut. Sidney Swiney, of the Bengal Infantry.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA.

CALCUTTA, Nov. 4.—The Company have advertised for tenders for Indigo, and the price has again risen to 320 R. The sales have been chiefly confined to small parcels of Jessore, which bears a quotation of 300 Rs. per maund, for the extreme price. Many foreign purchasers have been in the market. The crop will prove to be full 95,000 maunds.

COTTON.—This continues in fair inquiry at steady prices, and the market bare of the finest qualities.

GRAIN is in immediate demand.

PIECE-GOODS.—The market much depressed, and demand limited.

SALTPETRE.—The inquiry for this has improved since our last, and prices rate higher.

SUGAR continues in good request: the fine qualities chiefly wanted. China produce generally scarce and advancing.

METALS.—Iron of every description on the decline. Tutenague and Spelter in limited demand, but no alteration to notice in the prices: stock heavy. Block Tin in active inquiry, and Tin Plates in moderate demand. Copper on the decline; Lead rather advancing.

EUROPEAN GOODS.—Anchors only saleable singly; and heavy, with iron stocks, principally inquired after. Beer rather on the decline, and in limited demand. Birmingham Hardware generally on the advance. Paint and Oil generally dull.

FREIGHT TO LONDON may still be quoted at 5*l.* to 7*l.* per ton.

Nov. 6.—You will have heard of the scarcity which has so generally prevailed throughout India. That ill-fated colony, the Isle of France, is now suffering under it, and ships are wanted to take rice down. The Lord Amherst and Cornwall are taken by the Government at the enormous price of five rupees per bag. Rice is consequently at too great a price to ship for an English market.

Report says, the Burmese have emissaries in various parts of Hindostan, poisoning the minds of the troops with an idea that the inhabitants of Burmah possess some powers of magic, which can be destructively employed against their enemies.

Nov. 15.—The quantity of dead weight for shipment to Europe is so great, that we rather incline to an improvement. Finer qualities of sugar and saltpetre have claimed some notice, but at no improvement in price. By the amounts of imports of Spelter, it will be seen that those of 1824 was three times that of 1823, and the stock in the hands of the holders is more than two years consumption.

Late letters from Bombay state, that the crop of Cotton on the western side of India had entirely failed; so that the market would be entirely destitute of the usual supplies from Bhownagur and Cutch, while at Surat and Broach, only half the usual quantity, or about 25,000 bales, were expected to be produced; and this entirely owing to the fortunate falling of some of the latter rains.

Late letters from China state, that new Malwa Opium had been selling there at 780 dollars per chest, but had declined to 660; but the consumption appeared to keep pace with the shipments. Calculations, from the 1st of December to the 31st of March, made a monthly consumption of 575 chests. Good Cotton was rs.13 5as., and middling from rs.12 5as. to rs.12 9as., the retailers complaining that there were few purchasers at those prices. The article was *not* on the rise, notwithstanding the knowledge of the small quantity likely to arrive. We are informed by these letters, that some failure had taken place in the rice crops of many of the provinces; that a scarcity of that necessary article was, in consequence, apprehended by the Government. This had induced an edict by the Emperor, declaring that all ships importing cargoes of Rice, of 4,530 piculs, or upwards, into Canton, shall be exempted from the payment of all duties and port charges, of whatsoever description they may be.

INDIAN SECURITIES.

CALCUTTA, NOV. 18, 1824.

Rates of Premium.

	Rs. As.	Rs. As.
Remittable Loan.....	32 8 to 33 0	
Non remittable.....	3 0 — 6 0	
Bank Shares.....	54 0 — 58 0	

Bank of Bengal Rates.

Per Cent.

Discount on Government Bills.....	4 0
Do. on Private Bills.....	5 0
Interest on Loans on Deposit, open date.....	4 8
Do. 3 Months certain.....	4 4

Rates of Exchange.

Buy. 1s. 10d. to 1s. 11d. On London, 6 Months' sight, in S. Rs. 1s. 11d. to 2s. 0½d.
 Madras, 30 Days' sight, 94 to 98 sicca rupees per 100 Madras rupees.
 Bombay, ditto, ditto, 92 sicca rupees per 100 Bombay ditto.

Price of Bullion.

	S. Rs.	S. Rs.
Spanish Dollars	209 0 to 209 8 per 100	
Doubloons.....	30 8 to 31 8 each	
Joes or Pezas.....	17 8 to 18 0	
Dutch Ducats	4 4 to 4 12	
Louis D'ors	8 4 to 8 8	
Silver Five Franc pieces.....	190 4 to 190 8 per 100	
Star Pagodas	3 6½ to 3 7	
Sovereigns.....	10 0 to 10 8	
Bank of England Notes.....	10 4 to 10 12	

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Arrival.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Port of Departure.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
Mar. 4	Off Portsmouth	Lord Hungerford	Fauquharson	.. Bengal	.. Aug. 31
Mar. 6	Off Dover	.. Ellen	.. Campe	.. Cape	.. Dec. 23
Mar. 6	Downs	.. Greenock	.. Richardson	.. Bengal	.. Aug. 31
Mar. 7	Liverpool	.. Hindostan	.. McCallum	.. Bengal	.. Nov. 1
Mar. 13	Off the Start	.. Duke of York	.. Pittman	.. China	.. Nov. 17
Mar. 15	Off Portland	.. Sir G. Webster.	.. Reynoldson	.. Bengal	.. Aug. 26
Mar. 16	Off the Start	.. Mellish	.. Cole	.. Bengal	.. Oct. 28
Mar. 20	Off Portsmouth	.. Simpson	.. Simpson	.. Bombay	.. Nov. 2
Mar. 20	Portsmouth	.. Henry Porter.	.. Thomson	.. Bengal	.. Oct. 28
Mar. 20	Cowes	.. Superb	.. George	.. China	.. Nov. 18

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Port of Arrival.</i>	<i>Ship's Name.</i>	<i>Commander.</i>	<i>Port of Depart.</i>
Aug. 19	China	.. Orwell	.. Muddle	.. London
Sept. 1	China	.. Princess Amelia.		.. London
Sept. 1	China	.. Manx Huntley		.. London
Sept. 15	China	.. Thames	.. Havside	.. London
Sept. 20	Bengal	.. David Scott	.. Thornhill	.. London
Sept. 29	Bombay	.. Ed. Castlereagh.	.. Durant	.. London
Oct. 3	Bengal	.. John Taylor	.. Atkinson	.. Liverpool
Oct. 3	Bengal	.. Bencoolen	.. Kirkwood	.. Liverpool
Oct. 3	Bengal	.. Resonance	.. Fenn	.. London
Oct. 4	Bengal	.. Asia	.. Balderston	.. Madras & Lond.
Oct. 4	Bombay	.. Kath. Stuart Forbes		.. London
Oct. 6	Bombay	.. Triumph	.. Green	.. London
Oct. 8	Bengal	.. Clyde-dale	.. McGill	.. Liverpool
Oct. 8	Bengal	.. Ro'e	.. Marquis	.. London
Oct. 9	Bengal	.. Exmouth	.. Owen	.. Lond. & Madras
Oct. 9	Bengal	.. Fairlie	.. Aldham	.. Madras & Lond.
Oct. 9	Bengal	.. Lady Raffles	.. Coxwell	.. Madras & Lond.
Oct. 9	Bengal	.. George Home	.. Young	.. London
Oct. 10	Bengal	.. Lord Amherst	.. Lucas	.. Lond. & Madras
Oct. 13	Bengal	.. Claudine	.. Nichol	.. London
Oct. 16	Bombay	.. Dorothy	.. Gannock	.. Liverpool
Oct. 17	Bengal	.. Medway	.. Wight	.. London
Oct. 23	Bombay	.. Marq. Hastings	.. Wynton	.. London
Oct. 26	Ceylon	.. George	.. Cuzens	.. London
Oct. 26	Bengal	.. Cornwall	.. Rose	.. Madras & Lond.
Oct. 27	Bengal	.. Can. Bica Castle	.. Davey	.. London
Oct. 31	Bengal	.. General Hewitt.	.. Barrow	.. London
Nov. 2	Bengal	.. Boyne	.. Stephens	.. London
Nov. 3	Bengal	.. Layton	.. Miller	.. London
Nov. 7	Bengal	.. Astell	.. Levy	.. London
Nov. 13	Bengal	.. Lotus	.. Field	.. Liverpool
Nov. 23	Bengal	.. Brader	.. Leslie	.. Liverpool
Dec. 31	Cape	.. Portsea	.. Shepherd	.. London
1825.				
Jan. 8	Cape	.. Cyprus	.. Biggs	.. London
Jan. 8	Cape	.. Promise	.. Gloagson	.. London

Shipping Intelligence.

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Mar. 1	Downs	Atlas	.. Maïne	.. Madras and China
Mar. 9	Liverpool	.. Crown	.. Pinder	.. Bengal
Mar. 12	Downs	.. Margaret	.. Henderson	.. Cape
Mar. 12	Downs	.. Heighington	.. Wilson	.. China
Mar. 12	Portsmouth	.. H. M. Samarang Cape
Mar. 12	Cowes	.. Venus	.. Cowan	.. Cape and Mauritius
Mar. 13	Cowes	.. Herefordshire	.. Hope	.. Madras and China
Mar. 16	Plymouth	.. Madras	.. Fayer	.. Madras and Bengal
Mar. 16	Downs	.. Indus	.. Moriasty	.. Batavia
Mar. 18	Downs	.. Tiger	.. Kent	.. Ceylon
Mar. 19	Downs	.. Philolaxe	.. Rheards	.. Batavia & Singapore
Mar. 25	Portsmouth	.. Hope	.. Flint	.. Madras and Bengal
Mar. 25	Portsmouth	.. John	.. Popplewell	.. Madras and Bengal

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	P. of Depart.	Lat and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Sep. 26	London	.. On the Equator, 89 E.	Prince Regent	Hosmer	Bengal
Nov. 4	Mad. & Lond	Entrance of Beng. Riv.	Susan	Hamilton	London
Nov. 19	London	.. Off the Cape	Cambrian	Clarkson	London
Dec. 1	London	..	Sarah	Owen	Bombay
Dec. 5	Calcutta	.. 2.20 N. 83 E.	Catherine	Macintosh	London
Dec. 18	China	.. 11.52 S. 91 23 E.	Berwickshire	Shepherd	London
Jan. 21	Liverpool	.. 1.24 21.30	D. of Lancaster	Hannay	Bengal
Feb. 1	London	.. On the Equator	Vansittart	..	Dalmyle London
Feb. 21	London	.. 49.52 6.11.	Royal George	Timms	Madras & China

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA

By the *Greenock*—From Bengal. Mr C. Lewis.
 By the *Umaria*—From the Cape. B. Burnett, Esq. and Mr. Bottomly.
 By the *Ellen*—From the Cape. Capt. J. M. Acheson, late of the Mary, and Miss Letton.
 By the *Duke of York*—From China. Rev R. Ward, Chaplain on the Bombay Establishment.
 By the *Emma*—From the South Seas. The Captain and Passengers of the late ship *Unity*.
 By the *Melish*—From Bengal. F. M. Naughton, Esq. C. S., Major Gale, 1st N. I., Lieuts. Gether and Fraser, of H. M. S., Lieut. Bracken, of H. C. S., S. Arnot, Esq., Lieut. Biscoe, and 25th Nov.) Miss Gale, and Master J. Reid.
 By the *Lord Bonnetford*, from Madras and Bengal—From Madras. Mrs. Strachan, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Molle, Misses Murray, H. Smith, F. Smith, J. Smith, and Miss C. Smith, Lieut. Col. Com. J. L. Lushington, C. B. 1st L. C., Major W. John, 4th Madras, N. I., Lieut. Harding, H. M. 80th Regt., Lieut. Francis, 6th Madras, N. I., Lieut. F. Patterson, Madras, Artillery; Lieut. Bridge, 22d N. I., M. G. Davidson—From Bengal. Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Conroy, Mr. H. Palmer, C. S.; Mr. Ried, C. S., Lieut. G. Halloran, H. M. 36th Regt., Lieut. Douglas, Bengal, 14th N. I., Mons. D'Almeida, Mons. D'Almeida, Masters W. Kerr, M. Kerr, A. Conroy, and G. Conroy.

By the *Heavy Porcher*—From Bengal. Commodore Schuyder, Governor of His Majesty's Colonies in the East Indies, Mr.

Blane, Sec. ditto, Mrs. Perry, Miss Rice, Lieut. Col. Morley, C. B., Capt. Barrett, 13th Foot, Lieut. Layme, 13th Foot, Lieut. Buchanan, 36th Regt., Lieuts. Tolboys, 87th Regt., and Rice, 90th N. I., Mr. Muir, and Mr. McFarland, Ass. Surg. H. C. S.
 By the *Hindustan*—From Bengal. Two Misses Wood.
 By the *Nampson*—From Bombay. Capt. McCallum, Lieut. Wells, Lieut. Egghiden, and Mr. Dowler.

PASSENGERS OUTWARD.

By the *Doris of Bedford*—For Bombay. Capt. Morgan, Bombay Artillery, Capt. Stokes, H. C. S., and Mr. H. G. Ashmore.

PASSENGERS EXPECTED.

By the *Catherine*—From Bengal. Mrs. Patton, Mrs. Nichol, Major Thompson, Capt. A. Syme, Lieut. Biddistoun, Dr. Moscrop, Dr. Fingland, Miss and Master Culbertson.
 By the *Duchess of Athol*—From China. G. B. Robinson, Esq., from Canton, Col. J. Coombs, 2d Regt. N. I., from Madras, Mrs. Coombs and Children.
 By the *Thomas Coates*—Capt. Hutchinson, Country Service.
 By the *Macgregor*—Mrs. Taylor, from Calcutta.
 By the *Dumma*—Sir W. Fraser, Bart., and R. B. Hurdston, Esq. from China, and D. Macgaur, Esq. merchant.

Shipping Intelligence.

By the *Castle Huntley*.—Capt. Elliott, R. N.
By the *Marquis Camden*.—Mrs. Ibbetson of Penang.

By the *General Harris*.—W. E. Phillips, Esq. late Governor of Penang, Mrs. Phillips and Children.

By the *Sir David Scott*.—Mrs. Wallick, wife of Dr. Wallick, Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens, Bengal; and Mrs. Stow from Bengal.
By the *Marquis of Huntley*.—J. T. Roberts, Esq. Chinese Establishment, Mrs. Roberts and Children.

By the *Canning*.—H. H. Lindsay, Esq. Chinese Establishment; and C. B. Lindsay, Esq. 3d Regt. Madras Cavalry.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Louisa Woolfs*, from Bengal to Cape of Good Hope, grounded below Melancholy Point, and would be obliged to go up to be docked. Mr. T. Buzzard, Purser of the *William Money*, died at Calcutta, 11th of September.

The *Georgiana Babcock*, belonging to Bengal, was lost at Zanzibar, northward of the Cape, in July last.

The *Udney* sprung a leak on the 15th of June, off the coast of Natal, and put into Delagoa Bay, from whence she was blown out on the 22d, and proceeded to the Mosambique Channel, from whence she drove into Inhambane Bay, and was lost there on the 2d of July. Part of the cargo, consisting of 80 cases of Cordomums, and 235 bags of Pepper, was saved, and sold at the Mosambique lot for the benefit of the Underwriters. The Passengers of the *Udney*, viz Lieuts. Gress, Dawson, Forskett, Henderson, and Stapleton, Ass Surg. Wellerton, Lieut. Mylius, Master W. Wellesly, and the Chief Officer proceeded in the *Emma Whaler*, and arrived at St. Helena, 5th January.

Capt. George Bunyan, of the *Cornwall*, died at Calcutta, as also his Chief and Third mates.

The death of Capt. J. Head is confirmed by a letter, which states he was drowned on the 26th of August last, and the body had not been found.

The *Lord Amherst*, Lucas, was to sail from Bengal, for the Mauritius, with Rice, the 30th November; return in three months, and sail for England early in April.

All the Company's Ships had arrived at China, up to the 17th November last, except the *Canning* and *London*.

Mr. J. Hodson, Purser of the *Sir David Scott*, was left at Penang in bad health.

The *Golconda* had been taken up at Bengal for Rangoon. Capt. Edwards was coming home on account of bad health, as passenger in a Free Trader.

Capt. H. A. Campbell died at Sea, 13th Dec. after leaving the Straits of Sunda. Mr. A. Pitcairn, 2d Mate of the *Macqueen*, died on board the *Sir David Scott*, soon after leaving Singapore. Mr. J. C. Milward, 4th Mate of the *General Harris*, died in the Straits of Malacca. Mr. Carney, Midshipman of the *Berwickshire*, died at Sea soon after leaving China. Mr. J. Mackenzie, 6th Officer of the *Duke of York*, died at China, 3d of October.

The *Simpson*, from Bombay, arrived at St. Helena, and touched at the Mauritius; another very heavy hurricane had taken place there, and several Ships had been driven on shore, among them was the *Barossa*, Hutchinsonson, but her damage was not material, and she was loading Sugar for London, to sail in January. The *Kaibang* from Batavia and Mauritius, passed the Island after the hurricane, early in December, and saw several ships lying in the Roads dismantled.

The *Jupiter*, Young, from Singapore and Penang, was seen by the *Maine*, going into the Cape in a very leaky state.

The *Princess Charlotte*, McKenn, for Liverpool, put back to Calcutta, 21st September, to repair.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 16.—APRIL 1825.—VOL. V.

SKETCH OF THE SIX DAYS' WAR AT THE INDIA HOUSE,
TAKEN ON THE SPOT.

THE long-depending question on the Hyderabad Papers has at length been decided in the Court of Proprietors. The ballot demanded at the close of the last discussion terminated on Friday the 18th of March, at six o'clock in the evening, and a majority of 294 Proprietors was found to sanction the amended Resolution of Mr. Astell, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, to the following effect:—

That this Court, having taken into its consideration the Papers printed in March last, relating to the pecuniary transactions of the House of Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, with the Government of his Highness the Nizam, is of opinion, that there is no ground for imputing corrupt motives to the late Governor-General of India, the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, *K. G. or to any Member of the Bengal Government*. At the same time, this Court feels called upon to record its approval of the Political Despatches to the Bengal Government, under date the 24th May, 1820; 28th November, 1821; 9th April, 1823; and 21st January, 1824.

This Resolution has been carried, after six days of stormy debate, by a majority of 575 to 306; but the question cannot and will not rest here. The high feelings of Lord Hastings and those of his friends will not be satisfied with this negative exculpation. To the eye its wording appears smooth and fair; but every sentence is cankered with malignity. It came from the Chair, on the first day, with plausible professions of candour; but its true purport was too plain. The look of the proposer was calm and favourable; but the smile that so often played upon his lips seemed like sun-shine glancing on the whitened sepulchre, bringing very forcibly to our recollection the following passage of our great poet:—

He seem'd
For dignity compos'd, and high exploit;
But all was false and hollow, though his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest councils:

If the imputation of corruption on the late Governor-General was really disclaimed, why was the simple Resolution of Mr. Kinnsaird to
Sup. Oriental Herald, Vol. 5. M

that effect rejected, and this hollow Amendment substituted in its stead? No charge on these papers existed at the time against Mr. Adam, Mr. Stuart, or the other Members of the Bengal Government. Why, then, were they dragged in and linked with the Noble Marquis, but to neutralize the cold exculpation reluctantly coupled with his name? Where an express statute restrained the acts of the Court of Directors from being reconsidered or reversed, why should an appeal be made to the Proprietors at large to approve those political despatches long since passed, and which, solely on the information of Sir Charles Metcalfe, condemned the pecuniary transactions of Palmer and Co.'s House, with the Government of the Nizam, in language unprecedented for severity?

Not two years before, on the 15th of May, 1822, when Lord Hastings was about to resign the Government of Hindostan, after a brilliant administration of near nine years, and when these Hyderabad Papers were all before them, the Court of Directors, composed almost wholly of the same individuals as at present, came to an unanimous Resolution to the following effect:—

That this Court, highly appreciating the signal merits and services of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, are anxious to place on the records of the East India Company their expression of deep regret that family circumstances have led to a declaration, on the part of that distinguished nobleman, of his wish to be relieved from the duties of his exalted station.

That the Thanks of this Court be given to the Marquis of Hastings, for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which, during a period of nearly nine years, he has administered the Government of British India, with such high credit to himself, and advantage to the interests of the East India Company.

On the 29th of May, 1822, a crowded Court of Proprietors approved this Resolution of the Directors; and the only doubt expressed was, whether its language was sufficiently expressive. The applauding sanction of the Proprietors was conveyed in the following terms:—

That this Court cannot, but with the highest satisfaction, witness their Executive Authority again coming forward, at the termination of a career so useful and brilliant, to express and promulgate their sense of his Lordship's exalted merit; and they strongly participate in the regret expressed by the Court of Directors, and request them to convey to the Marquis of Hastings the expressions of their unfeigned admiration, gratitude, and applause.

Three years have not yet elapsed since these Resolutions were recorded. The whole administration of the late Governor-General, military and civil, was then before the Directors and Proprietors. They expressed their approval of his acts by solemn votes, and in the strongest language; but scarcely had Lord Hastings quitted the shores of India—the ink with which these Resolutions was written was hardly dry, when the pension granted to his predecessors was refused, and the darkest and foulest imputations circulated against his character. Such has been the consistency and gratitude of the legislators of Leadenhall-street!

It is not our object to defend the whole policy of the late Governor-General. Some of his acts may have been inconsistent or erroneous. But his whole life refutes the charge of mere mercenary motives; his patronage of Sir Wm. Rumbold, who was *not* a Company's servant, may have excited the hostility of a knot of Monopolists; but no man that knows Lord Hastings can believe that the license granted to Palmer and Co.'s House, or its pecuniary transactions with the Nizam's Government,

met a moment's sanction at Calcutta from any corrupt feelings. The great fault in Lord Hastings's conduct through life was a total disregard of all pecuniary prudence; hence his enormous embarrassments, which nine years rule in Hindostan, with a magnificent income of 25,000*l*.¹ and the subsequent grant from the Court of Directors, were unequal to redeem. His utter disregard of money was just as prominent in India; when the Community at Madras came forward in 1819 with the offer of a splendid present, it was instantly declined. In the same spirit, his large proportion of the rich booty acquired in the Mahratta war was flung aside with a generous hand, and thrown into the common fund of the subalterns and soldiers.

The six days' memorable proceedings in the Court of Proprietors will not be soon forgotten. It is well that the vast waters of the Atlantic roll between England and India. Could its calm, but discerning natives have witnessed the partiality, the acrimony, the tumult, and the ignorance, that characterized these long debates, their high opinion of superior character and wisdom here, would soon have vanished. The Court was each day a crowded arena of prejudice, declamation, and folly. Orators were heard for hours, who, it was plain, had never bathed in the sacred Ganges, and were perfectly innocent of all Eastern affairs. But they had seized on the mass of printed papers, and fancied themselves possessed of all the knowledge of Sir Wm. Jones. The huge blue folio was unlocked to their wondering view, and they imagined that every thing of Oriental lore, from Pilpay's early Fables down to the ponderous volumes of Mr. Mill, was collected in these sheets.

At one extremity of the Court, a gentleman, whose taste in imperial "Pekoe" or "Souchong," might entitle him to rank supreme arbiter of the tea-table, rose on the first day, and delivered a two-hours' speech by "Shrewsbury clock," spoken most trippingly on the tongue, without a lapse of memory; the whole being, probably, in his pocket at the moment, and extant in excellent English. The orator showed, by his classic quotations, that he was most intimate with old Horace; that to him

Latin was no more difficile
Than, for a black-bird, 'tis to whistle.

This was the honourable Proprietor, who, in his sweeping censures on the allowances of the Palmer family and their servants, from the Nizam's Government, and alluding to the necessary advance of some thousand rupees to the moonshee of Mr. Palmer, previous to a lengthened journey to Arabia, made the egregious blunder which created such universal laughter in the Court. "No one," said the honourable Proprietor, "in Catholic countries, heard of a more profitable pilgrimage to Mecca than this." We have heard of—

The sad votarist in palmer's weeds

journeying to Loretto or the Holy Land; but until Mr. Weeding made the discovery, we never knew that the Catholics of Italy or Spain were in the habit of offering their devotions at the shrine of the Arabian prophet.

¹ This is the salary of the Governor-General only. The salary of Commander-in-Chief, of 16,000*l*. a year, which was equally his due, he declined receiving.

Then came the Legal Gentlemen full in the rear of the voluminous opinions of a learned Serjeant and the first Law-officer. The "quiddities and quibbles" of these two sage Brothers of the coif, acted on *them* like the blast of the trumpet on the war-horse, rousing all their legal fire. They were "smelling out a suit" immediately; though, on other occasions, like the lawyer of Ben Jonson, whose tongue

Would not wag,
Or scarce lie still without a fee,

their opinions, on *this* occasion, were given most gratuitously. Lord Hastings had retired from office; *his* power and patronage were gone; *he* had preserved nothing but the memory of his great actions and his illustrious name. He had exchanged the pomp of Oriental supremacy, and the rule of eighty dependent millions, for a petty island in the Mediterranean and a few thousand souls. But the Directors of the India Company were still in full power; they had an immense revenue; the value of such constituents was well known to any follower of Westminster Hall. Mr. Hume too had threatened to impeach Mr. Adam; here was a legal *mine* in prospect: such a client, freighted with the wealth of India, was worth attention and an effort. Forth started the legal gentlemen in the race of oratory at once—

Arcades ambo,
Et cantare pares.

They talked with horror of the exactions on the hapless Nizam.—"What! *three* accounts," said they, "and twenty per cent. interest on all!—an attorney's bill is nothing to it. Talk not to us," said they, "of the 'Institutes of Meni,' or the customs of Shroffs or Soucars: we will convict the Palmers on the Usury Laws, and the wise tables of 'Cocker's Arithmetic.' We care nothing for Captain Sydenham or Mr. Russell; we have the authority of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Cornet Hislop; here are their 'dicta' in this ample volume, dog-eared by us with more care than 'Phillips's Evidence' or the 'Term Reports.'"

The Court, on a subsequent day, was edified for a long hour by the complacent oratory of a new Proprietor, known as the trumpeter of "No Popery," in a new weekly journal. *His* speech was a succession of blunders, in which Europe and Asia were confounded; and Christian and Pagan, Hindoo and Mussulman, jumbled together in a joyous confusion, never seen before. Anacharsis Clootz, the self-styled orator of the human race, never produced a more motley assemblage before the bar of the French Convention. This novel declaimer commenced his harangue by a truism too evident, from his subsequent disclosures, for anyone to question, viz. "that he was wholly unacquainted with East India affairs." His perfect innocence on that head was indeed most plain: he had not read Nearchus, or Dion-Cassius, or Rennell; but he had studied the Blue Book, and became an Indian legislator forthwith. But how could this "learned Theban" know the geography of Asia, when he was profoundly ignorant of even that of his own country? The locality of the Hydaspes or the Ganges might have escaped his memory; but when he betrayed ignorance so gross as to mix the waters of the Mersey with the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, even the gravity of Mr. Dixon was discomposed, and the Court resounded with shouts of laughter.

In this *outré* harangue, every thing was confounded; place and name,

the present and the future. "The Blue Book," this indescribable orator said, "was a historical document; and from it, when they were all dead and gone, they would know what had become of Lord Hastings!" With all the coolness imaginable, this gentleman recounted to the Court a long story about a dead Lion, the relevancy of which to the subject no one could discover but himself. Shakspeare's lines would have been much more applicable—

Thou wear a lion's hide! Doff it, for shame,
And hang a calf-skin on these recreant limbs!

Yet to such declaimers as *this*, the Chairman listened most complacently, while all beside yawned with "ennui." When Mr. Kinnaird necessarily, on the last day, replied for some hours, the eye of Mr. Astell was eternally on the clock; but Mr. Wasborough might murder time with impunity, and was cheered to the havoc by a smile from the Chair.

There were other speakers, of a different character, however, arrayed *within* the bar. An honourable Director, for instance, who spoke at great length, and with considerable abilities, on the fourth day. All about *him* was calm, subtle, and arranged: he masked his strictures with apparent candour, and was therefore more deadly; he wore the *outward* garb of neutrality, but the arms of enmity glittered within. The sophistry of the lawyer was perceptible in every sentence he spoke. Sheridan's striking portrait of Sir Elijah Impey, on a memorable occasion, is not yet forgotten, and the family likeness survives. The eloquent Manager was describing the tour of the Indian Chief Justice in the Upper Provinces, collecting affidavits on the revolt of the Begums. "While his mission, (he said,) was pregnant with fate and ruin to the unconscious inmates of the Zenana, he took, like an innocent school-boy, the primrose path of pleasure, and amused himself as he went." The Honourable Director was equally smooth and specious; though he trode at every step on serpents, his path was strewn with flowers. He affected a wish to see both Resolution and Amendment withdrawn. Any motion to that effect, he would (he said) second. He expressed *his* belief—"credat Judæus Apella,"—that in the whole course of the Hyderabad transactions no idea of personal gain ever entered the mind of Lord Hastings. Such, he added, was the opinion of the most impartial persons. All acquitted the Noble Marquis of any base or mercenary idea; but this hollow affectation of candour was followed, in the next sentence, by a subtle disquisition on character. Character, the honourable Director said, was a word of extensive meaning; and if it was meant to be asserted, that the censure pronounced on the transactions of Palmer and Co.'s House by two Courts of Directors, and sanctioned by the Board of Control, was not every way warranted, then he must vote for the Amendment. No great man, Mr. Impey added, was ever placed in a more cruel situation than Lord Hastings. This was quite in the style of Mrs. Candour, in the Play, to Maria:—"Do call her back," the Harridan says; "poor girl! who knows what her situation may be?" The honourable Director spoke with deep sympathy of the Nizam, our near ally, having been saddled with a perpetual charge of seven lacs of rupees, under the sanction of a Minister set up by the support of the British Government; but not a word was uttered by him of the payment of these troops, who were fainting in their ranks from want of food. Mr. Impey forgot the contract entered into for that purpose by

Palmer and Co.'s House, under the advice of Capt. Sydenham, and the sanction of Mr. Russell, the then Resident at Hyderabad. The honourable Director's candour was oblivious of the aid afforded by these troops at the memorable battle of Nagpore, and throughout the campaign in the Deccan. When an additional act of desertion might have roused the whole power of Northern India against us, the fidelity of the Nizam was of some moment. The Peishwa had unfurled the Mahratta standard. Hyderabad was then almost the only capital that remained faithful. The campaign, as Mr. Russell impressively said, might have been fought without the Nizam; but it would have been at great risk, and at the sacrifice of crores of rupees above what the campaign ultimately cost. It was not a time, as that gentleman eloquently added, to be very chary when a stake of such magnitude was at issue. But that period of danger has gone by. The dark clouds that lowered over our Empire in the East were dispersed by the genius of Lord Hastings; and the sophists and calculators of Leadenhall-street have marked *their* gratitude by confederating to ruin his character.

Mr. Stuart, whose opposition in Bengal was so conspicuous, cut but a poor figure in this memorable debate. He was labouring under evident indisposition; but mind, where existing, will surmount all obstacles. We fear the electors of Huntingdon have made but a sorry choice; but the House of Montagu was ascendant; the dauntless Dowager appeared at the head of her vassals, and bore the powerless candidate through.

If Mr. Stuart meant fairly; if he did not participate in the jealousy of the House at Hyderabad, why did he not investigate its accounts when freely submitted for his perusal? Why did he sanction the ruin of the partners unheard? Was every discordant calumny of Sir Charles Metcalfe's to find ready acceptance, and nothing from the Palmers to be heard in reply? Does Mr. Stuart dignify this with the false name of justice? Despotism may varnish it over in India; but in this country the foul distortion is apparent at once.

The records of such proceedings as these will not pass away: the day of account and retribution is fast approaching. Yet a few years, and that Charter, which has been the sanction for an abuse of power unprecedented even in Asia, will expire, and be torn, we trust, for ever, from those hands under whom India is now one vast prison-house of tyranny and exclusion. Mr. Stuart may live to see that day arrive, and to see those acts in which he participated called up in dark judgment against the heartless perpetrators. Time, the great accountant, will yet render complete justice to the victims of the present proceedings. The benefits they have conferred on India will live in the historian's page, and be recorded in grateful language; while the names of a circle of Monopolists will rot in oblivion, or their oppression survive for the detestation of posterity. The denunciation will yet ring in Mr. Stuart's ears, that calumny and ruin were, from his "honourable masters," the only rewards of those, who by their wisdom had exalted the power and character of their country, or by their enterprise would have introduced its manufactures and industry among isolated millions—that after sixty years of dominion the British name is yet one of terror and hatred through India—that despotism, through its wide extent, is the only principle of legislation—that opinion is proscribed; a free press extinguished; its conductors banished and ruined; and the strong arm of mi-

lity power the only instrument of ascendancy :—that the beneficent institutions, sciences, and freedom of civilized Europe, are almost unknown throughout Hindostan ;—that the Tartar and the Mussulman have left the monuments of power and genius to record their sway :—but, that, if driven from India to-morrow, few traces of our long supremacy would survive to mark our footsteps, except such as the tiger leaves behind him, when prowling from his lair for prey.

The majority of those who, on the late discussions, raised their voices so loudly against Lord Hastings and the transactions at Hyderabad, knew nothing of India. Every sentence from their lips was marked by the grossest ignorance. They spoke of pecuniary transactions with the “Soucars” of Hindostan, like petty brokers on the Stock-Exchange. Of the history, policy, or institutions of this singular people, they knew not a word. To them the information would be incredible, that while their ancestors in this island were clad in the skins of wild beasts, or haunted together in caverns, existing on the produce of the chase, the simple Hindoo lived nearly as now ; that his Princes and Rajahs were clothed, as at present, in muslin garments, glittered in jewels, and dwelt in palaces. The eternal temples that still survive in sculptured granite, imperishable as the rocks from which they have risen, mark the rites and pomp of distant days. The cottages, the garments, the implements of husbandry of the Ryott, are still unchanged. Before numerals were known to the Arabians, the Hindoo was taught to shape letters in sand, and to keep accounts on the dried leaves of the lofty palm. His corn was ground at the same rude mill as now, or pounded in a mortar. He had his bazaars for merchandize, his shroffs for pecuniary dealings. For the festival, or the marriage, money, then, as now, was borrowed at large usance. When the progress of Alexander was disputed by Porus, the arts and refinements of the peaceful natives of India existed nearly in their present state. In the eloquent language of a recent writer, “the eye of the British officer looks upon the same forms and dresses, the same buildings, manners, and customs, on which the Macedonian troops gazed with astonishment.”

A gentleman, who edited the *Count* at a late hour on the last day, and who spoke amid coughing and impatience—the same who has since recorded his opinions in a public journal, as “An Old Proprietor,” with his name attached—

Clarum et venerabile nomen—

thought proper to compare Lord Hastings to Lord Bacon, “brought up for judgment for corruption at the close of his political life.” The noble Marquis could suffer nothing by the comparison with the illustrious Bacon, who anticipated futurity by his profound discoveries. The most distinguished name of modern days fades before this celebrated man, who poured a flood of light on the age in which he lived. But this wretched comparison had another view. Bacon sullied his great qualities by the basest servility and corruption ; he was the pander to power on the worst occasions, until the fickle James found viler tools ; he degraded his custody of the Great Seal by acts of unprincipled bribery. But where is the record of mercenary crime against Lord Hastings ? was the glittering bribe ever tendered to *him* and accepted ? has *he* returned from Asia rich in Jaghires and money, or so poor as to be nearly without support,

until the government of Malta was given to him? Through life he was the victim of imprudence. He scattered his personal fortune with a lavish hand. Magnificent in all his ideas, "Mammon" was the only deity he never worshipped.

But it is wasting time to dwell further on the reasoning of those who consumed so many days in prejudiced declamation on these papers. Every charge was triumphantly refuted by the unanswerable and eloquent address of Mr. Russell on the second day. His speech, as able and impressive as was ever heard in any assembly, carried conviction to all but those who came predetermined to condemn. His arguments were a chain of facts gathered from personal knowledge. He spoke of the pecuniary transactions with the Nizam's Court with the candour of an honourable man, and the enlightened feelings of a statesman. It is not necessary for us to repeat any part of that admirable address, which has been some time before the public, forming the impression it deserved. Mr. Pattison, an old and respectable Director, whose able protest of the 19th of January, 1824, against the vote of the Court of Directors, we gave in the Supplement to our last Number, followed that paper by as impressive a speech on the fourth day. Mr. Daniell, another Director, expressed nearly the same sentiments. Mr. Hume startled the defenders of Indian tyranny, by stating that strong grounds, in his opinion, existed for impeaching Mr. Adam. His speech was a triumphant refutation of the whole charges, while it exposed the trick and manœuvring of the party round the Chair. Sir John Doyle, the companion in arms and private life of Lord Hastings for forty years, spoke of that distinguished nobleman with all the warmth which friendship generated, and an impressiveness springing only from truth. His sarcasms on the knot of legal speculations in the Court were bitter and deserved. Sir Charles Forbes gave a practical illustration of the mode in which money was raised by the British Government in India, and the enormous bonus and interest offered previous to the Mysore war in 1798, and actually paid at Bombay, on a hundred thousand rupees, furnished by his house as a loan. The concluding speech of Mr. Kinnaird took a most masterly view of the entire subject; every charge was examined in detail, and the whole refuted.

The ballot of the 18th will not decide this question. It is now before the tribunal of public opinion, and there is but one feeling on the subject out of doors. The appeals of the House of Palmer and Co. from that iniquitous decision by which their Firm has been ruined, their characters blasted, and their creditors despoiled, are in progress in this country for trial; and justice, we trust, will at length be done these much injured parties. The conduct of the India Company in this case forms a record of oppression before which all Oriental tyranny fades "into air."

The rule of these vast possessions has rested too long in imbecile hands. As well might Carthage have controlled all Spain and Italy, as a few traders, within Temple Bar, hold Hindostan in their grasp. Their acts, for years, mark their utter incapacity. To preserve our empire in Asia, the reins of dominion must pass to different hands, and the ascendancy of Great Britain rest on a more enduring basis than narrow monopoly and exclusion.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.—FOURTH DAY.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

On Monday the 28th of February, the Court of Proprietors met at the East India House, by adjournment, to continue the "Consideration of the Hyderabad Papers now before the Proprietors, as far as they respect the conduct of the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, late Governor-General of India."

The minutes of the proceedings of the last Court having been gone through, the Clerk read the requisition. It was as follows:

'To the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors of the East India Company.

'London, Jan. 31, 1825.
'Gentlemen.—We the undersigned Proprietors of East India Stock, being duly qualified, do hereby request that you will summon a Court of Proprietors at as early a period as may be convenient, for the purpose of taking into consideration the Hyderabad Papers now before the Proprietors, as far as they respect the conduct of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, late Governor-General of India.

'JOSEPH HUME,
THOS. MURDOCH,
R. RICKARDS,
JAS. SHAW,
DOUGLAS KINNAIRD,
RANDLE JACKSON,
WM. CURTIS,
J. DOYLE,
ALEX. JOHNSTON.'

The CHAIRMAN then directed the Clerk to read the motion and amendment, which were accordingly read as follows:

MOTION.—'That this Court having taken into consideration that part of the Papers which related to the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, respecting the transactions of Messrs. Palmer and Co. with the Government of the Nizam; were of opinion that it contained nothing that tended to affect the personal character, honour, or integrity, of the Noble Marquis.'

AMENDMENT.—'That all the words in the original motion after the word
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"that" be left out, and the following inserted in their stead:—This Court, having taken into its serious consideration the Papers which it ordered to be printed, on the 3d of March last, relative to certain pecuniary transactions of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. with the Government of his Highness the Nizam, is of opinion that there is contained in them no grounds for imputing any corrupt motive to the Marquis of Hastings, or to any member of the Bengal Government. At the same time, the Court feels itself called upon to record its approbation of the despatches sent by the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government, under the dates of the 21th of May 1820, of the 28th November 1821, of the 9th April 1823, and of the 21st January 1824."

Mr. FRENCHFIELD rose, and said:—Sir, I wish, before the discussion commences, to address a few observations to the Court. My duty in another place prevented me from attending here on Friday last; but as I was on that occasion particularly and personally alluded to, I trust that the Court will allow me to say a very few words in reply. The hon. and gallant General (Sir J. Doyle) who opened the discussion on that day, represented me as the solicitor of Mr. Adam. Now, though I am not disposed to admit that the fact of my being the solicitor of Mr. Adam would at all deprive my opinions of any weight which might belong to them; yet I feel it due to Mr. Adam, to the Court, and to myself, to state what is really the fact. I never, then, saw Mr. Adam in my life; I never exchanged a word with him by mouth or in writing; I know nothing of him, directly or indirectly, except as the son of an old and revered friend. Notwithstanding the natural predilection which I must have for Mr. Adam, I would not have undertaken his defence in this Court without having read the voluminous Papers which are before us, which, by the bye, some of the supporters of the original motion acknowledge that they have not done. Having read those Papers attentively, I thought it right that Mr. Adam should be defended from the unfounded attacks which have been made upon

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him. If in the course of reading the Papers I have met with circumstances which compel me to give a vote which affects another individual, the gallant General and his friends have only to thank themselves for it, for bringing the subject forward.

Sir J. DOYLE.—In what I said, I admitted the respectability of Mr. Adam; but I complained that the name of Mr. Adam should be introduced, and his conduct defended, when no soul had the slightest idea of attacking him during this discussion. The Court will bear me out in what I assert, when I say that, though I am not, perhaps, so happy in turning an eulogium as the hon. Proprietor,—I said that I believed what the Marquis of Hastings had stated of Mr. Adam to be strictly true; namely, that he deserved the highest character as an honourable and amiable man; and that if he should prove to be otherwise, he must have greatly degenerated from the standard of his respectable family.^(b)

Mr. IMPEY.—On this subject I beg to say one word, because, otherwise, the Court might be led into error. The hon. Bart. has said that no soul entertained the idea of attacking Mr. Adam. Now I beg leave to remind the Court, that at an early period of this debate, a very violent and injudicious friend of the Marquis of Hastings declared that he would undertake to impeach Mr. Adam.^(c) (*Hear.*)

Sir J. DOYLE.—No such thing was said on Friday, and at all events not by me.

(b) It is lamentable to observe the universality of this fallacy,—that respectability of family is a guarantee for honourable conduct. Lord Amherst and Sir Charles Meade are each of as respectable a family as Mr. Adam: but what then? Not only may children be inferior to parents in virtue, but men who were once the most excellent of their species may become the most execrable. The greatest tyrant that ever breathed, might once have been amiable: and even Ferdinand of Spain was, no doubt, much less a monster in his youth, than he became when unlimited power had worked its worst upon his heart.

(c) Sir John Doyle disclaimed all intention of attacking Mr. Adam "during this discussion." Mr. Hume's intended impeachment could not take place till Mr. Adam came to England. Mr. Impey is, however, a lawyer whose business it is to disguise the truth, and not to render it clear.

Mr. IMPEY.—It was said during the debate.

Captain MAXFIELD then rose to resume the debate, and spoke as follows:—I may be, perhaps, the worst speaker in the Court, but I will not be the longest. I believe there are many Gentlemen, like myself, desirous of delivering their sentiments upon the question before the Court, who never presumed to exercise their privilege as proprietors in that way before. I am not prepared with a set speech, but will endeavour to render myself intelligible. The force of example operates powerfully; and having been an attentive observer of the proceedings in this Court for the last eighteen months, I may not, perhaps, have escaped its influence. I hope I shall not mistake declamation for argument, assertion for proof, rumour for evidence, and imputation for guilt. But if I should forget the object I have in view, in presuming to defend the conduct of those who ought to be above suspicion; if I find myself at sea without a compass to direct my course, and the buoys removed, I hope you will grant me your indulgence. (*Hear.*) I will endeavour to speak the truth, to refrain, if possible, from committing injustice, and, to the best of my ability, establish the fair pretensions of all parties.

The Marquis of Hastings administered the affairs of India for a period of nine years. His merits are recorded, in glowing language, in the books of this House, and have been generously acknowledged by a grant of 60,000*l*. During his administration, he gave the House of W. Palmer and Co. permission to make a loan to the Nizam's Government, and thereby protected them against the penalties to which they would have been liable, unless they had obtained the previous sanction of the Governor General. This measure excited, and I think justly, the disapprobation of the Court of Directors. The British public, at length, got some intimation of the business; and rumour, ever ready to distort facts, loudly declared Lord Hastings guilty of dishonourable conduct. The friends of the noble Lord, being desirous to repel the unfounded calumnies which were advanced against his Lordship, applied to the Court for papers, and this large book has been the result.

This is not the first time in my life that I have taken pains to consider that branch of the Company's affairs to which these papers particularly refer: whether this has proceeded from

a want of occupation, or a want of sense, I cannot decide. I may venture to say, that I have devoted as much attention to this large book as any Gentleman can have done, who had even as much time to spare for that purpose as I had. I may have done this with less ability, perhaps, than other Proprietors, but certainly not with a less earnest desire to arrive at a proper conclusion. I am not going to defend the policy of the Marquis of Hastings in granting the license to Messrs. Palmer and Co.; I deprecated it from the commencement; and I see no reason, from any thing I have read or heard, to alter my opinion on that point. I must observe, however, that out of the 510 letters, and other documents, which compose the Papers before us, there are not more than ten which could possibly have been upon the noble Marquis's table at the time he granted permission to Messrs. Palmer and Co. to engage in transactions with the Nizam.

I will remind Gentlemen who are to pronounce sentence on this great question, that the evidence which was before his Lordship at that time is the only evidence that we should consider. If his Lordship had enjoyed the advantage of reading this large book, I think he would have pursued a very different line of policy; I hardly think, had this been the case, that he would have pursued the policy which we have witnessed, and which I cannot think very economical, however well meant it might have been. If we can avoid a partial view of the question, I think the end of justice may be easily attained, and that all parties concerned may obtain credit for their upright intentions. I hope, however, that no expression has fallen from me, with respect to these documents, which could lead the Court to suppose that they have been laid before us for the purpose of bewildering us. I am well aware that if the Court of Directors had laid fewer papers before us, they would have been charged with having withheld documents, and this charge would not have been made once or twice, but very often. I have read attentively many of the minutes of Mr. Adam, Mr. Stuart, and Lord Hastings, but in my opinion they do not bear upon the question. The first ten documents in the index were the only ones in existence at the time the transaction took place in which the noble Marquis is implicated; all the rest had grown out of what has since transpired. It is to the former docu-

ments alone, therefore, that we should direct our attention.

It appears from the Papers, that Mr. Stuart and Mr. Adam offered opposition to the Marquis of Hastings, but they did so honestly and uprightly, and are as much entitled as his Lordship to the approbation of this assembly; and I trust that nothing shall fall from me to make it be supposed that their opposition was vexatious. I believe, however, that the opposition of these Gentlemen tended to precipitate his Lordship's measures. I have already said that I do not approve of his Lordship's policy; but before I proceed to that point, I may be permitted to allude to the very able statement of the hon. Proprietor behind me, (Mr. Russell,) which in my opinion furnishes a key to the transactions that form the subject of our consideration. That Gentleman possibly possesses information which does not belong to any other member of this Court. (*Hear.*) His intimate acquaintance with the affairs of Palmer and Co., and of the Nizam, enabled him to give explanation on many points which appeared to me to be, to a considerable extent, satisfactory.

I beg to declare, that I have not gone into the question of accounts. I am aware of the machinery which exists in this House, as well as in India, for the examination of accounts; but I think the best place for examining and sifting the accounts contained in the Papers, would have been Hyderabad, and the next best place, if not Calcutta, certainly was not London, where there existed no means of explanation or contradiction. (*Hear.*) For these reasons, I have not undertaken to examine the accounts with such minuteness as to enable me to pronounce upon their being accurate or fictitious. An hon. Proprietor has stated that the accounts are wholly false. If I had made such an assertion, I would have considered it necessary to produce evidence to bear it out. From what I have myself seen of the accounts, I do not think that they are altogether erroneous. The accounts, I know, must have undergone an examination behind the bar. I am not aware by what sort of test they have been examined, but I know the practices which prevail in India, with respect to the examination of accounts. (*d*)

(*d*) The only grounds on which the accounts could be called in question are

The amount of interest is a subject which has been largely commented on. Now, although I will not undertake to defend the policy of the whole transaction, I cannot withhold evidence which bears upon the question of interest. The rate of interest taken by the House of Palmer and Co., which has excited so much abhorrence here, is not considered large in India. I have myself lent money at 12 per cent.; and by taking the notes of mercantile houses at discount, I have realized more than 24 per cent. It would be unfair to state the names of particular houses, but I state the fact upon my honour. (*Hear.*) I was at Calcutta when the Hyderabad loan was made, and having some spare cash which I wished to employ in the most advantageous manner possible, I was advised by a friend, a general officer, to embark it in that transaction; but first I asked, "What security is to be had from the Nizam?" I then turned the matter in my mind, and notwithstanding all that is said about the good wishes of Lord Hastings towards the transaction, I considered the security insufficient, and did not give a farthing towards the loan. (*Hear.*) Gentlemen who are acquainted with India will be able to state, that the rate of interest, which seems so monstrous here, is not considered so there. But why, it will be asked, is the rate of interest higher in India than in this country? A sufficient answer to this inquiry may be found in the different local circumstances of the two countries. In this country, the farmer borrowed, during war, at 7 or 8 per cent., and could obtain only one crop in the year; but, with respect to India, the case is widely different. There, the farmer is enabled, by an advancement of capital, to obtain three or four crops in the year. There is no need of a better reason for the rate of interest being trebled in India, than this great

productiveness of mother earth there. (*e*) (*Hear.*)

I think the policy of the transactions bad, but I do not concur in all the opinions which have been pronounced from the other side of the Court. Though I am not standing in the middle of the Court, I wish to be considered as a neutral party on the present occasion. If the measure had had no other effect than that of producing extravagance I would condemn it. (*f*) The facility of borrowing money appears to have produced the same effect upon the Nizam that it produces here, namely, that of inducing the party to borrow as much as he could get and spend it all. (*g*) When the loan was made, the Nizam owed Messrs. Palmer and Co. sixty lacs of rupees, but in 1823, his debt to the House amounted to one hundred lacs. This, I think, was owing to the policy of the Government, in enabling the Nizam to borrow money on such easy terms. (*h*) (*Hear, hear.*)

With respect to the correspondence of the Court of Directors, I do not intend to enter upon its defence, because I think that it cannot be fairly accused. The Court of Directors are our constituted authorities, and their acts are

(*e*) Yet of this productive earth no Englishman can buy or cultivate a single rood: such is the folly of the system that prevents Colonization.

(*f*) It had the very opposite effect of enabling the Minister to reduce his establishments, and to begin a new career of economy.

(*g*) If this be true, then, the higher a nation's or an individual's credit, the worse it must be for each. The facility of borrowing depends entirely on this. England and America can raise any loan they wish. Spain cannot procure one on any terms. The Bengal Government could get money at twelve per cent. when the Nizam could not procure it for less than twenty-four. The facility of procuring money was, therefore, a proof of good government and security: the difficulty, a proof of the reverse; and it was this difficulty under which the Nizam laboured that compelled him to pay so high. Captain Maxfield, indeed, shows, by his own unwillingness to lend to this very Nizam, even at twenty-four per cent., that instead of his having a greater "facility" of borrowing money than others, he had not nearly so much. There being an error in the fact, the argument built on it is of course annihilated.

(*h*) Why, the very subject of complaint is, that the terms were extravagantly high!

these—1st. That entries of money and goods were made, without being actually paid or supplied. 2dly. That such goods as were really supplied were charged at extravagant rates. 3dly. That by errors in calculation, the interest, charges, and whole amount, were each greater than the real sums which the figures rightly calculated would produce. Not even one of these grounds has been urged in objection to the accuracy of the accounts, and therefore the assumption that they are false, is altogether unwarranted.

ours. The Legislature has provided a Board for examining their despatches, and they cannot proceed to India before they have been approved of here. I think it is almost derogatory from the dignity of the Court of Directors to attempt to express an opinion upon their letters. Having given them sufficient authority, we must be bound by their acts. (d) To be sure, if injustice be committed by them, appeal may be made against their acts, and compensation should be afforded to the injured. It is the wish of the Court, I am sure, to do justice to all parties; but it would be strange to acquit one individual and condemn twenty-four. (e)

g This is really something new.—“The acts of the Directors are *our* acts”—God forbid! Then all Courts of Proprietors should be abolished, for what is the end of holding them, but to approve or condemn the acts of the Directors, as the majority may see fit? “Having given them sufficient authority we must be *bound* by their acts.” Indeed! Then, why all this waste of time and breath? why such expenditure of money in printing, and patience in reading so many thousands of pages in vain? Why six days’ debate to determine whether the Directors shall not reverse their acts, and restore to the House of Palmer and Co. what they and their servants abroad have literally robbed them of, by intercepting the payment of their just demands? Alas! Captain Maxfield, is this your “neutrality”? Can it be *you*, who say, “It is almost derogatory from the dignity of the Court of Directors to attempt to express an opinion upon their letters?” Why, really this is but a new version of Mr. Adam’s memorable declaration: “It is not possible to conceive a greater insult to a Government, than an individual offering an opinion contrary to that which they have expressed.” The present odious and despotic regulations for the Indian Press do not go farther than this. Captain Maxfield thinks it “derogatory from the dignity of the Court of Directors to attempt to *express an opinion* on their letters;” and the Press-regulations only forbid what he disapproves, namely, “An advertisement on the measures and proceedings of the honourable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England, connected with the Government of India.”

h *Indeed*, can indicate *wishes*, (and we know of no better indication than this; it is not the wish of the Court to do justice to all parties. The Court have refused to one hundred Co-Proprietors of the Calcutta Journal any remuneration whatever, for the

I acquit the Marquis of Hastings of favouritism. Having read this large volume with considerable attention, I think that that charge cannot be established. There are two private letters of his Lordship in the volume, and I lament to see them there; but I think that so far from furnishing any evidence of favouritism on the part of his Lordship, they on the contrary refute such a charge. I therefore will take the liberty to read the first letter, and offer only one or two remarks upon it, in order that I may detain the Court as short a time as possible. The letter is addressed to Sir W. Rumbold, and dated the 10th of June 1821:—

“MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,—It is difficult for me to make you comprehend the unpleasant discussions which have been within this fortnight past recorded with regard to the pecuniary engagements between the house of W. Palmer and Co. and the Nizam. The whole has originated in these underhand suggestions of Mr. ———, (f) which a false delicacy towards him prevented my exposing. They made impressions on

total destruction of their property, because the chief portion of it belonged to one single individual whom they hated and wished to destroy. Where is their wish to do justice in this? They approve of the conduct of their servants abroad in breaking up and involving in ruin and bankruptcy the House of Palmer and Co., and reducing to poverty hundreds of their own servants whose funds were in their hands; and they resist with all their might the very first step made by the injured parties towards obtaining redress. Where is their wish to do justice in this? As to the strangeness of acquitting one man and condemning twenty-four, we confess we have not the good fortune to discover it. If one only was right, and twenty-four or twenty-four thousand were wrong, the acquittal and condemnation should follow the justice of the case, and not the numbers involved. In the recent instance of the thousand passengers shot and cut to pieces by order of Sir E. Paget, either he was right and the thousand wrong, or the thousand right and he wrong; neither would be “strange,” for one must be the case. It is far more strange to see such a standard of justice as mere numbers set up by any speaker in a public assembly, in which the conduct of one man alone might be right, and that of every other individual who opposed him wrong.

(f) The allusion is evidently to Mr. Stuart.

others, who, acting on the erroneous persuasion, staked themselves in a manner which makes them flounder obstinately now, in order to preserve consistency. Much advantage is given to them by an apparent (I am sure not a real) want of frankness on the part of your House. I apprised you long ago, that it was expedient for the Firm to define, upon oath, whether or not any British public functionary had at any time had pecuniary transactions with the House, which could influence him in countenancing your dealings with the Nizam's Government. The evasion of so simple a declaration is awkward even in the eyes of me, who have so strong a relief in the honour of your proceedings.'

This, I think, is an important passage. If Lord Hastings had not known his conduct to be pure, he would hardly have given Sir W. Rumbold and his partners credit for being honourable. He would rather have expressed himself in language like this: "I have committed myself with regard to your House; furnish me with documents to clear myself; do not leave me in this awkward predicament." (*Hear.*) 'The letter proceeds.'

'Though Mr. Stuart declared he had never thrown on Mr. Russell the imputation of a secret understanding with you, peculiar circumstances convince me that such a suspicion was communicated to persons at home, and was received with ready faith. It depends on the House whether I must not also admit doubts. Yours, &c.'

This is the letter; and I maintain that there is nothing in it which can justify us in passing censure upon his Lordship. (*Hear.*) I now come to the other letter of the noble Marquis, which many persons have considered as affording evidence that the noble Lord had improperly favoured the House of Palmer and Co. The letter which is addressed to Sir W. Rumbold, contains the following passage:

'The partners speculate that you, being one of the Firm, will interest me in the welfare of the House, to a degree which may be materially beneficial to them; it is a fair and honest calculation. The amount of advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow, must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the Natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well in the favour of the supreme authority here. Perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the Firm, from the consequent discouragement to competi-

tion with you, by any other British partnership to which a similarly professed sanction would not be granted.'

The worst construction that can be put upon this letter is, that his Lordship intended not to allow any other house to be established. But was any application made for permission to establish another house? If there were, and it was refused, the fact would be proved against his Lordship, but not otherwise. If I intended to commit murder, but never made the attempt, I hope that I should not be hanged for it. (*I laugh.*) But I have proof that if such an application had been made to Lord Hastings he would not have refused it. I have been informed by an hon. Proprietor, whom illness prevents from attending here, who is a member of the House of Mackintosh and Co., as a proof of his Lordship's impartiality, that he declared to their House that they should have permission to establish a branch banking-house in some part of the Nizam's territories. (*Hear.*) But even if favouritism were proved against the Marquis, it would only convince us that he was liable to the weakness common to our nature—at the worst, an amiable weakness. No prejudice can be proved against the noble Lord; that would be a malignant weakness.

It now remains for me to say that his Lordship never served me in one solitary instance, and I never had cause to suppose that it was his intention to do so; but, on the contrary, I have reason to believe that on one occasion he did me a positive injury, nay, I may say, an act of injustice, for he withheld from me allowances which he might have granted, and to which I had a reasonable claim. What I have said, therefore, has not been for value received. (*Hear.*) With respect to the general policy of his Lordship's administration, I think it has been eulogised, both here and at Calcutta, a great deal too much. I did not sign the address which his Lordship received at Calcutta, but I think that there are many Gentlemen present who did, and who yet are likely to vote against the motion. (*Hear.*) The question before the Court is one of deep interest: First, As it regards the Marquis of Hastings. Secondly, As it regards the Court of Directors. And thirdly, As it regards the interests of the Company generally. The Papers before us have gone forth to the world; they cannot be recalled; and the pretensions which we may urge for the renewal of our charter,

will be strengthened or weakened by the decision to which we shall come on this subject. (*Hear.*) This Court has never before been called upon to offer an opinion on a subject so deeply affecting our interests. In the Papers relative to the Hyderabad transactions, much has been unveiled which should teach us what is due to our own character, and the interests of humanity. As British merchants, we are called upon to introduce a system of prudence and order, in the place of profligacy and oppression. The charter has still six years to run. Much may be done in that time; and on what shall be done will depend the success of our application to Parliament for the renewal of our privileges. It is the duty of the Company, in the administration of Indian affairs, to attend not only to its own interests but to those of humanity. I hope that the Company will so conduct themselves, that when their charter expires, they shall have a claim to the gratitude of the millions under their protection, and the admiration of all mankind. (*m*) (*Hear.*)

(*m*) We would advise Captain Maxwell not to delude himself with any such extravagant, we had almost said absurd, expectations. The whole career of the Company, from its first establishment to the present moment, has been such as to excite, and justly too, the hatred and jealousy of all the Native powers whose countries they have taken from them either by fraud or force; and the only claim they can ever have to "the gratitude of the millions under their protection," is, that they keep them safe from other hordes of plunderers, such as Pindarries and Sikhs, that they may have the more to wring from them themselves: and that the only end and aim of the Company is to drain the country they govern of the uttermost farthing that can be raised in the shape of revenue, the surplus of which, above expenditure, is remitted to England as tribute, instead of being given back to the people to increase their wealth and happiness, which ought to be the end of all Governments, and without which no gratitude can ever be their due. As to the conduct of the Company having a claim to "the admiration of all mankind," there is something so ludicrous in the very notion that it might be suspected as ironical, if it stood alone, and unsupported by the context of the speech. The whole policy, nay, the very existence of the India Company, is founded on their exclusive possession of certain territories and privileges, from

With respect to the Marquis of Hastings, I will say, that by refusing to agree to the motion, you will withhold from his Lordship that "which nought enriches you, but leaves him poor indeed." (*Hear.*) At the same time, however, I am of opinion, that the Court of Directors are entitled to support and encouragement for the performance of duties, difficult and laborious, without which our best interests would be neglected. (*n*) (*Hear.*) I think, that if the Chairman, with his accustomed condescension and kindness, would consent to withdraw his amendment, the hon. Proprietor at the same time consenting to withdraw his original motion, some resolution might be framed which would reconcile all parties. (*Hear.*) I have such a resolution in my pocket, which I would submit to the consideration of the Court if an opportunity should be

which they shut out every other nation that they can exclude, and even then own countrymen, unless they consent to be the meanest of slaves. They proclaim to the world, from their own imperial palace, that their Government ever has been an absolute despotism, and ever must remain so, while it is in their hands. They oppress their native subjects to the very verge and brink of mutiny and rebellion; they trample under foot the dearest rights of their fellow-countrymen, who have the misfortune to live beneath their rule. They plunder men of their property as well as rights, and when redress is asked they laugh the sufferers to scorn. Is *this* the way to win "the admiration of all mankind?" It may, perhaps, obtain the praise of the few who can participate in the wages of its iniquity: but men of pure hearts and clean hands, can never join in those shouts of applause by which the senseless or the unreflecting can alone be deceived.

(*n*) The best interests, nay, the only interests which any Proprietor of India Stock can have, as Proprietor, is the security of his property and the regularity of his dividend. The amount of the latter can neither be increased by the good conduct, nor decreased by the bad conduct, of the Directors: as the Legislature has fixed its maximum to ten and a half per cent., and this is also its minimum, for when the returns from India do not pay this, new loans are raised to make up the deficiency. Security of his property is then the only interest a Proprietor has left: and this, the very conduct under discussion, as far as the Directors and their servants are concerned, has the strongest tendency to destroy.

afforded me. If what I have said, should produce the effect I hope for, I shall feel that I have not wasted the time of the Court; if not, the consciousness of the goodness of my intentions will console me. (o) (*Hear.*)

Mr. WASBOROUGH.—In rising to address this Court for the first time, I not unnaturally ask myself, Why I—a person unconnected with Indian affairs—should make myself a Proprietor of stock, so far, at least, as to give me the privilege of speaking here. I am unconnected with both parties. I look upon the amendment, not as proceeding from the Court of Directors, but from the Chairman in his private capacity. This is the most delicate way in which the amendment could have been proposed, because the whole influence of the Court of Directors is not brought down in support of it. But I will explain my motives for entering into this discussion. The habits of my life have frequently led me to the consideration of papers of the nature of those which have been laid before the Court. I have read the Hyderabad Papers, and think that they involve, not only a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, but are as highly important as any ever presented by this Court since the impeachment of Warren Hastings. I feel assured that I shall meet that courtesy which the Court never fails to exhibit towards individual, whose motives are honest and pure. (p) I do not stand up in this

Court to ask you to follow my opinions. I have considered with some attention—the best I could give—those Papers, and I do not come here so much to discuss a party question between one person and another, as the principles which are involved in the transactions, which the Papers detail. But before I explain them, I have to entreat that the Court will forgive me any errors, unintentional I am sure they will be, into which I may fall; the Gentlemen on the other side will, I know, have skill enough to detect them, and I feel that I am at their mercy.

The gallant General, who made so pleasant a speech on a former day, said that nothing had been thrown out against Mr. Adam. I do not know whether I am correct in my recollection, but I think I heard one of the gallant General's friends state, that if the amendment should be carried he meant to impeach Mr. Adam. I wish that the hon. Proprietor who made that statement were here to hear what I would say in answer to it. I think, that such attacks made against a man high in office, who could not be attacked if he were standing on this floor, at least, not in that direct and unmeasured language which is unhappily too frequently indulged in this Court, are extremely unfair. I remember a divine, who, wishing to show the progress of consciousness in the human mind, made use of the following story: Two friends went into a room in which was a dead lion. At first, they stopped short, but finding that it was dead, they went up to it and raised its paws. Suddenly, they thought that it began to move, and they ran away as if the devil was after them. This story is, I think, peculiarly applicable to the subject I was alluding to. Mr. Adam and Sir C. Metcalfe may be considered as dead lions; they have been attacked when they were not here to reply to their adversaries. (q) A charge has been

these cannot be known to be more honest or more pure than those who oppose them.

(o) It is not without reluctance, that we have commented at such length on Captain Maxfield's speech. Our personal feelings towards that Gentleman have not the slightest tinge of hostility; our dispositions are, indeed, of the most opposite kind. But we owe a greater respect to truth, than to the feelings of any individual; and we can safely say, that among the hundred whose warm and long-tried personal attachment we are proud to enjoy, there is not *one* whose publicly-expressed opinions we would not as readily censure and denounce, if they appeared to us fallacious, pernicious, and hostile to the interests of justice and truth.

(p) There is a fallacy on the very front of the speaker's speech. How can the Court pretend to know who are actuated by pure, and who by impure motives? These can be known only to the speaker himself when he begins; unless he discloses them to others, or leaves them to be inferred by subsequent conduct. The Court extends its courtesy generally to those only who advocate its own views; and the motives of

(q) Chivalrous Mr. Wasborough!—After the frank confession of entire ignorance of India, and Indian affairs, with which his speech opens, it might seem unreasonable to complain of the speaker's not knowing what is known to all the world beside. But did Mr. Adam never attack a man who was absent and not able to defend himself? Alas! he did more; he first banished the individual, so as to render it impossible for

made against Mr. Adam of a constant but conscientious opposition to Lord Hastings. (*Cries of No.*) Well, I will not say, conscientious opposition, if that will please the hon. Proprietors. I beg leave to read a passage from a letter addressed to Lord Hastings by Messrs. Adam, Fendall, and Bayley, in answer to one his Lordship had written them, containing some queries, the object of which was to ascertain whether, in the opinion of those gentlemen, his Lordship had ever discovered any inclination to evade the orders of the Court of Directors. The passage in question is as follows:—

‘Dec. 10, 1822.

‘We have this day had the honour to receive your Lordship’s letter of the 8th inst. in which you have been pleased to call upon us to declare, “whether we have ever discovered in you any management, or apparent inclination, to evade an order from the hon. Court, which could, without distinct injury to the hon. Company’s service, be fulfilled. Whether, in case of the instructions from the hon. Court, the most irreconcilable to existing circumstances, consequently the most embarrassing, we

him even to hear his accusations for nearly a year after they were put forth; he next stopped the mouths and pens of all other men from taking up the absent individual’s defence. And lastly, he circulated his slanders as widely as possible among official men in England, without having the courtesy to let the accused get even a copy of the charges urged against him. Here was true Indian magnanimity. It is as if Mr. Hume should denounce Mr. Adam in the Court at the India House as a miscreant and a traitor; and then put down by force, Mr. Freshfield, Mr. Washborough, and all other men who attempted to defend the absent and accused. What would the Knight of La Mancha say to this? Sir Charles Metcalfe is scarcely behind his worthy compeer. He too, accuses the whole Firm of Palmer and Co. as fraudulent and unprincipled swindlers, in letters to Government which they could neither see nor answer; and when they assist the Ministers of the country in sending a letter to complain of this kindly Resident, his rage is so excited that he never rests till he gets them made bankrupts in fortune, and expels the individuals he had slandered, from their home and country! Yet these men, forsooth, are not to be spoken of, though the Court is full of retainers to speak, and “Janissaries,” as Sir John Doyle most appropriately called them, to defend any vote or measure in their favour.

have ever heard you remark upon the inapplicability of the orders with any irreverent levity? Whether, on the contrary, we have not observed in you an invariable solicitude to warp the exigencies of the juncture as far as possible to the hon. Court’s wishes, so as that the latter might be satisfied to the utmost extent safely practicable?” To the two first of these questions we can have no hesitation in replying distinctly and unequivocally in the negative; while we can with no less truth and sincerity declare, that in every instance which has come under our observation, your Lordship’s conduct has been invariably governed by the principles stated in the last question.’

I would ask any impartial person, whether, in this answer to the question, put by Lord Hastings, there is anything like the shadow of personal, or even of political hostility. I will now read an extract from Mr. Adam’s minutes, enclosed in a political despatch from Bengal, dated December 28, 1822. I dwell the longer on this part of the subject, because an hon. Proprietor, who has been, not only attacked for defending Mr. Adam, but charged with being his solicitor, has not the opportunity of replying. The passage in Mr. Adam’s minute, to which I allude, is this:—

‘I do not feel myself called on to enter on a vindication of the part I have taken in the recent discussions regarding Hyderabad affairs. I have deeply lamented the necessity of opposing myself to the views of the Governor-General, but I am consoled by the consciousness of having performed an imperative though painful duty. The case will now be brought fully before the authorities at home, and I entertain no apprehension of the issue.’

Mr. Adam has likewise been accused of intimacy to Mr. W. Palmer, because he did not think proper to read documents sent by that gentleman to the Governor-General except in his official capacity. Mr. Adam, in the same minute from which I have just read, alludes to this subject in the following manner:—

‘I acknowledge having declined to read a private letter from Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., tendered for my perusal in strict confidence by the Governor-General, because I did not wish to acquire, in a manner which precluded me from making use of a knowledge of particulars which might embarrass my judgment on public questions likely to arise between Government and that House.’

Au hon. Proprietor, whom I am sure we all heard with pleasure, left an impression on the Court from what he said, that Sir C. Metcalfe had arrived at his present rank in connexion with this business. (*No.*) Well, then, I misunderstood the hon. Gentleman; I am speaking in the presence of a late member of the Bengal Council. (Mr. Stuart.) A charge of inconsistency has been brought against that gentleman, because, as it was said, he had given a different character of Chundoo Loll at different periods; and quotations were read from his minutes in support of that charge. In undertaking the defence of Mr. Stuart, I am doing that which his modesty alone prevented him from doing. He seemed to feel that he stood in the situation of a gentleman asking you for your approbation, and it is always painful for a modest man to be placed in such a situation. (*r*)

MR. STUART.—I beg to state also that my indisposition was extreme on that day. I hope on some future day to have an opportunity of addressing the Court again, and of speaking to more purpose.

MR. WASHBOROUGH.—It has been attempted to be shown that Mr. Stuart had given contradictory characters of Chundoo Loll; but it was satisfactorily explained, that what were supposed to be Mr. Stuart's own opinions, were, in fact, those of the Resident at Hyderabad, which he had quoted. I cannot conceive upon what grounds it is, that Mr. Stuart has been accused of any thing like an unfair or vexatious opposition to the views of the Marquis of Hastings. I think his whole conduct has been of the most upright and honourable character. In his minute of the 10th Nov. 1819, after describing the situation in which the Nizam's territories had been placed by the influence of the House of Palmer and Co., I find the following passage:—

‘I had, indeed, indulged in more propitious anticipations. I had cherished

(*r*) Mr. Washborough must be of some other school; for this doctrine could never have been learnt from the practice of the Court he was addressing. The very Chairman himself (one of the most modest and honourable of men) finds the situation alluded to so far from painful, that he takes every possible occasion to throw himself on the mercy of the Court, for the very purpose of asking their approbation; and never fails, of course, to receive it.

the hope that, by a more equable and benign exertion of our influence, we might extend the blessings of order and justice to the whole country; that we might thus redeem the British Government from the odium of tolerating, in dominions where our power and influence are confessedly uncontrollable, evils of maladministration, which I believe to be as great as any that prevailed in the worst of the Native Governments, which it is the boast of our policy to have corrected.

‘I am very sensible of the difficulty of such reforms, when they are to be accomplished by the mere exertion of influence, and I am not over-credulous to the sudden ameliorations often ascribed to that species of interposition; but I fear that in the Nizam's dominions the evil is too urgent to admit of choice. The Resident at a former period has declared, that the utter ruin of the country can be averted only by the direct assumption of it; and if we are not prepared to resort to that extremity, the attempt to correct the most prominent abuses by the exertion of our influence, seems to be the only practicable alternative.’

In another of Mr. Stuart's minutes, dated 10th June 1820, after alluding to a letter from the Resident at Hyderabad, conveying the proposition that the Government should sanction the sixty-lac loan, he makes use of the following language:—

‘The papers submitted by the Resident afford no information with respect to the rate of interest or other advantages stipulated by the House, so as to enable this Government to judge how far the arrangement may be an economical and beneficial one for the Nizam's Government.’

‘In my minute of the 10th of November last, recorded on the proceedings of the 1st of January 1820 following, I advanced objections against this Government sanctioning a former pecuniary arrangement between the Nizam's Government and the House of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., upon the ground of the same defect of information which I have remarked on the present occasion. The Board will infer, that I must entertain objections to the present proposition equally insurmountable. My objections, indeed, have acquired increased force from the great and apparently growing extension of Messrs. William Palmer and Co.'s pecuniary concerns with his Highness' Government.’

I ask whether this can be called an irregular opposition? If, as has been insinuated, Mr. Stuart's object had been merely to thwart the Marquis of Hastings, it would have been sufficient for him from his seat in Council to have

given a vote against the proposition, without, as he did, stating his grounds for opposing it. It was, doubtless, an important question. Mr. Stuart had felt it to be so, and was anxious to record his opinion on the subject. When a difference of opinion prevails, and one of the parties gives a reason for that difference, it cannot be considered otherwise than as a constitutional opposition, out of which great benefit always arises.

With due submission to another hon. Proprietor, (Sir C. Forbes,) who on Friday spoke last but one in the debate, I beg leave to offer an observation or two. It would be presumptuous in me to enter into an argument on the question of the rate of interest with a gentleman of his experience in matters of that kind; but I beg to submit one question which arises out of his own statement. The hon. Baronet, in endeavouring to show that the sixty-lac loan was not a good and beneficial transaction for the House of Palmer and Co., produced a paper, and said, "I will show you where thirty-four per cent. was gained in a transaction at Bombay." But how did he make it out? By adding to the profits eight per cent. which arose from the difference of exchange. That is not exactly interest. (Hear.) I may be wrong, but that is my opinion. If you take eight from thirty-four, twenty-six is left, which I say was the real amount of interest. (s) But there is likewise this difference between the transaction alluded to by the hon. Baronet, and that in which the House of Palmer engaged, that the former was not a loan, as the latter was intended to be. It was merely a purchase of money, made by the Government of Bombay. The Government said, "We want so much

money, and we will pay so much for it." (A laugh.) I believe I am correct. (t) Government gave bills for the money, which were tangible securities. It should also be recollected, that this was a transaction for one year only. If, indeed, it had extended over a series of years, the rate of interest always continuing the same, then, indeed, it would have been a fair object of comparison. I do not think it fair, however, to select a transaction which continued for only one year, and was entered into under circumstances of immediate exigency,—when I believe a hostile power was advancing on Bombay, and it was likely to be taken, —and apply it as the hon. Baronet has done. I think that the hon. Baronet said that he would not have liked to enter into such a transaction as that in which the House of Palmer and Co. had engaged; that it was not a beneficial one, and indeed that it was any thing but that. In reference to this point, I may beg leave to observe, that before Sir William Rumbold entered into the partnership, he wrote to his friend, Mr. De Fries, at Madras, asking his opinion of the proposed speculation; to which Mr. De Fries replied in the following terms:—

"MY DEAR SIR.—I was favoured, four days ago, with your letter of the 6th ultimo. I shall with pleasure impart to you my frank and sincere sentiments on the subject of your communication, and with perfect unservicedness, on the same condition that you required it of me, namely, that whatever I may say on the subject, it is to be con-

(t) The diffidence of this speaker is instructive. He is a true example of the extent to which scepticism may be carried. A difference of exchange, he says, is not interest: he may be wrong; but that is his opinion. Admirable modesty! Neither, perhaps, is a *bonus* interest, strictly considered, but the eighty-lac bonus on the Hyderabad loan, has been always so considered. Again: his notions of buying money by bills is so new even to himself, that he is not quite sure of its accuracy. He believes he is correct; but he is evidently afraid to assume it as certain. The Bombay Government gave twenty-six per cent. interest, and good bills for the principal, which was a tangible security: the Hyderabad Government gave eighteen per cent. on tankahs for the interest and principal, with a promise of a bonus, which was never realized! Mr. Wasborough thinks the former a less advantageous bargain than the latter: such is his proficiency in arithmetic!

(s) Mr. Wasborough has some skill in arithmetic, no doubt, because it is not every man who can subtract 8 from 34, and find the true remainder. But still, even his powers have their limit, for he has clearly not discovered that 26 was more than 24; though men who could not perform the more difficult operation above mentioned, would easily determine this. The object of Sir Charles Forbes was to show that the Company itself had paid a *larger* interest than that which it had complained of as exorbitant in the Nizam: he had paid twenty-four; and by Mr. Wasborough's nice and accurate calculation, the Company paid twenty-six. Sir Charles' position is, therefore, as well proved as if the latter rate were thirty-six.

sidered entirely confidential, and intended only for your own private information and guidance.

'There could be no doubt of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. carrying on a beneficial trade at Hyderabad, and I believe, as far as the nature of it will admit, the risk not great, compared to many other branches of trade. I have had several opportunities, from my intercourse and transactions with a gentleman of respectability and fortune who had been long resident at Hyderabad, to obtain a knowledge of the commerce of that city, and my candid opinion is, that if you can be admitted into the House of William Palmer and Co., and allowed at the same time to keep and remain at Calcutta in your present employ, you should by all means accept Mr. John Palmer's offer; in which case I should advise you, in order to render the concern beneficial to you, you ought to advance a capital of two to three lacs of rupees, for from my knowledge of the transactions of that House at Hyderabad, it will require your carrying that sum into the Firm, to make it an object of advantage to you.' (u)

A proposition has been advanced, that this question should be compromised by the Court's agreeing to another amendment. The hon. Proprietor opposite, (Mr. Dixon,) who on the present occasion has deserted this side of the House, was the first to throw out a hint of this kind. The hon. Proprietor compared the original motion and the amendment to the Duke of Bridgewater's canal and the river Irwell, which ran side by side to a certain point, and then diverged. I will carry the simile further:—If the canal should be too full, the superabundant waters will run into the river, which will then overflow the country.

Mr. Dixon.—It is the river which feeds the canal, and not the canal the river. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. WASHBOROUGH.—I feel I have committed a mistake, but I will get out of it. The hon. Proprietor says that the river feeds the canal. (*Question.*) I am coming to the question. Whether the canal overflows the river, or the river the canal, in either case the consequences will be the same. I think that whether the original question or

(u) This letter has no reference whatever to the loan in question, nor to any other loan; but to a profit to be made on transactions of commerce and trade. Mr. Washborough either did not read, or could not have understood the meaning of the document produced by him as proof of a fact to which it has not even the most distant allusion!

the motion be carried, in either case no reflection will be cast on the Marquis of Hastings; and I think I can show grounds for that opinion. Thanks were voted to his Lordship by the Court of Directors on the 18th May 1820, and by the Court of Proprietors on the 29th May 1822.

The CHAIRMAN.—I beg to inform the hon. Proprietor that both the votes took place in 1822.

Mr. WASHBOROUGH.—That makes the better for my argument. The first condemnatory despatch addressed to his Lordship by the Court of Directors, was written on the 4th May 1820, which was two years before they voted him their thanks. Then what deduction do I draw from this? Why, that the transaction to which the despatches refer, was considered by the Court of Directors as an insulated affair standing out of the general course of his Lordship's administration, upon which they had bestowed their praise. The vote of thanks having passed, the transactions at Hyderabad cannot be brought forward as matter of accusation against his Lordship. But though it was not proposed to found any charge against the Marquis of Hastings with respect to these transactions, they surely might be alleged, as a proof that his Lordship had not, in every particular of his administration, been guided by that sound policy which characterized it as a whole. If we shall lay down the position that, because a man's conduct is meritorious generally, he should not be censured upon any particular point, this Court, and the Court of Directors, would be deprived of the power of duly appreciating the acts of their servants; and the rewards which were bestowed without discrimination were not those which an honourable man would be desirous to receive. (*Hear.*)

I will consider the transactions to which the despatches refer, and make a few observations upon them. The first transaction is the establishment of the House. Mr. W. Palmer goes to Bengal to obtain leave to form a commercial establishment at Hyderabad, for the purpose, as he stated, of carrying on banking business, and to engage in the purchase of timber in the forests of the Godavery for ship-building. These objects appeared on the face of them to be very proper, and the Government granted the license; and the Court of Directors, upon being informed of what had been done, sanctioned it with their approbation. Two

years afterwards they apply to the Government, and for what? To be absolved from the consequences of their wrong-doing for two years. During the two years the House had been established, they had not only been lending money to a Native Prince, in contravention of a positive act of Parliament; but had also been taking a higher rate of interest than was allowed by law. (v) The question of interest has been a great deal agitated. I do not know whether it be customary to take such a high rate of interest in India, but I do not think it very proper. In consequence of a variety of transactions with Native Princes, which led to disastrous consequences, an act of Parliament was passed, by which the amount of interest to be taken was restricted to 12 per cent. Provisions of that act were subsequently made to extend to the provinces, without, however, dissolving the bargains which had been contracted previous to its enactment. I will here allude to a point which has not yet, I believe, been touched upon in the course of this debate. The law of India is very particular with respect to the mode of obtaining redress against parties who engage in illegal transactions of this nature. If Mr. W. Palmer had been born in wedlock, the law might have something like a hold on him; but if not, he and the whole of his partners could set the law of India at defiance. I do not make the assertion from any knowledge of my own. If I am wrong, I am misled by what is contained in this book. The case was submitted to Mr. Ferguson, the Advocate-General, and his opinion is contained in the following letter.

To GEORGE SWINSON, Esq., Secretary to the Government.

SIR—1. In reply to your letter of the 3d inst., I have the honour to state, for the purpose of being submitted to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, that British-born subjects offending against the provision of the Act 37th Geo. III., cap. 112, sec. 28, although the offence be committed out of the Company's territories, and by persons residing out of those territories,

2. In this they had the example of the Company to justify them, as well as the universal practice of all India. Besides which, it is still matter of doubt whether any rate of interest, be it ever so high, is contrary to law in India beyond the limits of the Company's territories.

may be prosecuted in his Majesty's Courts in India, when they can be made amenable to the process of such Courts. There might, of course, be difficulties in procuring the attendance of witnesses to prove the offence, our Courts having no power to compel the attendance of witnesses residing in a foreign territory.

2. I am of opinion, that the misdemeanour in question, namely, lending money, and taking a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent. per annum, whether to individuals or to Native Princes, cannot be considered an offence of that heinous description, which, according to the usages of Europe, or the general principles of public law, would justify the British Government in applying to the Government of the foreign state in which the offence had been committed, to seize and surrender up the offenders.

3. The terms, "subjects of his Majesty in the East-Indies," as construed by the Supreme Court, are held to include, not only his Majesty's European subjects, but all persons, sons of British fathers, born in wedlock in the East-Indies, without regard to the description or country of the mother; but persons born out of wedlock, although the sons of British fathers, and born within the Company's territories, have been held not to be included within the terms "British subjects," or "subjects of his Majesty," which are used indifferently throughout the Acts of Parliament.

4. With respect to the liability of country-born partners of a mercantile or banking-house to punishment, for contravening the statutes referred to, and on which the law authorities at home appear to be doubtful, I am decidedly of opinion, that persons of that description are not liable to prosecution or punishment for any such Acts.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. C. FERGUSON,
Advocate-General.

Fort-William, Oct. 13, 1823.

In the course of the investigation of these transactions, Mr. Palmer set up this plea. He said, "I am a subject of the Nizam, and you cannot touch me." I am borne out in stating the fact, by a paragraph in a letter from the Resident at Hyderabad, to be found in page 216 of the Papers, which is as follows:—

"I understand from good authority, that Mr. W. Palmer, in forwarding the Minister's letters, pretended that he did so as a subject of the Nizam's Government, bound to attend to its wishes. This plea was disingenuous, and might be termed ungrateful, as throwing off, for an unworthy purpose, the sovereignty of the British Government, to which he owes every thing."

I think that extract establishes my assertion. I maintain, therefore, that with respect to this and other circumstances, there has been much chicanery on the part of the House of Palmer and Co. The Government was not cognizant of the peculiar situation in which he was placed by the laws of India. Mr. Palmer argued thus: "I will obtain the support of British influence in our transactions with Native Princes, but when the day of reckoning shall come, I can be the scapegoat for the House; I will set the British Government at defiance; I was not born in wedlock; I am a subject of the Nizam, and let them touch me if they dare." When we come to the consideration of the sixty-lac loan, I must confess that there are some circumstances connected with that transaction, which do appear to me capable of being brought to bear upon this important question. I do not know whether or not I am entitled to quote from a book, which professes to be a summary of the Marquis of Hastings's administration in India. (*Cries of Hear.*) If I am so entitled I will. But before I do that, I will read an extract from one of his Lordship's minutes. We all know the connexion which subsisted between his Lordship and Sir W. Rumbold, and I think he was right in endeavouring to do him all the benefit that he could fairly do; but when it became a question between his private inclination to do good, and his public duty to be performed, I think he should have shown more firmness. If I were to sum up his character in a few words, I think those used with reference to Chundoo Lall in these Papers would be very pat if applied to his Lordship, viz. "that his private virtues were the worst part of his character." The interpretation which I put upon that phrase is this: That he knew what was right to be done, but had not courage to do it; that he was in fact too good-tempered and obliging in following the wishes of others. Here is a minute in his Lordship's own handwriting, in which he states that he cannot do his duty as Governor-General—and why? Because of his connexion with Sir W. Rumbold. In one of his Lordship's minutes, dated 17th June, 1820, is the following passage:—

"That the loan must be advantageous to the House of W. Palmer and Co., cannot be questionable, as otherwise they would have no inducement to listen to the applications of the Minister. A person, in whom I take a very lively con-

cern, from his having married a ward of mine, brought up nearly as if she had been my daughter, is a partner in that House. The degree in which his interest is engaged in the proposed transaction, might, without my being conscious of the bias, warp my judgment. I shall, therefore, forbear taking part in the decision of Council; but it is incumbent on me to define some inadvertencies which must attend it."

Had his Lordship stopped there—had he withdrawn nearly as the Council, and taken no share in the proceeding from the amiable motive which he stated, he would have been free from all imputation; but he was greatly to blame in afterwards abandoning his resolution and returning to the Council. The account which his Lordship gives of the motives which induced him to adopt the latter course of proceeding, appears to me to be, not so much a defence of an act which he thought right, as the best excuse that could be made for an act which he knew to be wrong. I find this account at the conclusion of his Lordship's minute of the 14th July 1820, in the following words:—

"As the matter now stands, I am in a dilemma. Either I must abandon the principle which I at the outset adopted, of non-interference, or I must leave Rajah Chundoo Lall to feel himself deserted in the first hazardous step taken by him, through compliance with the instigation of this Government. His now forbearing to carry into effect those reductions which he had announced, would be a triumph to his powerful adversaries, of such mischievous consequence, that I should be hopeless of bringing about any reform in the Nizam's administration, unless by measures, on our part, bearing an odious character of violence. I cannot hesitate in my choice. I must retract my profession, acknowledging that I was wrong, in ever letting a personal consideration induce me to withdraw myself from any part of my public duty."

I take this to be an evidence that his Lordship sacrificed his public duty on that occasion. The sixty-lac loan was negotiated at Calcutta in 1820. I do not recollect on what day the requisition was made, but an interval of thirty days took place between the requisition, and the granting of the loan. If a messenger had been employed in the interval to go between Calcutta and Hyderabad, no communication could have taken place. The opinion of the Advocate-General was taken on the question of lending the money out of the treasury, and he decided against the le-

gality of it. The question then is, what was the situation of the money-market of Calcutta at the time? The Marquis of Hastings, in his 'Summary,' states, that on the 13th April 1821, only a year after the loan was contracted, the cash in the Company's treasury exceeded all its debts. In 1814, a loan was contracted for the Government at the rate of ten per cent., and another at six per cent. I have a right to assume that the Company's pecuniary affairs went on improving from that period up to 1821. The Nepaul war, I admit, was the source of great expense, and here I also admit the great and eminent qualities which the noble Marquis displayed, not only with respect to that transaction, but throughout his whole administration, for which he is fairly entitled to every credit. But to come back to this loan transaction.—If a simple man, like myself, were to ask the hon. Baronet (Sir C. Forbes) to lend me sixty-lacs of rupees, and if he were to consent to do so, would I not look at the money-market, and see that the terms were not exorbitant. In my opinion, it would have been wise in the Governor-General to have lent money from the treasury to relieve the Nizam from his difficulties. In cases of emergency, and where the interests of the empire were concerned, the Governor-General had a *carte-blanche* to supercede any Act of Parliament. The relief of the Nizam was a laudable object, and one which concerned the interest of the Company; and, therefore, he would have been justified in lending money from the treasury at not nearly so high a rate of interest as that which the Nizam paid to the House of Palmer and Co. (x) This loan is a very complicated transaction. If a merchant goes upon "Change here for a loan, he pays more or less, according to the value of the security which he can give. The transaction is an open one. But here, Messrs. Palmer and Co. are to advance sixty rupees. ("Sixty lacs of rupees.") Oh! sixty lacs is it? That

(x) This is curious logic, indeed. Because in a case of imminent DANGER to the state, a Governor-General may disregard an Act of Parliament on his own responsibility; therefore, says Mr. Walsborough, he may do so when the INTERESTS of the Company are concerned. Those who urge, as a charge against Palmer and Co., that they have disregarded an Act of Parliament, now impute blame to the Governor-General, because he did not do so,

shows my ignorance. (y) (*A laugh*.) They ask permission to do this from the Government, and the Government naturally asks what they were to get by the transaction, to which they reply that they would not tell. (z) If a man wanted to raise money on an estate in Wales, or on houses in London, would not the amount of interest be the first point to be decided, and then the deeds and conveyances would be submitted to lawyers, and if the security were found to be good, the money would be lent? But, in the loan to the Nizam, the amount of profit was kept a secret, as well as the time it was to be paid off. The late Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Russell, in the course of his powerful, able, and I will say, elegant speech, said that it was to be paid off in twelve years.

Mr. RUSSELL.—I beg pardon for interrupting the hon. Proprietor, but I am not aware of having ever said so. I do not recollect it, and I apprehend that I could not, because it is not the fact.

Mr. WALSBOROUGH.—I beg pardon for having misunderstood the hon. Proprietor. I thought he had said so. I think the manner in which the license to raise the money was granted, is extremely loose and indefinite. I feel bound, however, to state, that whatever may have been the unfairness subsequently to the granting of the license, I think nothing is more evident than that at the time his Lordship sanctioned the sixty-lac loan, however wrong he might be in judgment, he was actuated by the best motives. Whether his Lordship was imposed on I cannot say; but certainly his motives appear to have been correct. He states that the license was to be granted for the purpose of relieving the Nizam's necessities. That was a good object. It certainly appears from this blue book, that there had been previous pe-

(y) Nothing more was wanting to do this than had been said before; but Mr. Walsborough has, at least, the virtue of frankness.

(z) They never were asked the precise terms, nor did they ever refuse to name them. It was the ignorance of the Bengal Government and their Accountant-General that led to all the misconceptions on this subject. Every house of business in Calcutta knew the rate of interest paid and received by them, as well as by the Natives, at Hyderabad and other cities of the interior of India. The members of the Government alone were ignorant of these notorious facts.

cuniary transactions between the House of Palmer and Co. and the Nizam, and that one of the objects of the loan was to payoff some unbalanced accounts. If that fact had been known to his Lordship, it might have excited his suspicion, but it was not; and the objects for which the loan was stated to be raised, appeared proper. It appears from Sir William Rumbold's own confession, in his letter to the Chairman, that the debt due to the House was twenty-five lacs of rupees; and he says: "This, therefore, was the sum due by the Minister to the House when the operation of the loan began, and not a single rupee was unsanctioned balance." When the amount of bonus was likewise deducted, there remained only twenty-six lacs of rupees to be paid to the Nizam. With respect to the interest, there appears to have been something like deception practised. In making up the accounts, the first item after the balance is the credit which the House gives themselves for a bonus of eight lacs of rupees. (*Cries of No, no.*) I should be sorry to state any thing which is not borne out by facts. I refer to page 661, where the following item is to be found:

"To Rajah Chundoo Loll, compensation on loan and premium on interest reduced, Rs. 200,000."

Mr. RUSSELL—I beg leave to state that the House *debt*, and do not *credit* themselves with that sum. It is on the debtor side of the account.

Mr. WASBOROUGH—They debit him with it, and credit themselves. I offer, with great deference to the Court, all my observations on these Papers, and I would not think of setting up my opinion against that of a Gentleman whose information and experience in these matters is so extensive. (a) I think the Company exhibited a great deal of shuffling about the interest; and I think that when the House wished to set themselves up as the reducers of the rate of interest in India, these circumstances take from them all credit on that score. (*Mr. Knanood asked, what circumstances?*) I will read another short extract from his Lordship's defence of his administration, which bears upon this transaction of

(a) This is abandoning all the points in contention. Mr. Russell had already given his opinions on the other side; and if Mr. Wasborough would not venture to set up his opinions against them, for what purpose was he speaking but to waste the time of the Court?

the loan, in which I think his Lordship's good nature was greatly imposed upon. (*A laugh.*) I think I am doing great justice to the Marquis in putting the transaction on the best possible footing for him. I am not desirous detracting from the merit of the Marquis of Hastings, and I think that his statue ought to stand in a niche of this room. His Lordship certainly had the good fortune to be seconded not only by the best civil servants, but by the best military officers that this country ever produced; but he is entitled to the credit of the successful transactions which took place under his administration: for if he had good machines, he was entitled to praise for putting them in motion. (*Hear, hear.*) The noble Marquis, in his "Summary," says, that in his passage up the Ganges he was met by Saadut-Ali, the Sovereign Oude, who pressed him to take eight lacs of rupees as a gift, which his Lordship refused, but accepted them as a loan. I am not called upon to give an opinion as to whether it was judicious or not for a Governor-General to contract a loan with a Native Prince. I will leave that question to be decided by persons who have better opportunities of judging of the policy of the measure. His Lordship further states, that eight lacs more were added to the loan, and the rate of interest paid was six per cent. When we find the Governor-General, about to enter on a war, could borrow money at six per cent, I am entitled to say, that the credit of the Bengal Government was such as to enable it to borrow money at the same rate in time of peace, and at that rate they might have lent money to the Nizam.

Sir C. FORBES.—That was a voluntary loan.

Mr. WASBOROUGH.—True, it was a voluntary loan; but I cannot imagine that that circumstance would make such an important difference in the rate of interest. The rate of interest depends on the credit of the person borrowing. The hon. Bart. I have no doubt, would get money at two and a half per cent., whilst I should have to pay ten for it. The question of interest, I say, depends entirely on the security given. (b) (*Laughter*) I see that Gentlemen are getting at me that way, but

(b) Here is an admission of all that is asked; for this simple fact must at last settle the whole question about exorbitant interest, though it should be debated for years.

I do not care. (A laugh.) A Gentleman who ought to be much better acquainted with these subjects than I, says, that money is worth whatever it will bring. My principle is, that if any benefit was to be obtained, it should be by the borrower, and not by the person who has the money lying idle in his pocket (c) But in the case of this loan there was no competition, and, therefore, Messrs. Palmer and Co. were enabled to make their own terms. Was not that sufficient to make a great difference in the rate of interest? If I were to get the complete control of the money-market here, I could make what terms I pleased; and that this was the case with respect to Messrs. Palmer, is clearly proved by an extract from the Marquis of Hastings' letter to Sir William Rumbold:

"MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM.—The account you have given of the House of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, is very favourable, and certainly the details justify your inclination for going to that city, in order to inspect the books. I enclose you a letter to the Resident, couched in terms which will ensure to you his attentions and most earnest good offices. The partners speculate, that you being one of the Firm will interest me in the welfare of the House, to a degree which may be naturally beneficial to them; it is a fair and honest calculation. The amount of advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the Natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well in the favour of the Supreme Authority here. Perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the Firm, from the consequent discouragement to competition with you, by any other British partnership, to which a similarly professed sanction would not be granted." (d)

(c) In loans, as well as purchase and sale, there are always *two* parties to be benefited—the lender and seller by his profit, and the borrower and buyer by the use he makes of the money or goods. A transaction in which the benefit is all on one side, is generally an unjust one.

(d) The disingenuousness, not to say dishonesty, of stopping short at this word, when only three lines remain to complete the letter, and these such as to give it an entirely different meaning from that assumed by the speaker—is intolerable, and deserves the severest censure. The noble Lord continued to say: "It is on the ground of *service to the Nizam*, at the request of our Resident, that I have consented to let the good

I say, that that passage justifies my remarks. I ask you, as merchants of London, whether this was a fair use of his Lordship's authority? He here said to a person connected with him by marriage, that he would do so and so; that he would give the House the weight and sanction of his name, in order to enable him to speculate (e) His Lordship knew that the House, at the time they took Sir W. Rumbold into partnership, reckoned upon his influence with the Governor-General; and thus he calls "a fair and honest calculation."

It is not necessary, Sir, for me to argue on the question of corruption. All I will now contend for is, that the noble Marquis has been imposed upon by representations of the necessities of the Nizam's Government; and, were I disposed, I might show that the parties who made this representation were anxious to effect the contract for the loan, in order to pay themselves their former balances (f) The noble Marquis gave his assent to the proceedings—I do not say that he was aware of the full intentions of the parties to the loan,—but he did give his sanction to the House of Palmer and Co. to enter into transactions which ought never to have had existence. Was this, I will ask, such conduct as befit the Governor-General of India? That is the question which ought to be considered by the Court. Another point which has made a great impression on my mind, is, that Sir W. Rumbold, having married the ward of the noble Marquis, by whom he acquired very considerable property, which was vested in trustees, applies to him (the Marquis), to know whether he might use the trust-money in his partnership transactions with Palmer and Co. The Marquis of Hastings, in his letter of

notice of Government for this establishment he signified. NO NEW ESTABLISHMENT COULD HAVE SUCH A PLEA." Here is the whole clue to the transaction, which makes it at once honourable and intelligible; yet these few lines are alone omitted. No voluntary confession, which Mr. Washborough may make of his ignorance, will explain away a gabbling like this.

(e) A more abominable perversion than this, of the plain facts of the case from their true and simple meaning, we never had the shame to witness.

(f) Even supposing this to be true, what more laudable or honest than any man desiring the debts in his books to be cleared off?

Q

November 20, 1814, answers in the negative, and gives it as his opinion, that the trust-money could be laid out in no other way than in the purchase of Government securities. The hon. Bart. pressed on the attention of the noble Marquis, that the transactions with the House would be extremely lucrative, and he proposed borrowing the sum which he was to advance for his share in the Firm. The Marquis, in his reply, says:

'You talk of borrowing the sum which you are to advance for a share in the Firm. How can you do that without security to pledge? Your own money cannot be made that security, because that would be to subject it to the very risk which Sir E. East regarded as illegal.'

It appears, however, that Sir W. Rumbold did borrow the money, and at twelve per cent., which is the highest rate of interest allowed by law; and it may be presumed that he would not have borrowed at such a rate if he did not believe that he was likely to make a great deal more by the business of the Firm of Palmer and Co.(g) Sir Edward East, as I have just stated, had given his opinion to the Governor-General, that such an application of the money of his former ward would not be legal. If the noble Marquis knew this, as the trustee for Lady Rumbold, how, I will ask, could he be ignorant of it as Governor-General? (*Laughter.*)

I feel obliged to the Court for the patient attention which it has granted me; and the best return I can make for it will be, to shorten the few observations which I have still to make. It appears to me, Sir, that by agreeing to the amendment, we shall not reflect on the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, nor expunge from the records of the Court those deservedly high praises which have been bestowed upon

(g) Perhaps Mr. Wasborough's ignorance of Indian affairs may prevent his knowing, that the India Company borrow money at three and four per cent., and by employing it in their monopolies of opium, salt, tea, and other commodities, make, in every instance, more than 100 per cent of profit on each, and increase the price of the commodities themselves by these monopolies sometimes as high as 1000 per cent above the natural cost of production! This is the moderation of the men who now condemn others for borrowing on good security at twelve per cent., and lending it at eighteen on a security which proves to be utterly worthless!

him. He has been Gov.-General and Commander-in-Chief for several years, and he discharged the duties of those high stations nobly. I speak of the general course of his administration; but at the time the vote of the Court of Proprietors was agreed to, approving of his general conduct, these transactions were not known to the extent with which we are now acquainted with them. I will ask any hon. Proprietor, does he doubt the information contained in the large blue book which has been laid before the Court? If there be any reason to believe that the individuals who supplied the documents contained in that book, have given wrong information, calculated to mislead the Company, then, of course, no proceedings of any kind can be founded on them; but if the book is unimpeached and unimpeachable, (and that it is unimpeachable I am disposed to contend, for I cannot bring myself to believe that any man, much less a man of the high character which Sir C. Metcalfe has hitherto sustained, could be so lost to honour as to supply documents which he knew to be false;) but I repeat, if the documents before us are correct, we can come to no other conclusion than that which has been very properly stated in the amendment.

There is one remark which I would make on the subject of pecuniary transactions with Native Princes. It is well known that such transactions by British subjects are ever objectionable, on account of the subsequent trouble and embarrassment which they create to the Company at home, as well as to the Government abroad. It was only the other day, that the report of the Rajah of Tanjore's affairs was presented to the House of Commons. The reports on the subject of the Nabob of Arcot's affairs, have already amounted to seventy-nine, and in all probability will amount to seventy-nine more, before the whole are brought to a conclusion. These complicated proceedings arose from the disposition of the Native Governments to raise money at any rate, and by any means. To remedy or prevent such evils in future, an Act was passed in the year 1773, to prevent the taking of a higher rate of interest, in any money transactions in India, than twelve per cent.; and in the year 1797, in which all pecuniary transactions between British subjects and Native Princes in India, were declared illegal, at any rate of interest, unless with the sanction, in

writing, of the Governor-General in Council, subject of course to the subsequent approval or rejection of the Court here at home. For we are here as the House of Commons, having the general superintendence of the public affairs of the Company. Now, I will ask whether, if such high interests are illegal, and if such transactions are to be countenanced only in cases of urgent necessity, is it right that they should be allowed to continue without check or control? (*Question.*) An hon. Proprietor has said, that this would be attended with difficulty; but still it ought to be attempted. It is of importance sufficient to engage the most serious consideration of the Court, and every means should be resorted to, to put it down. It has been said, as I have before remarked, that the amendment will implicate the Marquis of Hastings. I deny that it will. Posterity, in years to come, will judge of the results of the noble Marquis's government in India. They cannot be affected by the present vote. That vote (I mean the affirmative of the amendment) has been forced on the Court by those who introduced the original motion. It is not intended by it to impute any corrupt motive to the noble Marquis. Hon. Gentlemen opposite seem to think it does; but here we are at issue, and on this point I will meet them. I contend that it will leave the recorded praises of the noble Marquis untouched,—praises such as had seldom before been given to any man in his situation. But what is proposed, if the original motion should be carried, and the noble Lord's character cleared from all imputation? Is it not intended to increase the compensation for his services?—That was in the requisition. (*Cries of No, no.*) In the way in which I view the amendment, it does not appear to me that there is any disposition in the Court of Directors to accuse the noble Marquis; but it is very natural for the Directors not to wish to allow their proceedings to be called in question. (*h*) (*Laughter.*)

I will now leave the question, with this remark: that if I thought, in voting for the amendment, I should be casting any censure on the character

of the Marquis of Hastings, or any imputation of corrupt motives, I should be sorry to give such a vote. The amendment will, however, have no such effect. It is not meant as an attack on him, but as a fair defence of the proceedings of the Court of Directors from all imputation.

Mr. DIXON.—I think it necessary to defend myself from the imputation of inconsistency which I conceive has been cast upon me by the last speaker. I appeal to the Chairman whether I have not always been in the habit of sitting on this side of the Court.

Mr. WASBOROUGH, in explanation, denied having intended to say any thing which could be personally offensive to the hon. Proprietor.

Sir CHARLES FORBES addressed the Court, in explanation of what he had stated on a former day, about the rate of interest paid by Government on one occasion, when it had advertised for tenders for taking the Company's paper for cash. What he stated was, that 100 rupees were offered and accepted, for 120 paper-money; that the paper-money bore an interest of six per cent., and a further sum of eight per cent. was allowed for difference of exchange between Bombay and Calcutta making, in all, thirty-four per cent. in one year. It was true, that Government were obliged, soon after, to open their treasury all over India at twelve per cent., and get two-and-sixpence sterling for the Bengal rupee.

General THORNTON.—Many of the points, Sir, which have been mooted, may be very useful to the interests of the Company in other respects, but I do not see how they bear upon the question immediately before the Court. To some of the allegations which have been made, I scarcely know what answer to make. I have ever had a high respect for the character of the Marquis of Hastings, and that respect is not in any degree diminished by any thing I have heard in the course of the present debate respecting him. The noble Marquis has been accused of favouritism. I believe there is some ground for such a charge, but it was not favouritism to Sir W. Rumbold, as I shall be able to show before I sit down. Before I proceed any further on the subject, I cannot help remarking on the unfairness and want of candour which had marked the conduct of hon. Proprietors on this occasion, in finding constructive faults in the conduct of Lord Hastings, by disjointing sentences, and taking partial extracts

(*h*) No doubt, extremely natural; but quite as natural that other people should also like to escape an animadversion. Mr. Wasborough, however, must exhibit less of folly than he has here done, before that privilege will be accorded to him.

of particular documents. Surely this is not an ingenious or manly way of getting up a charge against any human being. Why, upon such a principle, any writings—even the Sacred Scriptures, may be tortured into a meaning which was never intended. The Court knows that celebrated passage in Scripture,—“The fool saith in his heart there is no God.” Suppose I were to divide the sentence, and take only the latter part, would it not be most unfair to quote it as a text of Scripture in proof that there was no God? (1) Yet it is not, it seems, unfair to select garbled extracts of letters and documents, for the purpose of vilifying the character of a most distinguished and respectable nobleman. (*Hear.*) I have heard of the gratitude of Sir C. Metcalfe, and I have also heard of what Robespierre said of the crying sin of gratitude,—that it was unknown in the French Revolution,—and on this point I think that Sir C. Metcalfe could give the fraternal embrace to some of the *sans culottes*.

MR. WEEHING.—Will the hon. General say what gratitude is here meant, and he will answer himself? (*Order, order.*)

General THORNTON, in continuation.—I will now beg to call the attention of the Court to the law by which the intercourse between British subjects and the Native Princes in India is to be regulated. It appears, by the 13th of Geo. III., that not more than twelve per cent is allowed to be taken as the interest of any loan contracted for in India; and that by the 37th Geo. III. British subjects are prevented from lending money to any of the Native Princes, without the consent, in writing, of the Governor-General in Council, under penalty of being deemed guilty of a mis-emeanor, and the transaction deemed void; and it is further enacted, that if such case arise, it shall

(i) This celebrated remark of Algegon Sidney was very beautifully introduced by Sir Francis Burdett, in his speech on the Catholic Association, during the present session of Parliament. A pious Correspondent of the *Isidic Journal*, signing himself JUSTITIA, complained of a profane allusion to Scripture, when the waste of words in the Court of Proprietors was compared to the throwing seed on barren soil, as stated in the Parable of the Sower; and the pious editor of that publication omitted the allusion in his report of the speech in which it was made. How will he deal with this expression of General Thornton?

be laid before the law-officer of the district where it occurs, in order that the offenders may be prosecuted; it is also enacted, that the opinion of counsel shall be taken, before any license is granted to any British subject to enter into pecuniary transactions with any native power.

Now I contend, that in the case before the Court, all the clauses of the Act have been complied with. The license to Palmer and Co. to negotiate with the Rajah, Chundoo Loll, was granted on the 23d of July 1816, and the opinion of the Advocate-General, Mr. Strettel, was dated the 19th of July in the same year; and he there lays it down, that the 13th of Geo. III. confined the penalty for taking more than twelve per cent. for interest of money, to persons who committed the offence within the Company's territories. Mr. Spankie, the Advocate-General, stated that the 13th Geo. III. had no reference to the case of loans made to Native Princes; and he added, that the clause did not extend to make British subjects guilty of the offence out of the Company's settlements, or admit the recovery of penalties for taking more than twelve per cent., if such interest were not taken within their settlements. The law, I conceive, was thus fully complied with, but still it was thought necessary to submit the case for the opinion of counsel in England: that opinion, given in 1822, fifty years after the passing of the Act, was, that the restriction on the rate of interest extended as well to those parts of the East Indies which are not under the Government of the Company, as in those which are.

It is not for me to set up my opinion against that of the Attorney-General and the learned Sergeant (Bosnquet), who is the Law Officer of the Company; but it does seem somewhat strange, that after fifty years, during which only one construction has been put upon the Act, this new interpretation should be made, limiting the rate of interest to be paid and taken in countries which are not under the Company's Government. (*Hear, hear.*) It seems to me that these learned Gentlemen were frightened by a rate so disproportioned to what was paid in England. These opinions were, however, acted upon; and in the Political Letter to Bengal, dated the 9th of April 1823, it was said by the Court of Directors:—

“We desire that you will cause this explanation and instruction to be made

public, and that you will institute prosecutions against all persons in any way contravening the law as thus explained."

This instruction was in great part acted on, and the consequence was the ruin of the House of Palmer and Co., and that on the representations of Sir C. Metcalfe, which I will maintain ought not to be depended on, for it is my opinion that most of the assertions affecting that House are altogether misrepresentations. I do not say they were wilful on the part of Sir C. Metcalfe; but that Gentleman did receive and state as facts, all kinds of rumours and suspicions affecting the House. What was the next step taken? It was one which showed a determination to ruin Palmer and Co. for although they had, in some of their most important transactions with the Nizam, received what was admitted by the hon. Member of Council to be equivalent to a guarantee—

Mr. STUART.—Will the gallant General declare what he considers this was to be a guarantee for?

General THORNTON.—I am sorry if I have mistaken what was stated by the hon. Gentleman on a former day, but I certainly had taken his observations in the same way in which they had been understood by an hon. Baronet (Sir C. Forbes)—to mean, that the sanction of the Supreme Government to these transactions was equivalent to a guarantee, and that in that sense the Company were bound to make good the losses of Palmer and Co.

Mr. STUART.—The hon. General has not wholly mistaken me, but as the point is one of importance, I will repeat what I did say. I stated, that to any transaction of the House of Palmer and Co. with the Nizam, to which the Supreme Government had given its sanction, I considered, that there was given what was equivalent to a guarantee (k)

General THORNTON.—I will not press that part of the subject farther, but will come to what has been done in consequence of the instructions sent to

(k) This is really a refinement of distinction worthy of a better cause. We wish Mr. Stuart had gone on to explain the difference between a guarantee, and what was only equivalent to a guarantee. We had always hitherto considered that equivalent meant "equal in value," but philology is, like all other things, subject to change; and, in Mr. Stuart's mind, "equal" has certainly a different meaning from that which obtains in our own.

India; and these instructions were acted upon in a manner which evinced a determination to ruin the House at all events. In the beginning of February 1823, during the administration of Mr. Adam, a letter was addressed by the Governor in Council to Sir C. Metcalfe, then at Hyderabad, directing him to inform the House of Palmer and Co., that they were prohibited from all intercourse with the Nizam's Minister, personal or written, direct or indirect, except through the British Resident, in the same manner as is the case with respect to other British subjects at Hyderabad. This conduct towards those Gentlemen, was, I conceive, most cruel, and cannot be justified by any conduct which has been imputed to them. (*Hear, hear.*)

I have heard talk of plots; what plots can be meant? If there were any between the former Resident and the House of Palmer and Co., it is desirable that they should be openly stated; but such a supposition is absurd; and if once a suspicion of the kind has been harboured in any quarter, I think it must have been most completely removed by the able and manly statement of that hon. Gentleman (Mr. Russell) (*Hear, hear.*) I now come to the proceedings against the House, under the administration of Lord Amherst. Under him the ruin of that House has been completed. (*Hear.*) On the 5th of December 1823, Mr. Secretary Swinton wrote to Sir C. Metcalfe, in answer to a letter which had been received from him, enclosing his reply to an application made to him by Palmer and Co. He says,—

"The Governor-General in Council entirely approves of the tenor of your reply to Messrs. Palmer and Co., and desires that you will apprise the House, that, as stated by you, no demands on their part, on which illegal interest is charged, either prospectively or retrospectively, can be permitted to be conveyed to the Government of his Highness the Nizam, through the channel of the British Resident."

The ruin of the House was entirely effected, and it stopped payment in a few months after.

A PROPRIETOR.—What has this to do with the Marquis of Hastings?

General THORNTON continued.—I mention these facts to show the conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe to the House of Palmer and Co., and I will assert that that conduct has, in a great measure, arisen from animosity at their

having transmitted a letter of complaint from the Nizam's Minister, Chundoo Loll, to the Governor-General in Council. That was a letter which I contend ought to have been sent in the first instance by the Resident himself, when he received it from the Minister. It is the soundest policy to let the ears of the Supreme Government be open to all complaints from the Native Princes, and they should be attended to.⁽¹⁾ This is the policy pursued at home, in the government of the army. The complaints of all individuals made at the Horse Guards, are promptly attended to; and that is one cause of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief's popularity. I contend that if the Resident at Hyderabad refused to transmit the complaint or remonstrance of the Nizam's Minister, he did not deserve to be continued in his situation. Whatever might have been his other qualifications for office, they should have been overlooked if he was proved to have neglected so important a part of his duty. Whatever might have been the favourable feelings of the noble Marquis towards him, he should have addressed him in the words of Othello,—

“ ———— Cassio, I love thee,
But never more be officer of mine.”

Mr. IMPEY rose to order—I beg to submit, that what the hon. General is now stating, has no reference to the question before the Court. It is not a defence of the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, but an accusation against him for not having dismissed Sir C. Metcalfe from his situation as Resident at Hyderabad. If there are any grounds for such an accusation, which I do not admit, the present is not the proper time for making it.

General THORNTON.—I contend, Sir, that I am quite in order. (*Hear, hear.*) I set out with saying, that if the Marquis of Hastings was guilty of any favouritism, it was towards Sir C. Metcalfe, and not to Sir W. Rumbold; and that Sir C. Metcalfe had been guilty of neglect, in not transmitting the letter of Chundoo Loll, the substance of which had been communicated to him by the Assistant Resident, Lieutenant Barnett. In that letter, Chundoo Loll, after entering into a long detail of the causes which reduced the Nizam's Government to the necessity of borrow-

ing large sums from Messrs. Palmer and Co., and of the exertions he had made to extricate his Government from its embarrassments,—says, according to Lieutenant Barnett's account, in his letter dated the 24th June 1822, page 254, pars. 10—13:

‘The Minister is, he says, aware that the repayment of the sum due to Messrs. Palmer and Co., previously to the period specified in the agreement entered into with them, will be considered by the members of that Firm a great hardship; but he hopes by affording them assistance and protection in their future mercantile speculations, that they will be eventually saved from loss.’

‘He then goes on to observe, that although the settlements for a term of years in the different districts of the Nizam's country have been completed, and every possible means taken for the protection of the cultivating classes from the oppression of the Talookdars, yet in addition to those Gentlemen formerly employed in civil duties, Captains Campbell and Lee have been lately appointed.’

‘He asks, what would be the opinion which his Highness the Nizam would form of him, were he to become acquainted with the circumstance of British Gentlemen being permitted to exercise interference or authority in his country? He remonstrates in rather a strong tone against the continuance of such interference, for which there is no precedent, and for which he attempts to prove there no longer exists any necessity.’

‘He represents the bad consequences which arise from the existence of two separate authorities; in proof of which he encloses the letter from the Talookdar of Kilbunah, which I have herewith the honour to transmit.’

In answer to this, a letter is written by Mr. Bushby, by direction of Sir C. Metcalfe, and dated Hyderabad, 5th June 1822, p. 255, in which he states, in par. 8

‘Of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth paragraphs, I am directed to observe, that the Resident is surprised at the present opposition for the first time to the measures adopted for the relief of the country from oppression. Hitherto the Minister has been considered as assenting and pledged to the very measures to which he would now appear to object.’

There certainly can be no doubt of the oppression, but the cause was that upon which the Minister and the Resident did not agree. In the conclusion of his letter, Mr. Bushby states:

‘Lastly, I am directed to request you to have a conference with the Minister, and discuss the contents of his note in the spirit of the preceding observations.’

(1) A free press would effect all this; and, therefore, it is, the Directors at once hate and dread it.

In the answer to this, addressed to Sir C. Metcalfe, and dated 22d June 1822, page 256, Mr. Barnett states, par. 5:

"The Minister professes to be convinced by the arguments made use of in the eighth paragraph (of the preceding letter), 'of the necessity of a continuance of the measures adopted for the relief of the country from oppression; and he declares his entire conviction of your good wishes for the welfare and prosperity of the Nizam's Government. His dread is for the future, lest others may come with different views and other feelings.'

Why should Sir C. Metcalfe have believed this? Must he not have known that the Minister said this because he was afraid to say otherwise. He must have known that these could not have been his real sentiments, after what had come to his knowledge of the conduct of some of the Resident's officers in overrunning the country, and being guilty of so many unwarrantable exercises of authority.

A PROPRIETOR.—What has the Court to do with these matters? We are not here trying Sir C. Metcalfe. (*Order*.)

General THORNTON proceeded.—Soon after this it was found that Chundoo Loll, not having received any answer to his remonstrance, wrote to the Governor-General, and finding no other mode of communication, had it conveyed through the House of Palmer and Co. That letter contained long and serious complaints of the grievances, which the Minister asserted affected his master's territory, by the interference and exercise of authority on the part of some of the Resident's officers. It will be found at length inserted in page 176 of the book. This letter having been laid before the Council, an answer was sent informing the Minister that the communication through Mr. W. Palmer was highly improper, that it should be either through the Resident or the Persian Secretary; that the subject had been considered by the Council, and they were of opinion that the Minister was mistaken in attributing any unfriendly disposition to the Resident, Sir C. Metcalfe; but that the Resident would be again "reminded of the continued disposition of the Supreme Government to promote the best interests of the Nizam."

I do not see why Chundoo Loll should have been blamed for having sent his complaints through Mr. W.

Palmer. (*Hear.*) In point of fact, the Resident had been guilty of a neglect of duty in delaying to send it when it was first transmitted to him. I have before observed, that the utmost facility should be given to the Native Princes in India, to transmit their complaints to the Supreme Government. It is the practice, and the excellent policy of the House of Commons here, to throw no impediment whatsoever in the way of the complaints of the people, and to institute inquiry into all those which seemed to be well-founded. (*m*) Why is the Government of India to be exempted from this wholesome regulation? Is it to be allowed that, circumstanced as we are with respect to the Native Princes, their statement of grievances shall be stopped in this way? I will assert, that if Sir C. Metcalfe interfered to prevent the complaint or remonstrance of Chundoo Loll from reaching the Governor in Council, he ought to be removed immediately from his situation. It is the duty of the Company to inquire whether all complaints made are well-founded, and without inquiry, it is impossible to say how far oppression may be carried. (*Hear, hear*.)

After receiving the letter of the Governor in Council, announcing the reception of the Rajah's complaint, Sir C. Metcalfe seems to have been alarmed, and well he might, for he had put himself in a situation of great jeopardy; and he drew up a letter containing some awkward excuses for not having transmitted it before. Those excuses, I contend, were wholly inadmissible, and Sir C. Metcalfe was responsible for his neglect. All his acts, indeed, have been from bad to worse. I now come to a curious transaction which took place after this, and which tends to show, more than all the rest, the kind of terror in which the Rajah was kept. It was a letter written by Sir C. Metcalfe to Mr. Secretary Swinton, dated the 7th October 1822, and is to be found in pages 258 and 259. In this the Resident gives an account of Chundoo Loll's submissive conduct on receiving the Governor-General's letter, "for which," says Sir Charles "he desires his respectful thanks for the honour conferred upon him;" and he adds, "that he made his representation to his Lordship under difficulties which left him no other remedy, and

(*m*) This is what an honest House of Commons would do; but the present has not virtue enough to venture so far.

that hereafter he would act according to his Excellency's desire, and never make his representations through the House of Messrs. Palmer and Co."

In par. 6, Sir C. Metcalfe adds: "In adverting to that proceeding, the Minister reproached himself for the fault, the great fault, as he calls it, which he had committed, and he sought me to assure him of my pardon. I observed, as I had done before, that I could not have entertained any personal feelings on the subject, and that he had reason to be assured, from the letter which he had read, that his conduct in that affair had not excited any displeasure on the part of the *Learned Authority* which I served. He still insisted that he would not be easy until I would pronounce the word 'pardon' with my own lips, which, therefore, I did."

Here is the real delinquent stating to the Council the conduct of the individual who had been oppressed, and who, though apparently expressing contrition for his fault, was the person who had most reason to complain. In par. 7, the letter proceeded:

"At the termination of the interview, he put his hands together, and threw his head into my lap in order that I might put my hand on it, and catching hold of my hand, pressed it warmly to his face. In describing such particulars, my object is to lay before the Governor-General the character of the extraordinary man with whom my duty has placed me in contact and collision."

There is nothing extraordinary in all this; and if it exhibits an extraordinary man, it is Sir Charles Metcalfe himself, who could have permitted such an act on the part of the Minister, and having permitted it, who could have recorded it in a manner which redounded so little to his own credit. He must have known, at the time, that Chundoo Loll could not have been sincere in his professed submission; or, if he did not, his views of the character of natives of high rank in India are very limited. I have heard, in the House of Commons, from Warren Hastings and other distinguished individuals acquainted with the manners and habits of the natives of the higher ranks in India, that their characters were marked by great timidity and great duplicity and falsehood. If Sir C. Metcalfe had that extensive knowledge respecting India, for which some Gentlemen are disposed to give him credit, he must have known that Chundoo Loll could not have been sincere in putting his head into his lap in the way in which he has described. I

have heard or read, I believe in the Spectator, that a company of friends that once met, and were engaged in making fine speeches, and expressing their approbation of and confidence in each other, were obliged, by some magical influence, to describe their opinions of every person in company as they really felt them. This of course created great confusion, and each man was astonished at hearing from his neighbour sentiments so different from those he had previously expressed. If the same magic influence had been exercised on the unfortunate Chundoo Loll, there can be no doubt that the Resident would have had to give a very different account from that contained in the letter which I have just read. It is more than probable that the Minister would have said, "You are my oppressor, and I am now more than ever in your power. I must, therefore, state not what I feel, but what I think may be most agreeable to you. The former Resident was a good man, and took no advantage from his situation to oppress me, but you have oppressed me, and omitted to transmit my complaints and my prayers for redress." If this could have taken place, it would have been seen that, instead of the Rajah asking pardon of the Resident, the Resident would have had to demand it of the Rajah. (*Hear, hear*.)

It appears to me, Sir, after all I have heard on this subject, that there is no ground for any charge against the Marquis of Hastings, except, perhaps, that he has looked with too favourable an eye on the conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe. When Lieut.-Colonel O'Brien was appointed to assist him in the Residency he protested against it, and I consider that the Government of India failed in its duty in not admonishing Sir Charles on account of such a breach of discipline. On the contrary, it appears from the public statements, that the Government were disposed to put a more favourable construction on his intentions, and to suppose that they also judged more favourably of them by acquitting him of any design to do more than to submit, in strong terms and on public grounds, objections to Lieut.-Colonel O'Brien's appointment. In the protest of the hon. Director (Mr. Pattison), it has been very properly remarked, that the Court had omitted to notice the dignified assertion of Marquis of Hastings,—that he would not shut the door to any complaints that might be made during his government. I contend that no complaints should

be considered unjust until they are inquired into, and that it is imperative on the Government of India to make such inquiry whenever complaints come before them. For, if unjust, their injustice ought to be made known; but if just, they ought to be redressed. (*Hear, hear.*)

Now, in respect to the pecuniary transactions of Palmer and Co. with the Nizam, I cannot think that the interest which they charged was exorbitant, when all the circumstances are considered. In this opinion I am fully borne out by the able speech of the late Resident (Mr. Russell), who was on the spot and acquainted with the whole of the transactions, and whose opinions on this subject were confirmed by the declaration of the hon. Baronet (Sir C. Forbes). If there was any thing unreasonable in their contracts, it was that they were made against their own interest.

I will not occupy the attention of the Court much longer. As to the Marquis of Hastings, I will say, that I never asked or received a favour from him in my life, and I can stand here to-day in free to that Nobleman, whom I see extremely ill used, without even the shadow of reason. I will not go through the panegyrics which have been so deservedly pronounced upon him in this Court and elsewhere; but, I may observe, that the noble Lord has received, in the course of his public life, the thanks of all those with whom he has come in contact in his official capacity. His high character has not, however, escaped censure. In this it may be assimilated to that of another celebrated individual Lord Nelson; both were distinguished for great talents and important achievements, but neither of them have escaped unjust censure. It appears to be a consequence of greatness, that its possessors should have enemies, and for no other reason than because they are great. So it was with Lord Nelson, and so it is with the Marquis of Hastings. While on this subject I cannot avoid repeating to the Court a few of the lines written upon the character of Lord Nelson, by the present Right Hon. George Canning.

'Thy skill to plan, thy enterprise to dare,
Thy right to strike, thy glory to spare,
That red in which no thought of self lay hid,
That loved country eyed upon thy brow,
That conscious worth, from pride, from mean-
ness free,
And manners mild as guiltless infancy,

The scorn of worldly wealth; the thirst of fame
Unquerable, the blush of generous shame;
And beauty's genial flow, and friendship's holy
flame.'

The same language may, I think, Sir, apply to both these illustrious characters. I have thus stated what are my sincere opinions upon this important question; and in the honest discharge of my conscientious duty to the interests of the Company, and to the character of the noble individual concerned, I will give my vote for the original motion. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. PATRISON then rose—I hope (said the hon. Director) for the patient attention of the Court while I deliver a few observations on this subject, which I consider of the first importance. I might have chosen an earlier period in the debate to deliver my sentiments, but I did not wish to do so until I had made myself fully master of the subject. It is not my intention to enter into any lengthened details on this occasion, for I am persuaded that the Gentlemen present have already devoted a large portion of their time to its mature consideration. I wish to put the case on what I conceive to be its right footing; but before I proceed to the general question I am anxious to say a few words in defence of myself. Few indeed they shall be, because I feel conscious that any thing I can say in my own behalf must possess a very trifling interest when contrasted with the general importance of this momentous subject. I have been accused of inconsistency from more than one quarter on account of my having signed the letter of 1821. An hon. Proprietor (Mr. Poynder) who has made the charge, stated, that after signing the letter of 1821, I brought forward a motion for granting to the Marquis of Hastings 5000*l.* a year. Now I will state, with respect to the promulgation of that letter, that I was rather hardly dealt with. It is true that my name alone was signed to it, but to that name was added an &c. &c. I acquit any persons of having intended so to frame it as that it should appear mine and mine only, but certainly it went forth to the public appearing more mine than it ought to have done. I was not in the chair at the time; I was only in the deputy-chair. The chair was at that time filled by a worthy and excellent person now no more, Sir Thomas Reid. When the letter of 1820 was written, Sir T. Reid

was in the deputy-chair, and was fully aware of the nature of that letter; and when he came to the chair in 1821, I supposed that he had given directions for drawing up the letter of that year, consonantly with the letter of the previous year, but in the year 1820 I was out of the Direction, and bore no part in the business. Indeed, I now rejoice at that circumstance, for there is one paragraph in the letter of which I never could approve. I refer to page 7, paragraph 12, and I beg to remark, that that letter was in answer to five paragraphs containing the whole of the information which the Court of Directors then possessed on the subject. That is to be found in the first page. I will not trouble the Court by reading it, but it is in effect, that a license was given dispensing with the Act of the 37 of Geo. III., not a word, however, was said depreciating the character of Palmer and Co., but merely that they were the persons to whom the license was granted. Well, the Court of Directors took notice of this license, and expressed great displeasure at its having been granted. From that expression of the Court's opinion I do not now dissent; and had I been a member of the Court of Directors at that time, I would have given it my full and entire concurrence, for I stand here not as the advocate of any man, but the advocate of truth and justice, and what appear to me the best interests of the Company. (*Hear, hear*).

At that time Messrs. Palmer and Co. enjoyed a most high and well deserved reputation in India. In support of this statement I will appeal to the hon. Gentleman Mr. Russell*, who has been Resident at Hyderabad, or to any other Gentleman who has means of information on the subject. But what was done by the Court on that occasion? An order was sent out for rescinding the license. It was peremptory, and on no account was its execution to be delayed. This I admit was fair, though perhaps a little precipitate, yet the principle on which it went was a just one; and had I been a Director at the time, it would have met my sanction. There is, however, one paragraph to which I would not have given my consent. It is the 12th paragraph, and is to be found in page 7. It states:

* We think it necessary to add, that if any discussion arises between the House of Palmer and Co. and the Nizam

respecting any pecuniary transaction which may have taken place between them, you are prohibited from lending your name, authority, or good offices of any kind in furtherance of any demand made by the Firm.

I was not in the Direction then, and had no right to comment upon what they had done, but it did appear to me that this proceeding was severe, nay, unjust, because the individuals thus denounced had not been criminated, but stood as clear and as fair before the Court as any person now present. (*Hear, hear.*) Now the first objection that I have to the amendment is, that it calls on us to sanction that very injustice. That letter I found in train when I came into the Direction, but I did not interfere, because I found this paragraph, to which I must ever object, had been followed up by some others which spread a healing mercy over the whole, and made me almost agree to the entire. One of the paragraphs contained these words.

* We had not contemplated the possibility of your having committed our Government to the support of engagements between the House of Palmer and Co. and the Nizam's Government, either to an indefinite period or for a term of years; and we now feel ourselves placed in the painful dilemma of being obliged to tolerate the exercise of an influence on our part which for more substantial reasons we would wish to restrain, or otherwise ordering you immediately to desist from the exercise of that influence, at the risk of ruin to a commercial establishment which we should be sorry to injure, and with reproach to the good faith of your Supreme Government, which we are most desirous to uphold.

This paragraph almost reconciled me to the whole letter, as a merciful spirit was allowed to prevail. So in the next paragraph it was said,—

* You are to give peremptory notice to the Firm of Messrs. Whiam Palmer and Co. to bring it forthwith to a termination, by ceasing to make any further monthly advances for the payment of the troops, and by closing the accounts and delivering up the tankhas, as soon as they shall have reimbursed the sums previously advanced. In issuing this instruction, it is by no means our wish to injure the credit of the House; and unless it shall be made clearly to appear to you, that it should produce such an effect, we desire that, in the event of their disobeying your injunction, you will direct your Advocate-General to institute a criminal prosecution, under the Act of the 37th Geo. III. cap. 142, sec.

28, against such of the parties as may be amenable to its enactments.'

So that, even if they were found to be contumacious, it was not intended that any criminal information should be filed against them, if by such measures there was a risk of their being driven to destruction; and I can assure the Court, that in passing through my hands I have very considerably modified it, as I thought it called on the Government in India, in terms of great harshness, to account for circumstances which were not sufficiently known. I find that my opinion of the letter of 1821 is the same as that of the Government to which it was sent out; and I beg to read to the Court an extract from the opinion of Mr. Stuart, who was, at the time, a Member of the Council. In page 68, he will be found thus to express himself:—

'Messrs. Palmer and Co. have uniformly declined, that they could not venture to engage with a Government like that of Hyderabad, unless assured of the continuance and protection of the British Government. In approving the arrangements proposed by the House, accompanied with such a declaration, this Government has pledged itself to sanction the required support; the instruction, therefore, which I have cited from the Court's letter, could not reasonably or equitably be enforced, without relieving the House from its engagements with the Nizam's Government.'

The minute of Mr. Adam, though it did not concur in the view taken by Lord Hastings, agreed on the subject of the order sent out with the minute of Mr. Stuart. It runs thus:—

'Inevitable, at the same time, that although the sanction was given by the Government to the transactions of the House of W. Palmer and Co. with the Government of the Nizam, those orders could not have been carried into complete effect, consistently with good faith, unless the House were to be secured against the consequence of the Act.'

Mr. Fendall expresses a similar opinion in his minute. The letter of 1821 was answered by the Government of India, and the several charges which it contained were, in my opinion, most satisfactorily rebutted. It was satisfactorily accounted for that certain records were not sent home, for this plain reason,—that none were written. (*Hear, hear.*) With respect to the Aurangabad arrangement, I have not yet heard a single cogent objection to it. It has been praised, and most deservedly, by all who properly understand it. That arrangement stands

upon a rock, and defies objection. Every body who knows what an army is, must admit, not alone the extremely bad policy, but the great danger, of having a body of forces ill-paid and ill-led. The ruinous effects of such neglect of an army have more than once been experienced in India, and are to be dreaded in every quarter. But if Gentlemen wish to censure the arrangement by which so many evils were avoided, let them, in the first instance, contrast its effects with the state of things which subsequently existed, and which have been described by Sir C. Metcalfe, who states:—

'That a portion of the troops had been for five months without receiving any pay, and that, in some instances, the recruits had fainted in the ranks, for want of wholesome sustenance.'

In page 114, it may be seen that Lord Hastings has satisfactorily answered another charge, which I am sorry to observe, formed a part of my original draft. In paragraph 36, of that letter, it is stated:—

'The arrangement for the payment of the troops in Berar, did not take place till near the end of April 1816: it could not, therefore, materially conduce to the success of the war, which was drawing to a close.'

I mean not to deny that I agreed to the paragraph which the noble Lord here quotes. I was one of the Directors by whom it was signed. I was not, at the time, in the chair; but if I had been in that situation, I do not think my responsibility would have been greater. The Gentleman who filled the chair was in general more prominent in the acts of the Court than any other Member; but the responsibility for those acts did not rest with him alone—they are, *bona fide*, the acts of the Court; and it is unjust to shift them from the whole body to the shoulders of individuals. (*Hear.*) Speaking of that passage, in paragraph 36, Lord Hastings observes:—

'The then real state of the war is justly assumed, from my letter to the hon. Court, dated about that period. But what individual in India, other than myself, could at that time entertain such a confidence? No one but the Commander-in-Chief had the means of exerting, over every part of the immense theatre of operations, the views necessary for calculating a sure and speedy issue. It has escaped notice, that I was distant from Hyderabad at least 800 miles, by the nearest route; not only without any regular or secure communi-

cation, but with bodies of the enemy actually intervening. The prospects under which I reposed, could not, under any circumstances, have been prudently explained. The motive against imparting them was insuperable, when the consequence might be a premature relaxation of those efforts south of the Nerbudda, the continuance of which was a main ingredient in my computation. At the very juncture, when the provision of pay for the advanced troops is indicated as superfluous, the Peishwa was moving with his army between the Tapti and the Nerbudda, in the dominions of the former Prince, and in the vicinity of the troops in question.

Sir, if this were the case, and it undoubtedly was so, there was no need of holding up a finger to induce the Nizam's troops to revolt. They would have at once gone over to the enemy, if some arrangement had not been made for securing their pay. It is well known, however, that these troops were the most faithful in India, except, perhaps, those of Mysore. Still it would have been a great risk to have exposed that army in a state of discontent, in the vicinity of a wily enemy. The noble Marquis alludes, in a subsequent part of his letter, to the charge now made against him, with somewhat of a prophetic feeling. His words are these:—

“The charge, indeed, of a favour shown to the House of W. Palmer and Co., which would, according to the description, have been grossly dishonest, is made to sweep over every transaction.”

His Lordship seemed to think that his conduct was attacked by such a supposition; and he enters into a detail of all the transactions, from the first establishment of the House at Hyderabad, down to the date of his despatch. I believe that all who know his Lordship will give him credit for having nothing of the hypocrite in his disposition, and that he would scarcely apply the terms “grossly dishonest,” to acts of which he was himself conscious he had been guilty. (*Hear*.) His Lordship then proceeds to the other parts of the transactions; and he admits that a direct interference with the Government of the Nizam, so as to control the Minister in his operations, would have been contrary to the law of the land. Feeling that the noble Marquis has given a satisfactory answer to the charges brought against him, I certainly concur in the original motion; and, in doing so, I do not feel that I am guilty of any inconsistency

on this occasion, as compared with the course I pursued in 1821. After the letter of that year, further explanations were called for, and were furnished. For what, I ask, could such a demand have been made, except to give a fuller view of the subject? If there be inconsistency in a change of opinion, after fresh lights are produced, it was such an inconsistency as any man, who wishes to arrive at truth, may be guilty of.

The hon. Proprietor (Mr. Poynder) has stated that I proposed a grant of 5000*l.* a-year to the noble Marquis. This statement, however, is not correct. That proposition was not made by me, but was submitted to the Court by a man whom we all venerate for his age, admire for his talents, and love for his virtues and kindness: I allude to the hon. W. Elphinstone. (*Hear*.) It is no doubt true that I supported that motion. I did so from a feeling of justice, and I must add, that should it be brought forward again, I will vote for it, even though mine should be the only hand held up in its favour. (*Hear*.) Several Gentlemen have been called to order, and I think unjustly, because they addressed themselves to this point. I think the topic is perfectly relevant. It does, in fact, hang to the question under consideration. I have to beg pardon for detaining the Court so long on matters that are personal to myself, but I felt it proper to do so after the allusions which have been made to me, both here and elsewhere. The newspapers have thought proper to comment upon the sentiments which I have avowed; and if I had been the inconsistent individual which some Gentlemen seem to suppose, doubtless my inconsistency would not have escaped notice in those publications. I perceive before me an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Washborough), whose speech in favour of the amendment, has been listened to with so much attention; and, as I understand that hon. Proprietor is connected with a public print, I hope he will give to the world a correct report of his own observations. (*A laugh*.)

I now beg the Court to bear in mind, that the political letter of which so much has been said, was sent out to India in Nov. 1821, and that, in the month of May 1822, the Court of Directors came to an unanimous vote of thanks to Lord Hastings for the distinguished manner in which he had discharged the important functions of his high situation, and, at the same time,

expressed their regret that family circumstances should have obliged him to leave India. In that vote I most heartily concurred; and if there was any inconsistency in my so acting, I am glad to find that I erred in such good company. (*Hear.*) One of the daily journals, *The Times*, alluding to my opinion of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, has observed, that I did not manifest the spirit of a prophet in one part of my observation. *The Times* alluded to the Burnese war, as a proof that the Marquis of Hastings had left in India the germ of future hostilities;—and the journalist asked, “What do you think of that, Mr. Pattison?” But, Sir, the circumstance of the breaking out of that war does not disprove my assertion. I know not, Sir, whether my geography be or be not correct, but I believe, that when you pass the Bahmaputra river you are out of India Proper; and it was of India Proper that I spoke. I hope, too, that the Court will recollect that the noble Marquis rescued us from a similar scrape on a former occasion. The noble Marquis felt that he was not obliged to seize by the horns every mad bull that approached him: he thought it was more desirable to divert his attention by holding up a red handkerchief, or by any other means of an equally harmless nature.

Sir, I now come to the question immediately before the Court. It is admitted, by the terms of the amendment, and the sentiment was echoed from all sides of the Court, that the noble Marquis is a man of the most honourable mind; and one hon. Proprietor had said, that his greatest source of weakness was to be found in his virtues. I, however, think, that the various and important operations in which the noble Marquis has been engaged, sufficiently prove that he was a man of very great capacity, and not at all likely to be affected with weakness of mind. An hon. Proprietor has accused him of partiality. Now, pursuing in the first instance, the admitted fact that he was free from corruption, I shall immediately come to the amendment. Here, however, I must allude to a statement of the hon. Chairman, which I cannot consider a fair representation of what occurred in another place. The hon. Chairman, in answer to a question from the gallant officer (Sir J. Doyle) stated, that the amendment was his own, and not the production of the Court of Directors; but he added, that if there had been a little more

time, it would have been approved of by the Court of Directors. This is not a correct representation of the fact; because there are several Members of the Court who differed from it, and it is not highly praised except by the hon. Chairman, and the hon. Deputy. If the Chairman had merely confined himself to stating, that the amendment was his own, it would have been all very well; but it was hardly fair to insinuate that the Court of Directors would have adopted it, if sufficient time had been allowed. Supposing a man to have been charged with dishonourable conduct, and kept on his trial for eleven months, and supposing, that, during the whole of the period, his character was admitted to be free from stain or impeachment, why, I ask, under such circumstances should the discussion of his case be protracted? why should such an amendment as this be proposed, except to create confusion? (*Hear, hear.*) I really cannot conceive any other object; and if it be carried, it will be one of the most dissuout things that I have ever heard of. It commences by introducing the noble Marquis as an individual perfectly free from corruption; and then come all the other Members of Government who are to be declared equally pure. Why, Sir, is it necessary that Mr. Adam, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Bayley, Mr. Edmonstone, Mr. Fendall, Mr. Swinton, Mr. Dowdeswell, and Sir E. Paget, should also be included? I admit that they are “all honourable men.”—I mean the phrase not in the satirical sense in which the poet has used it, but I really do believe those Gentlemen are truly “honourable men.” I, however, cannot see the necessity of introducing them here, for the purpose of stating that which every body knows, namely, that they are honourable characters. As it has been thought proper to bring together a number of highly respectable Gentlemen, who have nothing to do with the question, would it not be as well to add the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Mayor of London? (*A laugh.*) Then we shall have a goodly company indeed.

Inquiries were made, and answers were returned with reference to the transactions of Palmer and Co., but in those investigations nothing appeared that cast any imputation on the noble Marquis. But, Sir, in the amendment now before us, the Court are called upon to approve of all that the Court of Directors have done. I cau-

tion Gentlemen as to their approval of all those matters, and of all the proceedings which have been subsequently founded on them. If the Court of Proprietors agree to the amendment, they must approve the overstrained eulogies on Sir C. Metcalfe, and they must adopt the overstrained slanders of that Gentleman, for so I must call them. (*Hear, hear.*) What I particularly object to in this amendment is, that it calls on the Court of Proprietors to do that which is wholly out of their province,—to approve of the letters of the Court of Directors. These have been already approved by the highest authority,—by the commissioners for the affairs of India. This is what I particularly object to, as establishing a very bad precedent. Perhaps the Court are not aware that appeals have already arrived in this country against the whole of these proceedings, from Sir Wm. Rumbold, and Mr. Wm. Palmer, who have both been crushed by them. (*Cheers.*) There are also appeals from others on the same subject from the creditors, who, though not absolutely outlawed, are still debarred from regaining the money they had lent; while they, pursuing the course of justice to mankind, are paying all those to whom they may be indebted. Will a British public sanction such a violation of justice? Will the Court of Proprietors, who are themselves a Court of Appeal, say that one side is right, and having heard that side, refuse to listen to any other? British justice revolts at such an idea. (*o*) (*Cheers.*)

If I were in any doubt as to the course which I should pursue on this occasion, I have an example before me, by which, on every occasion I can be most safely guided. I have heard the opinions of an hon. Gentleman of the highest rank, and greatest moral worth this side of Temple Bar (Mr. J. Smith). There is no man in society whose character stands more deservedly high, and whom I more respect. I have known him from his boyhood, and my respect for him is every day

increased by my increased knowledge of his great worth. (*o*) (*Hear, hear.*) That hon. Gentleman has declared that he fully concurred in the original motion, but that he could not listen to the amendment; I then, after all I have heard and read on this important question, give my assent to the motion because it approves; but I object to the amendment because it implies doubts. (*Hear, hear.*)

I now come to the charge of partiality, though after what has been already said, any thing further upon that subject will be almost a waste of time. The partiality is said to have been evinced in four different instances; first, in permitting the establishment of the House of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad; secondly, in granting the license in 1814; thirdly, in the sanction given to the Aurungabad transactions; and fourthly, in sanctioning the sixty-lac loan. With respect to the Aurungabad arrangement, I give it my entire concurrence, whether I view it in its object or in the excellent effects which it has produced. As to the granting the license, I will fully admit as a general principle that such a course should be adopted with great caution, and only under very peculiar circumstances. It is not to be denied that very serious consequences might ensue from granting to British subjects the privilege of making loans to the native powers in India. But is the Marquis of Hastings the only man who has concurred in this arrange-

(*o*) We are among the number of those who had also a high respect for Mr. Smith's public character; but his conduct throughout the whole of this affair, in first calling for the Papers, then slinking from a motion on them,—next eulogizing the Court of Directors, and, lastly, contenting himself with saying, he thought the House at Hyderabad *rather* hardly dealt with,—appears to us destitute of clear moral perceptions, or deficient in moral courage. If a troop of Janisaries were to enter Mr. Smith's Banking-house in London, seize his books, disperse his partners, forbid all intercourse between them and their creditors, and threaten the Ministers, or others who might have had loans from him, with the Sultan's displeasure if they paid them just debts,—Mr. Smith would tell a different tale. Yet this is the treatment which the Bank of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, has met with from the Indian Government, and approved by those very Directors whom Mr. Smith eulogizes as honourable men.—Out upon such trimming as this!

(*o*) Yet this is what British justice, the Board of Control, the Court of Directors, and the Court of Proprietors, all sanctioned, in the case of the proprietors of the Calcutta Journal; and when a mere motion for papers, for information, and inquiry, was made in these quarters, an overwhelming majority refused to accede to it: nor was Mr. Pattison's voice once heard to advocate redress and compensation on *that* occasion,

ment? He was assisted in Council by three most intelligent men : they had been a long time in India, and were particularly acquainted with all the details of Indian affairs. The noble Marquis was new in the country ; he had been only two years there, but the Court have never heard a word about the concurrence of the three Members of Council in what he did. (*Hear, hear.*) Is he to be singled out of the Council, and solely blamed as guilty of partiality in an act in which they all concurred? Are all the other Members to go harmless while he alone is to be blamed?

A PROPRIETOR.—Decidedly not.

MR. PATISON.—Then I hope that if Lord Hastings is to have his share, the other Members may be presented each with his own share of the cake. (*Hear, and a laugh.*) Upon the Aurangabad arrangement, the beneficial effects of which have been admitted on all hands, I will say nothing further than expressing a hope that it may be remembered hereafter. As to the sixty-lac loan, the Court should recollect that it had been strongly recommended by the Resident at Hyderabad at that time, who had forcibly impressed on the Government in Council the absolute necessity of supplying the immediate wants of the Nizam's Government. But it has been objected that the terms for the contract of this loan were exorbitantly high, and that the loan might have been obtained at a much lower rate. Really some Gentlemen seem to think that the Nizam's country is like an El Dorado, where money is so plenty that it may be had for the mere asking. They who know India, however, are fully aware of the difficulty of procuring money for the use of the native powers. An hon. Member has alluded to what Lord Hastings said as to the connexion of Sir Wm. Rumbold with the House of Palmer and Co., but he has not referred to the minutes of Council ; to which I now beg leave to refer the Court. I allude particularly to the minute of Mr. Stuart, an extract of which I will read. It is to be found in page 47 of the printed papers.

The hon. Proprietor omitted, however, to read the minute of the Members of Council, and for that reason I beg leave to refer the Court to it. Mr. Stuart says, p. 47 :

'Even to the illustrious character and high station of the Governor-General, the award of such an interest can be only honourable.'

He is alluding to the declaration of the Marquis of Hastings,—that he took a strong interest in the success of the man, who had married a lady to whom he had been guardian ; and for my own part, I will say, that if any man disclaim such a sentiment, I envy him not his feelings, but think him a fitter subject for pity than I do for admiration. (*Hear, hear.*) Mr. Stuart then proceeds :

'Next to the highest objects of power, the good of our country and of mankind, the opportunities which it affords of promoting the welfare of those endeared to us by friendship and affection, will be deemed, by generous minds, the fairest reward of its toils and anxiety. How forcibly such ties must be felt by his Lordship, will be understood by all those who know the kindness and benignity of his nature. (*Hear, hear.*) How much gratification I shall always derive from being able to concur in his Lordship's indulgence of that feeling, how much mortified I must be, when motives of duty may constrain me to deny myself that happiness, I hope I need not profess. The sentiment is due no less to his Lordship's exalted station in the Government, than to the kind and liberal disposition, which he invariably manifests, to meet claims of a similar nature on the part of the other Members. (*Hear, hear.*) But whatever may be the difference of views upon the present case, there is one point upon which I venture to submit a confident opinion. I do not hesitate to pronounce that his Lordship is the only person, who can think that his friendship for a Gentleman, whose interests are involved in the question, constitutes the slightest ground for his withdrawing from the determination.' (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. Adam says something of the same sort in his minute, which I shall not quote, but shall only refer to. I leave this part of the question with this remark, that the noble Proprietor, in mentioning one part of these minutes, ought not entirely to have forgotten the other ; and shall now proceed to the consideration of the next point, which is the transaction that has been denominated the sixty-lac loan. Who, that recollects the high character and distinguished reputation of the Marquis of Hastings, can believe that, at the close of a long and honourable career of public service, he would willingly risk the loss of that character and that reputation, by sanctioning a loan, which he believed to be ruinous to the borrower, and prodigate and extortionate on the part of the lender?

It is clear from these Papers, that his Lordship considered this loan as likely to be beneficial in its operation to the Nizam's Government. It is positively declared to be so by Mr. Russell, who was then our Resident at Hyderabad; it is spoken of in favourable terms by Sir C. Metcalfe, on his first arrival at that place, as Mr. Russell's successor; and it is not denounced by him as either improvident, scandalous, or profligate, until he has discovered that unfortunate conspiracy to undermine him, between Messrs. Palmer and Co. and Chundoo Loll, which has been so ably described by an hon. Proprietor who precede I me. As soon, however, as he found that Messrs. Palmer and Co. had transmitted to Calcutta the letter, in which Chundoo Loll complained of the acts of "the bold dragon," which have been so wittily exposed by an hon. and gallant Officer near me,—as soon as he learned that the manner in which a stripling subaltern officer had upset the arrangements of the Nizam's Ministers, had been described to the supreme authorities in India,—from that moment he began to view every transaction in which that House was concerned, through a discoloured medium, to watch its proceedings with a jaundiced eye, and to prepare for the hostilities which he has since waged against it, with such unceasing animosity.

If I am asked how far the noble Marquis had any knowledge of the particulars of this loan, I reply that these Papers abound with convincing proof that, till the middle of September 1822, he was utterly ignorant of any bonus being allowed to the House upon it. I find, from a letter dated the 13th September 1822, p. 136, that, as soon as he was informed of the fact of a considerable sum of money having been paid to the House, by way of bonus, he ordered Sir C. Metcalfe to express to the Firm his displeasure at their conduct; to call upon them for explanation; and to investigate strictly into the nature and extent of their pecuniary proceedings with the Nizam's Government. That being the case, I think we are entitled to drop the curtain upon the noble Marquis; for, after this statement of facts, it is true that Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. conspired with Chundoo Loll either to cheat the Nizam, to exhaust his treasury, or to do any other improper action, it is evident that it must have been done without the slightest knowledge or privity on the part of the noble Mar-

quis. Every thing that was done after this discovery, should be considered distinctly, and by itself; and I conceive, that the best thing that we could do would be to get rid of this amendment at present, and to declare that we will hereafter take up the consideration of all the various proceedings at Hyderabad.

There is another part of this subject which I wish to place before you. It is the manner in which Sir C. Metcalfe states that he effected the discovery of a bonus of eight lacs being allowed to Messrs. Palmer and Co., at the time of their negotiating this loan. In paragraph 20, p. 196, he says that he was not aware of this circumstance at the time he made his former report, but that he had since been apprized of it by the Nizam's Minister. Such a declaration was calculated to excite a belief in the minds of the persons to whom it was addressed, that it was the intention of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. to conceal from the Government the existence of the bonus; and yet it is clear from a paragraph in his letter of the 11th April 1821, that at that time their accounts had not been demanded by him, from which alone he could have discovered it, had the Minister continued silent. The subsequent delivery of those accounts proved that there never had been any intention on the part of Messrs. W. Palmer to conceal the payment of it, for it formed an item of account in their own documents. Here let me ask you to consider what Sir C. Metcalfe proposed to do, after he had discovered the bonus allowed upon this loan, which he afterwards represented as blindly improvident, and scandalously exorbitant. Why, he proposed to pay it off by another loan, to admit the existence of the first bonus, and to grant to Messrs. Palmer's House another bonus of six lacs, by the payment of a lac and a half of rupees yearly for the next four years. (*Hear, hear.*) He says that this arrangement would be satisfactory to both parties, and would allow a fair gain to the loan contractors. You will find what he says at p. 196. It is as follows:

'I understand, from communications with Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., that a payment of one lac and a half of rupees per annum, for four years, would reconcile them to the discharge of their loan, and be considered by them as very liberal treatment; though, for their own interests, they would prefer that matters should stand as they are.'

Now if this loan had been so very gross a transaction, would Sir C. Metcalfe have consented to pay it off, and to give Messrs. Palmer and Co. another bonus? Is such a proceeding consistent with common sense, or the usual tenour of every-day business? I would infer from it, that at that time Sir C. Metcalfe had not found out any cause for blame in the bonus which had been agreed upon. A great deal has been said about the exorbitant interest which was taken upon this loan. Now I beg leave to remind the Court, that the term, "exorbitant interest," is a relative term. The price of money is always proportionate to its scarcity, or to the risk of obtaining payment for it. I would wish to know who would lend money, at the usual rate of English interest, to the Prime Minister of a despotic Prince, when the death of the Minister would dissolve the bargain between them; when the will of the despot might displace the Minister, and so destroy his means of keeping it; when the death of the lender would enable the despot to cancel the debt by seizing on his assets as heir, and when a thousand other contingencies would deprive him of all rational hopes of receiving it back again? I believe that we should all prefer to vest our surplus capital in the Exchequer Bills of Mr. Robinson, low as the interest is which they now bear, to vesting it in such securities; for in the case I have just mentioned, it is literally a pay or play proceeding; if you live, you may win, but if you die, you are certain to lose. (*Hear, hear*) I am free to confess that it does appear to me that the House of Palmer and Co. would have done wisely to inform the Resident of the terms on which they had undertaken the loan; but they did not do so, and they must now abide by the consequences of their neglect. It ought, however, to be recollected, that it was not till September 1822, that they were called upon to explain them, and that they then gave an explanation with the utmost readiness. It appeared from that explanation, that the House was to advance fifty-two lacs of rupees to receive back again sixty lacs at some day or other; in the meantime their money was to be locked up, and they were to enjoy certain advantages arising from assignments on the growing revenue, as a compensation for the expense and risk they were daily encountering.

[The hon. Director at this part of his speech was so exhausted, and his voice

became so low, that it was with extreme difficulty that we were enabled to collect his meaning from the detached sentences which ever and anon came to our ears. We understood him, after mentioning the terms of this loan, to justify it by a reference to the circumstances of this country during the last war.] In the early part of it, Mr. Pitt, when the three per Cents. were at forty-six and forty-seven, had contrived to borrow money at that rate by giving a bonus to those who advanced it. That money we were now paying back at ninety-four, and the lenders were thus realizing a gain of more than 50 per cent. Would any one, he would ask, upon that account be justified in branding them as extortioners and usurers? Again, Mr. Rothschild had recently furnished a loan to the Mexican Government at six per cent., receiving bonds at eighty-six, which were hereafter to be paid at 100. Mr. Rothschild was, however, a much better manager than any of the partners in the House of W. Palmer and Co., for he charged upon each bond a commission of three per cent. before he issued it, and so let them out at eighty-nine instead of at eighty-six. Would any one, on that account, class Mr. Rothschild with those who demanded exorbitant and immoderate interest? He had never heard that Mr. Baring or Mr. Angerstein were usurers, because they had enjoyed the emoluments of Mr. Pitt's bonuses, nor did he see any reason why Messrs. Palmer and Co. should be considered such for merely following in India, the same course which had been followed, without reproach, in England, by the great mercantile characters he had just mentioned. The real history of this bonus, if bonus it were to be called, lay within a narrow compass: Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. contracted to advance sixty lacs of rupees to Chundoo Loll, at an interest of eighteen per cent. on condition that they should receive an assignment of sixteen lacs yearly for the next six years, on certain specified districts. They were led to enter into such a contract by an expectation that they should be able to raise the money at some one of the Presidencies at twelve per cent. Being disappointed in that expectation, they were obliged to resort to the Native bankers at Hyderabad. On application to them, they found that the want of so large a sum of money, in so limited a market, had raised the price of it, and had considerably enhanced

the terms on which the moneyed men were inclined to part with it. The alteration of the circumstances, under which they had hoped to get the money, and upon which they had made their calculations, rendered it impossible for them to fulfil their contract without utter ruin to themselves. This circumstance was explained to the Minister; and a change was made in consequence, in the terms of the contract. Instead of furnishing sixty lacs at eighteen per cent., it was agreed that the House should only furnish fifty-two lacs, but should be permitted to charge the same rate of interest upon a nominal sum of sixty lacs. That sum they had actually advanced. As it was advanced to the Minister, they had at all times a chance of losing it, if he died; but under recent circumstances, it was almost certain that they would never recover it, even though he was alive and in power, if the justice of the Court were not exerted on their behalf.

The hon. Director then proceeded to justify the application of Messrs. Palmer and Co. to Chundoo Loll for an alteration in the terms of their contract, by the conduct of eminent capitalists in this country, under circumstances of similar distress. Mr. Baring, as they all knew, had made a contract with the French Government to pay off for it the amount of the contribution imposed upon France at the peace of Paris, by the allied Sovereigns. In the interval between the signing and the completion of the contract, the price of money advanced considerably in the market. Mr. Baring informed Lord Castlereagh, that the unforeseen alteration of circumstances which had taken place, rendered it impossible for him to complete his contract, except at his utter ruin. Lord Castlereagh, —and who would think of blaming him for it?—lent to Mr. Baring a helping hand, and re-cued his fortunes from the destruction which appeared to hang over them. He applied to the French Government for an alteration of the terms into which Mr. Baring had entered; and the French Government were so convinced of the justice of the application, that they extended the terms, and so enabled Mr. Baring to proceed with his loan. Mr. Angerstein, who did not often make bad bargains, once got into a similar snare by a bargain which he made with that great statesman, Mr. Pitt. Mr. Angerstein had some dealings with him on the basis of a *tontine*. Before they

were closed, he found out that he had entered into a contract, which he could not complete, without ruining himself. He went in consequence to that distinguished Minister, and explained to him how matters stood. The result was, that the *tontine* was abolished, and another contract was made, which, instead of ruining, was profitable to Mr. Angerstein. Thus it had been with Messrs. Palmer and Co. The tide of the money-market had set in strongly against them, and that circumstance, connected with what he had before told the Court about the risk of loans to powerful individuals in the despotic states of India, ought to convince it that they had done nothing deserving of blame in exacting from the Nizam's Government the interest which they had done. So far was the rate of interest from being thought too great for the anxiety, trouble, and expense, which the loan was certain to create, that it was even thought insufficient for it. Several of the commercial houses in Calcutta refused to have any thing to do with it. Mr. John Palmer told Sir W. Rumbold, —and it was a proof of his sagacity,—that on the terms agreed upon between his partners and Chundoo Loll, it must turn out a bad job. He looked deeper into the millstone than either his brother William or any of the other Gentlemen of the Firm at Hyderabad. (*A laugh.*) They were dupes—dupes to Chundoo Loll, dupes to their own speculations, and, worse than all, dupes, most glaring dupes, to the solemn assurances of protection, which had been made to them by the Bengal Government. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) It had been alleged, that large promises of favour had been made to this Firm from their first settling at Hyderabad. This was not the case. All that the Resident had been desired to do for it was to afford it due encouragement. His Lordship's minute is decisive upon that point. It is directed to Mr. Russell, and runs in these terms:

‘His Excellency in Council is disposed to promote the success of every mercantile enterprise, which is likely to prove of general utility to the interests of commerce, by affording facilities to the transaction of trading concerns between His Highness' dominions and the territories of the *Pen Company*; and his Lordship in Council will accordingly approve of your affording every proper degree of countenance to the proposed commercial establishment of Messrs. Palmer and Co., consistently with the

provisions of the treaty, and of your recommending it to the favourable consideration of his Highness the Nizam's Government.'

This minute contained all that his Lordship granted to the Firm in 1814. Indeed, all that the Firm insisted upon was, that they should be protected against the fraud of the Native Powers, little expecting that they should have to combat with fraud in the quarter from which they required protection. (*Hear, hear.*) The drawing the Jew's teeth, until he consented to lend his money to his tormenting persecutor, was not more cruel and inhuman than the practices which had been adopted towards W. Palmer and Co. (*Loud cries of Hear.*) A great deal had been said about this loan being a mere fictitious transaction. Any body, who understood Cocker, and would look to the accounts contained in p. 620—625 of these Papers, would see that they completely disproved and falsified such an assertion. He would find that from the beginning of that month with the hard name *Jemudee ool Jool*, down to the end of the month *Zochad*, that is, from the middle of February, down to the end of August, forty lacs of rupees were actually paid by the House on the drafts and orders of Chundoo Loll. It was said, however, that this sum was not made up so much of advances of cash, as of transfers of old balances from one account to another. The question, therefore, came to this, Did the House of W. Palmer and Co. transfer money to Chundoo Loll upon any account whatever? It was impossible to entertain a doubt upon the subject. Every body admitted that they had. There was one single fact which spoke volumes on the subject. In the year 1820, which was the year of this loan, forty lacs had been advanced to the Minister between the months of February and August, whilst in all former years, not more than four or five lacs at the most had ever been advanced to him within the same time.

The hon. Director proceeded to give some further details to prove that there was no justifiable ground for denouncing this loan as a fictitious transaction, but the low tone of voice in which he repeated them, prevented us from catching them with any degree of distinctness. After he had concluded them, he called the attention of the Court to the very extraordinary manner in which Sir C. Metcalfe had conducted himself throughout these transactions. He would not say that Sir

C. Metcalfe had acted like a man devoid of reason—that might, perhaps, be too harsh,—but he must say that he appeared to have laboured all along under some most extraordinary mental aberration; (*A laugh.*) for he had given a willing ear to the various rumours which were abroad against the House of Palmer and Co., and had treated them all as worthy of credit; though they were utterly inconsistent, not only with truth, but also with each other. (*Hear, hear.*) The advance of this loan was beyond a doubt made for beneficial purposes. If the Minister, on obtaining it, applied it to improper purposes, the fault was with the Minister, and not with Messrs. Palmer and Co. This plain proposition appeared never to have entered into the imagination of Sir C. Metcalfe. All he was anxious to discover was, a ground of inculpating Palmer and Co.; and when he thought that he had acquired the means of doing it, he did not hesitate to enlist into his cause even the assistance of flying rumours. I am unwilling, continued the hon. Director, to go into details upon this part of the case; but there are some details connected with it so very extraordinary, that I cannot refrain from placing them under your consideration. In page 245 of these Papers, Sir C. Metcalfe thus begins his aspersions upon Messrs. Palmer and Co., and I beg your impartial attention to the manner in which he has conveyed them. In paragraph 76, he says

'I do not mean to accuse Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. of making an unfair use of their power; they *may* exercise it, perhaps, with great moderation; but it is a power which does not properly belong to merchants, and ought not to be intrusted to persons who have only their own interests to regard.' And, again, in paragraph 77, he proceeds—'The notion,—and I beg you to mark the phrase,—the notion of their having a strong influence in the British Government is not confined to Rajah Chundoo Loll, and the *belief*—(*A laugh*)—of the mention of that influence in their favour is very prevalent. It is a common report' (*Another laugh*) that he is persuaded by them that he holds his place by their protection.'

Not satisfied with what he has already said on the foundation of a notion, a belief, and a common report, he proceeds, in paragraph 78, as follows:

'One native Gentleman, who pretends to have access to the privacy of Rajah Chundoo Loll's house, has informed me

spontaneously, positively, and repeatedly, that he had heard Mr. W. Palmer declare to Rajah Chundoo Loll, that I should have accomplished his (the Minister's) removal, if they (Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co.) had not written to Calcutta and prevented it. I mention this as a proof.—

Of what does the Court think that this is to be a proof? (*A loud laugh.*) Here Sir C. Metcalfe has conjured up into existence a fleeting sound, an immaterial substance. Here we have an instance of the eye of the poet; no, I beg pardon, of the Resident—"in a fine frenzy rolling," and of his imagination "giving to airy nothings a local habitation and a name." (*Hear, hear.*) He then goes on, with all the good nature of Mrs. Cawdor, to remark:—

"I am not inclined to believe the story, though I know not what good the Gentleman could have proposed to himself in the invention. Still I am not disposed to credit it, because I would not pin my faith to the assertion of any native Gentleman; (*hear, hear, hear.*) and find it difficult to credit that Mr. Wm. Palmer would so commit himself." (*Hear, hear.*)

Now, I would ask whether you could have believed that such gross balderdash (*a laugh*) could have been written by any servant of this Company, if you had not seen it with your own eyes on your own records? Is it not almost a disgrace to read it? (*Hear, and a laugh.*) I must proceed, however, with this disgusting trash, in order to destroy the base structure which has been built upon it. (*Hear.*) Sir C. Metcalfe continues in paragraph 79.—

"That the Minister is persuaded of their having influence, and of its operating in his favour, I have no doubt; but I am inclined to suppose (*hear, hear*) that they must allow their native agents to work that impression, and cannot themselves directly hazard such unfounded assertions; but that they are willing to take advantage of the impression, I must infer (*hear, and a laugh*) from all that passes under my observation. I was once informed"—(*Hear, and laughter.*) [He does not say by whom]—(*Hear, hear.*) "I was once informed that, on my first arrival, Bunketty Doss, the native partner of the House of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., had given out, that I had been appointed Resident on the recommendation of Mr. Wm. Palmer. Another native Gentleman"—(*Cries of Hear, and laughter.*) [And yet he has already told us, that he would not pin his faith on the assertion of any native Gentleman]—(*Hear, hear.*) "Another native Gentleman, who was so kind as to patronize my welfare, gravely advised

me, after some trepidation in bringing forth his counsel, to procure a letter in my favour, from his Highness the Nizam, to his Excellency the Governor-General, suggesting that it might be useful to counteract some design on the part of other persons which he would scarcely venture to hint at." (*Hear, hear.*) The unfortunate nephew of Ahmed Buksh Khan, Neeaz Bahadoor Khan, who was killed in the late disturbance, asked me,—"[I suppose it was before the young man was killed,]—" whether the House of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. was established here on the part of the Company? and, on my answering in the negative, expressed his wonder at their power and influence; adding, that it had reached its present pitch, since the junction of Sir William Rumbold, and had been on a different footing before. By the common people throughout the country the House is identified with the British Government; and the revenues, which are poured into their coffers, are considered as so much tribute to our treasury. I have sometimes found difficulty in persuading strangers that Messrs. William Palmer and Co. do not actually govern a great portion of the Nizam's dominions. (*Loud cries of Hear.*) Such is the notion to which their manifest influence, and the large assignments possessed by them on the revenues, have not uncommonly given rise. I believe, that in this respect, they exercised formerly a more direct influence than now. I have understood (*hear*) that, heretofore, they were more in the habit of recommending the nomination of the officers of Government in the provinces. I do not know that they exercise this privilege at present; (*hear, and a laugh.*) it has not at least forced itself on my notice. In describing circumstances, as related to me, respecting the supposed influence of Messrs. Palmer and Co., I beg that I may not be understood as relying much on the truth of such relations. (*Loud cries of hear, intermingled with laughter.*) They must always be received with caution, but as I do not go in search of them, and as they force themselves on me from various quarters, they certainly assist in producing the conviction (*hear*) which I entertain, and have expressed on this subject. Some reports I suppose (*immense laughter*) as unfit to be mentioned, without proof of their veracity. (*Laughter repeated.*)

I suppose, therefore,—for why is Sir C. Metcalfe to be the only person entitled to suppose, believe, and infer?—I suppose that he thinks that he has given proof of his other reports, notions, beliefs, impressions, and convictions. (*Hear, hear.*) However that may be, he goes on to say

"Other circumstances I pass by;"

being personal, (*hear, hear,*) or too trivial for a grave report, (*hear, hear,*) though, nevertheless, characteristic of what I have endeavoured to describe.'

Is such rubbish as this deserving of your approbation? Are such shamefully sophistical inconsistencies to be sanctioned by your support? Will you give them your encouragement? will you vouchsafe them your applause? for that is what you are now called upon to do by the Court of Directors. (*Loud cries of No, no.*) I repeat that it is, I say that you are called upon, by the amendment, to approve the unbounded praise which the Court of Directors have lavished, undeservedly, in my opinion, on the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe. (*Hear, hear.*) In illustration of that opinion, I must now read you certain extracts from another letter of that Gentleman, craving your patience once more for intruding such rubbish upon your attention. In page 336, you will find that Sir Charles Metcalfe writes thus to the Secretary to Government—

'As far as pledging myself to the assertion, that persons officially attached to the Residency, and from the circumstance necessarily conferring influence, have been engaged with the concern now known by the designation of William Palmer and Co., either as partners, or as deriving extraordinary benefit from the connexion, I can have no hesitation, because such information is necessary to expose a part of the impositions practised by Messrs. William Palmer and Co., who originally, I remember, derived their principal influence from that source, had always the support of that connexion until they obtained the more powerful patronage of the Supreme Government, and even afterwards clung to a hold on the Residency, as having advantages, prospective as well as active, until inquiries on the subject, or other circumstances, rendered an ostensible separation necessary. I hope that this general assurance will be sufficient, and that I shall not be required to bring forward the names of the Gentlemen of the Residency who were connected with that establishment. To do this I feel the greatest reluctance. (*Hear, and laughter.*)'

One Gentlemen is in India to answer for himself, but even with regard to him, a public disclosure would be painful to me. Others are far away, and would have no opportunity of justifying or explaining their connexion with the Firm, while in their absence a stigma against them would appear on the public records. Nevertheless, if it be considered indispensably necessary that this information should be furnished, I must, of course, sacrifice every other

consideration to duty and obedience.' (*Hear, hear, and laughter.*)

This, Gentlemen, is his jesuitical introduction to naming the persons against whom he was even then preparing to commence public accuser.—(*Hear.*) You shall now have the letter, in which, after sacrificing every other consideration, as he says, to duty and obedience, he reluctantly, as he would have you suppose, describes the names of the individuals whom he had before collectively attacked. I refer you to page 463, paragraph 8, where you will find that Sir Charles Metcalfe uses the following language :

'From the situation of the building in which the concerns of that Partnership were conducted, it is evident that it must have enjoyed the Resident's support and patronage. It is also *undenied*, and there is, I fear, (*a laugh,*) no doubt of the fact, that Mr. Russell, the Resident, was further connected with it, and derived profit from its transactions. Whether he shared profit and risk with the others as a partner, or received an extraordinary interest for money deposited in their hands, I am not able positively to state. (*Laughter.*) It is possible that his connexion with them may not have gone beyond having his money with them at an ordinary rate of interest; and some of his most intimate friends seem to entertain this persuasion; (*Loud cries of Hear;*) but, from all that I have heard on the subject, the impression on my mind amounts to a conviction, (*loud cries of Hear, and laughter,*) that he must have derived extraordinary profit from their transactions, and that his connexion with them was such as gave them a hold on him ever afterwards. There is, nevertheless, a possibility (*a laugh*) that I may be mistaken in this conclusion, (*another laugh,*) which it is the more necessary to notice, as Mr. Russell is not present to offer any explanation. (*Hear, hear.*) It would have been a great comfort to me, if I had possessed the means of bringing this matter to a decisive proof, as, in the event of a discovery of error in my information, the mention of Mr. Russell's name might have been unnecessary; but, wanting these, I consider myself bound to state the impression on my mind: for this connexion of Mr. Russell, with the concern set up by Mr. William Palmer, appears to me to be one of the most important features of its history, especially with reference to attendant effects and consequences.' (*Hear.*)

I will not trouble you with more of this letter at present, but will skip over a great part of it, as being immaterial to the present object of your discussion. Sir Charles Metcalfe, after giving

satisfactory information on no one of the points referred to him by Government, proceeds in page 466, as follows: 'I trust that it will not be forgotten that Mr. Russell has rendered eminent services at the Nizam's Court.' He now appears, I ought to tell you, as the apologist for Mr. Russell, and attempts to patch up, by fulsome panegyric, that character which he has been endeavouring, without proof, to depreciate and destroy. (*Hear, hear.*) I think Mr. Russell will not thank him for the apology which he thus volunteers. Sir C. Metcalfe proceeds:—

'I trust that it will not be forgotten, that Mr. Russell confirmed our political influence, so as that it stood the test of a most trying crisis; and that, when the two great neighbouring states fell off from their alliance, and became our enemies, the resources of the Nizam's country supplied our armies, and the troops of this state co-operated actively and efficiently with our own, in various important services during the war. These effects may justly be ascribed to Mr. Russell's management, as far as individual agents are ever entitled to such credit; for the disposition to throw off our yoke, was supposed to exist here as well as elsewhere, and the Indian world could scarcely believe that the Nizam was not to form a part of the coalition against us.' (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

I must trouble you with another paragraph from this correspondence of Sir C. Metcalfe, as I have now commenced. You will find that in one place,—I cannot find the passage just now, for the book is so constructed that you can scarcely find any two pages containing subjects consecutive on each other; you will find, I say, that in one place Sir C. Metcalfe admits that Mr. Russell may have sanctioned the arrangement which Palmer and Co. made with Chundoo Loll for the payment of the Nizam's troops, under an impression that the more regular payment of them, which the arrangement would ensure, would render them more efficient for our purposes; and yet you will find him in another paragraph complaining, that the contract did not secure the regular payment of the troops; and then again stating, almost in the same breath, that since the contract had terminated, the troops had been ill-paid, and in some instances reduced to great distress. (*Hear, hear.*) You will find him through his whole correspondence blaming his predecessor Mr. Russell, and the different members attached to his establishment as Resident, for hav-

ing lent his money to Palmer and Co. under any circumstances, and at any rate of interest; and yet you will find him in his letter of the 28th March 1823, paragraph 23, acknowledging that all the people of his own Residency had dealings with that Firm almost to the last hour of its existence in credit and security. I will quote to you his words:—

'I am not aware, and do not suppose, that any Gentleman attached to the present Residency, either is, or has been a partner in the House of William Palmer and Co.; or has derived any extraordinary benefit from the connexion. The numerous European constituents of the House generally receive twelve per cent. interest for their money; and Gentlemen attached to the present Residency have both received and paid this, as the ordinary interest in account current, considering these dealings to be as unobjectionable as ordinary dealings with any other House of agency. Under the same notion I have never thought it incumbent on me to object to them.' (*Hear, hear.*)

These are his own creatures, Gentlemen, and you will therefore see the reason why he is not inclined to put them to any trouble or inconvenience. (*Hear, hear.*) I now come to a paragraph of which I must say, that if there be one paragraph in the whole book which is wickeder than another, it is this paragraph. I shall quote it to you entire. It is paragraph 26, page 466.

'I am bound to acknowledge, that since the termination of that contract the troops have been ill-paid, and in some instances reduced to great distress, of which I have only lately received intelligence.' [Now mark well what comes next.] 'Yet this I attribute to culpable neglect, if not to a conspiring design on the part of the Minister, and not to any necessity.'

What does he mean to insinuate by this extraordinary sentence? He means to say, that this Minister is wicked enough to keep, for his own use, the money he draws from his master's treasury, and to starve the troops, whom he is defrauding of their regular supplies; and for what purpose does he say this? To run down Messrs. Palmer and Co., whom he insinuates are parties to this profligate conduct on the part of the Nizam's Minister. (*Hear, hear.*) What else can he mean by the words "conspiring design"? There must be at least two parties to conspire; he has named the Minister as one party, whom does he name as the other? (*Hear, hear.*) He says, "I

attribute this to culpable neglect, if not to a conspiring design on the part of the Mailer, and not to any necessity." I repeat, that if a wickeder thing than this can be said of any man, I never either heard of it, or saw it in any book that fell under my consideration. (*Hear, hear.*) I say, therefore, that it will not be right in you to approve of despatches which contain passages, approving of such conduct as that of which Sir C. Metcalfe's own letters show him to have been guilty; and if I wanted an additional reason for dissuading you from giving them your sanction, I have it in the circumstance, that appeals have now been judged by the creditors of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. against his conduct, and the consequences which have ensued from it. (*Hear, hear.*) If you keep aloof from any decision on the topic of this amendment, those creditors will still of course be impartial judges; but if you declare yourselves in favour of it, you will make yourselves parties to a gross and crying act of injustice. (*Hear, hear.*) I deprecate drawing out worthy and approved good master letters such as these; let us stop, therefore, where we are; let us see whether Sir C. Metcalfe is right or wrong, in the numberless accusations he has brought against respectable individuals. (*Hear, hear.*) As to his resolution, that this is a mere fictitious transaction, I will pledge all the credit that I have with you, and also the credit of those who are more conversant with figures than I am, that it is a bold mistake. (*Hear, hear.*) If you say that it is correct, and by voting for the amendment, you will substantially say so, you will do incredible mischief. The assertion has already been bandied from Calcutta to England, and from England back again to Calcutta, as if the author lies, in both places, were playing with it as with a bottlecock. Reflect on what you are going to do, before you give it additional currency, by stamping it with the impress of your approbation. In a Court like this, which is anxious above all things to do justice, I cannot see any reason why we should consent to a proposition, which, if carried, must be fatal to the proper adjudication of these appeals; and I therefore deprecate any such proceeding, not merely because it is impolitic in itself, but also, because it shuts the gates of justice against those who complain of being aggrieved. I suggest, likewise, to the hon. Chairman, who

has exercised his privilege as an individual Proprietor in bringing forward this amendment, to consider whether it will not be a wise and liberal policy in him to agree to the original resolution, and to withdraw, for the present, his amendment, which, he is aware, must involve every serious consequence, if it obtain the approbation of this Court. I am sure, that as honourable men, you will wish to read the documents which may be sent in support of these appeals, before you decide upon them. Those documents are not yet in your possession; how, therefore, can you sanction, with approval, the opinions which the Court of Directors have hastily formed upon the transactions to which they relate? I do not affirm that these opinions may not be correct; I have such a respect for the Court of Directors, that I can cordially wish that they may be so; for it is a romantic, and perhaps a weak feeling on my part, but I do sincerely decide, that if I am found to be wrong in the notions I have taken up on this subject, in opposition to the majority of the Directors, I shall not be sorry; for I am one of those who would gladly acquit themselves upon all occasions, and who, therefore, feels more than ordinary pain in being obliged to differ from them at present by a sense of public duty. I call upon you once more not to assent to this amendment; if you do, you will involve in one numerous and extensive many innocent persons, who are not now before you, and who can have no opportunity of being heard in their own defence. The consequence, on which you judge, will not stop here; it will go before a higher tribunal in spite of your decision; that decision will be published to the world, and you will have the disgrace of hearing it said, that you sanctioned proceedings of which you only heard a part, and that you signed against the first principles of justice, in neglecting that excellent maxim, "*audi alteram partem.*" (p) (*Hear, hear.*)

(p) These professed friends of the maxim, "*audi alteram partem,*" might show the sincerity of their zeal in something more than mere phrases of this nature. Why do they not exert themselves to give to India the benefit of a free press? This is the only effectual security for both parties being heard in all cases; and until this be given to India, no hope remains of a fair and impartial hearing for any but the oppressors and their advocates.

I am most anxious that you should escape from the precipice on whose brink you are standing. I, therefore, again repeat to you, that if you vote in favour of the amendment, you are deciding a question, of which you have only heard one side. I sincerely hope that my worthy colleague will see the impropriety of pressing it upon your decision at present. I am sure, that if it were possible to bring the debate to a conclusion, by modifying the words of the original resolution, and by getting the amendment withdrawn from any connexion with it, it would be a consummation most devoutly to be wished. (*Hear, hear.*) I have all along argued this question as a peace-maker. (*Hear, hear.*) In the Court of Directors I urged the noble Chairman to accede to the resolution of the hon. Proprietor, on the ground that it did nothing more than express a belief that the Marquis of Hastings was an honest and an honourable man. I did not succeed there; I trust, however, that I shall succeed here. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I beg you to consider first, how simple the proposition is, which is contained in that resolution, and then how exceedingly important every addition is that has since been made to it. (*Hear, hear.*) If the amendment succeeds, which I say God forbid, you will throw doubts on the character of the noble Marquis. (*Loud cries of No, no; Hear, hear.*) I say that the paragraphs, which you are called upon to approve, and the first part of this resolution cannot travel together, either in common sense or in sound reason, aye, or even in ordinary parlance. (*Hear, hear.*) Are you aware what you are going to do in approving those paragraphs? (*Hear, hear.*) On a mere suspicion of favouritism—for that is all, nobody insinuates that the noble Marquis ever derived any advantage to himself, in any way whatever, from these transactions, (*Hear, hear.*)—on a mere suspicion of favouritism, and because he had the misfortune to accede to Sir W. Rumbold's request to join the House of William Palmer and Co., which he did very reluctantly; (*hear, hear.*) and because after he had acceded to it, the parties whom he supported went to an extreme, and perhaps to an unwarrantable length; you are going to inflict a disgraceful stigma on a man who has rendered as eminent services to you and to his country as were ever performed by a single individual. (*Cheers.*)

The noble Marquis, be it always re-

collected, is not a character of yesterday. (*Hear, hear.*) It is now fifty years since he first became illustrious as Lord Rawdon, in fighting the battles of his country in America. (*Hear, hear.*) His gallant achievements at that time have been long recorded in the pages of history, and will be remembered, when those I am now addressing, are mouldering in the grave. (*Hear, hear.*) From his earliest youth, down to the present hour, he has always been the victim of his own generous and liberal feelings, and has been distinguished above all his contemporaries by a noble, I may almost say, by an excessive disregard of pecuniary emoluments; (*hear, hear.*) and now, after he has run a long and unsullied career of public and private virtue,—after he has passed nine years of arduous labour in your service, displaying a zeal which has never been surpassed, and acquiring successes, which, except in the instance of Lord Clive, have never been equalled by any of your former Governor-Generals; he is, on his return to his country in the decline of life, unenriched, but not unembarrassed, attacked and persecuted by slanderous calumnies; and, what is the severest misfortune of all, attacked and persecuted by them in this Court, in which, if any where, he is most entitled to gratitude and protection. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I received a letter from this noble individual only two days ago, of which I beg to read one or two sentences to the Court. I ought to state, that I have never met the noble Marquis above three or four times in my life, and then only in public company. He is no friend of mine, for I am but a plain citizen, and cannot say that I know Lords, or that Lords know me. (*I laugh, and hear.*) But during the time of the Mahratta war, it was my fortune to be in the Chair, and, in consequence, I had some correspondence with the noble Marquis. Since I have been a plain Director he has occasionally written to me, and as a part of my speech, I shall take the liberty of reading to you part of a letter which I have just received. It is dated Jan. 11th, 1824, which is a mere slip of the writer for Jan. 11th, 1825. He says:

‘ You dissuade me from repairing to England.’ [He had written to me that he was coming to England, because he could not endure the state of uncertainty and suspense in which he was kept.] ‘ You dissuade me,’ he says, ‘ from repairing to England, until it

shall be seen how the Court proceeds.' [I am free to confess that I did dissuade him, and I did so, because I hoped, as I still hope, that the Court will be induced very shortly, indeed, to do him justice.] (Hear.) It was not my intention, continues he, 'to undertake the voyage until that should be ascertained, for I could not endure to present myself in London to make a war, and the necessity of doing so would be extremely painful to my wishes. One consolation remains to me, that the previous discussion will give full scope to all the comments that can be made by one party without calling upon me to hurt the feelings of the other.'

I wish that those who have expressed themselves hostilely to the noble Marquis in this Court, would display some of that delicate regard to the feelings of the others, which he has here exhibited. (Hear, hear.) This, he it remarked, is the manner, in which the noble Lord writes in a private confidential letter. It is the fashion to produce such letters in public now-a-days. I do not think it a good one, but I have complied with it in this instance, because it has given me an opportunity of showing the Court the feelings of the noble Marquis on this particular transaction. (Hear, hear.) I very much fear that unless we come to a speedy discussion upon it, it will involve us in many serious discussions in Parliament, and may, perhaps, ultimately endanger the existence of our charter. It is therefore sound wisdom in us to stand by the Marquis of Hastings, and to desist from cavilling at trifles, which are really unworthy the serious notice which we have given to them. (Hear, hear, hear.) It is in the recollection of you all, how long that great man [pointing to the statue of Warren Hastings] was subject to slanderous accusation on account of the policy he had pursued, whilst acting as your Governor-General. For ten long years he underwent a grievous, and I will add, an unmerited persecution. He was assaulted by all the talent, by all the eloquence, and by all the power of the country. The outcry against him was so general and so violent, that the minister at last gave way before it, and yielded him up without support to the malice of his opponents. An impeachment was the consequence, and that illustrious man, who had so long been the depository of your power in India, was obliged to submit to all the care, anxiety, and expense of a state trial spread over a protracted period of ten

years. The result was illustrative of the powerful grandeur of truth. "*Magna est veritas et prevalebit.*" In spite of the mighty intellect which was arrayed against him, truth proved victorious in the struggle, and the innocence of the accused was made notorious to the world. (g) Yet after all these years of toil and anxiety he was rewarded, not by his worthy masters in this Court, but by the public at large, with their cordial approbation and applause. (Hear, hear.) If you treat another Governor-General with similar neglect and indifference—if you will cavil at trifles in one quarter and yet overlook grievous offences in another,—if you will take up inferences for facts, and innuendoes for evidence,—if you will consider insinuations as sufficient proofs of crime, when you cannot discover any overt acts amounting to it, you will soon find it impossible to get men of rank, talent, and integrity to take upon themselves the arduous duty and deep responsibility of your Governor-Generals. (Hear, hear.) It is incumbent, therefore, not only on the dignity, but also on the policy of this Court, to slide over such trifles as those which have been needlessly introduced by the amendment into the present discussion, and to come forward openly, manfully, and magnanimously, in support of the honour and character of the Marquis of Hastings, which had been exposed to reproaches they had never deserved, and to attacks which ought never to have been made upon them. Under these circumstances, much as I regret my difference of opinion from the majority of those around me, I feel myself bound to vote against the amendment, and in support of the original resolution. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. POYNDER rose to explain amid loud cries of "*Spoke, spoke: Order, &c.*" which rendered the few words he then said utterly inaudible.

The CHAIRMAN requested the meeting to hear Mr. Poynder, who was entitled to be heard if he confined himself to the limits of explanation.

(g) If Mr. Pattison will read the admirable chapter of Mill on this subject, he will find that the *innocence* of the accused was only made apparent to the world, because of the perpetual intervention of the most absurd technicalities of law to prevent the exhibition of evidence of *guilt*. It is an insult to the humanity of Lord Hastings to compare him with the cruel persecutor of Nundcomar.

Mr. POYNDR then proceeded.—As the hon. Director, who has just sat down, has thought proper to call on me personally to explain why I thought myself justified in charging him with inconsistency, it is due to him, to myself, and to the Court at large, to state the premises upon which I came to that conclusion. (*Repeated cries of "Spoke!"*) I must read a paragraph from a letter to which I see the name of the hon. Director appended. (*Cries of "Order," and "Question!"*)

Mr. S. DIXON.—I appeal, that this is argument and not explanation. I really must rise to order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN.—I think that the hon. Proprietor is not out of order at present. At any rate he is entitled to the indulgence of the Court, as he rises by desire of an hon. Director to give a reply to a question which that Director had publicly put to him. (*Hear.*)

Mr. TERRY.—I trust that in our present state of exhaustion, the hon. Proprietor will clearly distinguish between explanation and the commencement of a fresh argument.

Mr. POYNDR.—I am obliged to the hon. Director for the censure he has given me; but I hope I have not held so long, nor attended so many public meetings, without knowing that there is a vast difference between a long speech and a short explanation. The hon. Director has, as you must all have observed, attacked me with considerable warmth and violence. He says that I have acted unjustly, and unlawfully charged him with inconsistency. (*Hear.*) I deny that I have done so. The hon. Court of Directors states this to the Marquis of Hastings, and the hon. Director signs the statement with his name.

"In truth you have, in substance, if not in form, lent the Company's credit, in the late pecuniary transaction, to the Marquis of Hastings, for the benefit of the Nizam's Government, but for the sole benefit of Messrs. Paine and Co." (*Hear, hear.*) And again, "This is the language not of a responsible, but an irresponsible Government. It is not an exercise of the licence of a Cong without instructions, and respecting the precise limits for the information and supervision of the authorities at home; nor the assertion by your Government of a power to act without the obligation to communicate to any superior authority the means of judging of your acts, and consequently the assertion of a power to elude all check and control." (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

I do humbly conceive that the letter which contains these paragraphs is as caustic, as criminating, and as condemnatory as any which is to be found in this book. I ask then—(*Question, Order, &c.*)

Mr. S. DIXON.—I must again demand of the Chairman, whether this is explanation or fresh argument? (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

Mr. PATTERSON.—I hope, Mr. Chairman, that out of justice to me, you will not allow this explanation, as it is called, to extend further. The hon. Proprietor had his fair time to address you, and made no sparing use of it. I have also had my time to reply to him. I hope, therefore, you will not allow him to resume the consideration of the topics which he before discussed.

Mr. POYNDR.—In opposition to what has been just said by the hon. Director, who made so vehement an attack upon me, I must insist that I have an undoubted right to give an explanation of what I before said. (*Order, and cries of Question.*)

The CHAIRMAN.—I hope the hon. Proprietor will see the necessity of confining himself strictly to explanation. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

Mr. POYNDR.—I can assure the Court that, if I had not met with such repeated interruptions, I should have long since finished what I have got to say. (*Hear.*) The hon. Director appears to have supposed that I said that he had moved in this Court the resolution for making to the Marquis of Hastings a grant of 500,000 a year. I never said any such thing. (*Hear.*) What I said was this, and I now repeat it, that the hon. Director had given his strenuous support to that resolution. (*Hear, hear.*) How the hon. Director could within one year and nine months after he had written and signed such a letter as I have described to you, reconcile it to himself to support such a grant, I cannot for my life understand. (*Loud cries of "Hear, accompanied by a great tumult in the Court."*) To me the inconsistency appears so great, that I— (*Immense confusion, which rendered the conclusion of the sentence inaudible.*)

Mr. PATTERSON.—If that Gentleman is allowed to make another lengthy attack upon me, all that I have to trust to is, that the justice of the Court will allow me to reply to it. (*Hear, hear.*)

The CHAIRMAN.—I think the hon. Proprietor must himself perceive that he is now distinctly out of order. (*Cheers.*)

[Mr. Poynder, in consequence of this declaration, resumed his seat.]

Mr. STEPHEN (the Master in Chancery) then presented himself to the notice of the Court amid loud cries for an adjournment. He spoke nearly as follows:—I would not rise at this late hour in the day to address you, Mr. Chairman, if I did not feel, and feel very strongly, that I should not be doing justice either to my own character, or to that of the Marquis of Hastings, if I were to give my vote, as I intend, against this amendment, without stating my reasons for so doing. (*Hear, hear*.) If I had understood, that upon such topics as have been this day alluded to in reference to the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, it was necessary for me to give a decided opinion, which I say it with all respect to you, Sir, I virtually must do, if I vote for this amendment, I should not have been here to-day to take a part in your debate. I should have felt my incompetence to enter upon so vast a discussion. I should have known, that, without reading this immense pile of papers, and I candidly confess to you, that it has not been possible for me to find time to read them, for to humble share which I take in administering the public justice of the country would not permit me, without neglecting more important avocations to, no time for their perusal. (*Hear, hear*.) I should have known, too, that without reading them carefully and diligently, I should be judging a case without duly examining the evidence on which it depends. (*Hear*.) I therefore tell you fairly, and at once, that I form no opinion,—that I intend to express no opinion on any of the topics which are disputed in this Court; but on one topic, which has not been disputed, but, on the contrary, admitted upon all hands; namely, that the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, has done nothing to stain his character, or to impeach his honour.

(*Hear, hear, hear*.) On that topic I feel myself at any rate competent to speak, and shall therefore submit a few remarks to your candid consideration. (*Hear*.) I came here, I repeat to you, without any bias or prejudice in my mind—I came here with the right information of the contents of this volume, which I have gleaned from the public prints; but finding, as I do, that the Marquis of Hastings stands before you, not only without an accuser, but also without an accusation, (*Hear, hear*.) I feel that with-

out making myself further master of them, I am competent to do justice to his honour and his character; and in my view of the case you will not do justice to them, if you vote the original resolution, and connect it with the amendment, which you, Sir, have proposed. (*Hear, hear*.)

Not, Sir, that I affirm that amendment to be wrong,—far from it; I have not information to justify me giving an opinion either one way or the other, but I find that by general consent the original motion is admitted to be right, and I am, therefore, sure that I can do no wrong in supporting it. (*Hear, hear*.) The amendment, I readily grant, may be right too, and considering that it comes from you, Sir, with whose valuable qualities I have been long acquainted, I have no doubt that it will hereafter appear so; but it would be wrong to vote it now, if on no other account, at least on this, that we should be prejudicating claims, which must shortly come before our regular tribunals. (*Hear, hear, and cry of Ay*.) I assert that, by approving the amendment at present, we should be expressing an opinion, *pro tem*, upon the appeal, which has been lodged; we should be prejudicating against claims preferred by individuals, whose interests cannot be taken care of in this discussion; we should be doing injustice to persons on the other side by deciding on their case, without waiting for the evidence they may adduce to support it. (*Loud, loud*.) Under such circumstances, no friend of the Bengal Government, no, not even Mr. Adam himself, ought to be satisfied if we come to a decision upon it, whilst we are thus undirected. On that Gentleman I know nothing personally; from all that I have heard regarding him, I should take him to be a man of great talent, and unblemished integrity. If he be not, if to a sound head he do not add a kind heart, he degenerates from the stock from which he springs, and is an unworthy son of a most worthy father. With his father I had an acquaintance of fifty years, and a man of greater honour and more sterling worth I never knew. (*Hear, hear*.) I cannot therefore readily bring myself to believe that his son has done any thing to diminish the bright lustre of his character. I do not say, that Mr. Adam has acted improperly; I have not even heard that he has. (*Hear, hear*.) All that I know of his conduct, is derived from the public prints;—and

from them infer, that Mr. Adam stands upon a public principle, and that the Court of Directors concurs with him as to the propriety of standing upon it. (*Hear, hear.*) I therefore suppose, and I have strong grounds for the supposition, that Mr. Adam has conducted himself honourably and uprightly; but, I nevertheless say, that we should be guilty of injustice even towards him, if we were to come to such a conclusion in his favour, without further investigation. (*r*) (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

Beyond a doubt, the despatches which we are now called upon to sanction with our approval, contain a severe censure

(*r*) Really, without seeing these absurdities in print, it would be difficult to believe that men, passing for men of talent and information, could ever be brought to utter them, and that, too, in a public assembly, in the reported proceedings of which they are sure to be recorded. Here is debate upon the question, whether, in the whole of certain transactions detailed in a certain volume of Papers, there be any thing that can support a charge of corruption against the Marquis of Hastings; and a Master of Chancery comes down to the Court to give an opinion thereon, under the open confession of his not having read the evidence, on which alone the question is grounded. If this be the manner in which the business of the Chancery Court is done, no wonder that the suitors are in general so dissatisfied. Again: he finds that, by "general consent," the original motion is "acknowledged to be right." How is this possible, when a large majority of the Court are opposed to it? "But," says he, "the amendment may be right too, especially as it comes from the Chairman, who is such a worthy man, and whom I have known so long!" If so, then why oppose it? Or, how can a motion be right, and an amendment opposed to that motion be equally so? The folly of all this is only surpassed by the deduction, that because Mr. Adam had a worthy father (which, however, hundreds doubt), therefore he must be a worthy son (which thousands deny). Half the highwaymen that are hung at the Old Bailey have come from an honest stock; and some of Mr. Stephen's ancestors were, probably, sensible men: but he evidently derives no benefit from that cause. Mr. Adam has been the author of as much cruelty, oppression, and injustice, in India, as any man that ever preceded him, in an equal space of time; and any attempt on the part of such unreflecting men as Mr. Stephen, to prove that he must be a good man in the estimation of all, because his father has been so considered by a few, will only add ridicule to disgrace.

upon the conduct pursued by the Marquis of Hastings. We have not heard what can be urged in its justification; we have not summoned him to our bar to plead in his own defence; and we should therefore act contrary to the first principles of justice, if we were now, without adequate information, to say, "we concur in the censure which the Court of Directors has passed upon him." I should not have troubled you with any further remarks at present, had it not been for a trifling inconsistency in the speech of the hon. Director who last addressed you. I concur in almost every sentiment which fell from that hon. Director's lips; they were candid, liberal, and manly, and did equal honour to his head and to his heart. (*Hear.*) There was one topic, however, which he introduced into his speech, which, I think, it might have been as well if he had left out: I allude to those expressions in which he commented on the observations of an hon. Proprietor who had preceded him. I scarcely know whether the subject is worthy of attention, as the charge he made against that hon. Proprietor cannot be considered a detraction from his merits. I understood the hon. Director to speak slightly of him, because he was the Editor of a periodical publication, or, I ought rather to say, of a public newspaper—(*Cries of "No, no," in which Mr. Pattison joined.*) I certainly so understood the hon. Director, and am therefore glad that he has condescended to set me right. I will therefore abstain from the remarks I was going to make to you, and shall merely observe, that if the report which that Gentleman gives us of this day's proceedings be at all equal to his speech, it will be no discredit to his talents and ability. (*s.*) (*Question, question.*) I repeat again, that I feel myself bound to vote against this amendment; for I conceive, that it will prejudice the

(*s.*) Who can need any further proof of Mr. Stephen's imbecility than this? A more contemptible speech than that of Mr. Wasborough was, perhaps, hardly ever delivered any where—no, not even at the India House, where the choicest specimens of dullness and ignorance are to be occasionally heard: yet Mr. Stephen thinks it marked by great talent and ability. There is one common feature of resemblance between the *prais-ed* and the *prais-ed*, for each of them opens his address by a frank confession of total ignorance as to the matter in debate, and both support their opening allegations by the subsequent parts of their speeches, long before they are closed.

appeal, which the hon. Director has informed us has been lodged; that it will shut out of our consideration the facts, if there be any, which might convince us that the censure, which the Court of Directors have dealt out, has been essentially unfounded; and that it will take away all the credit and grace of the acquittal which we unanimously acknowledge to be due to the noble Marquis. (*Hear, hear.*) We are well as we are; and we had, therefore, to use the words of the noble Director who preceded me, remain where we are. Indeed, if this amendment should be carried, I would advise the Gentlemen on the other side—I mean, not of the question, but of the Court—(Mr. Douglas Kinnaird, Mr. Randle Jackson, and Mr. Hume, were seated on a different side of the Court from the hon. and learned Gentleman)—to withdraw the original resolution; for, I deem it not only ungraceful, but also ungrateful, to the noble Marquis, to connect the sentence which contains his acquittal of all improper and corrupt motives, with the sentences which follow in the next member of the paragraph. (*Hear, hear.*)

I will endeavour to explain to you my meaning by a familiar illustration. Suppose, for instance, that a lady's honour and reputation were attacked in that point which is most essential to the respectability and dignity of the female character; suppose that a party of her friends were appointed to examine whether there was any foundation for that attack; suppose that, after such examination, they were unanimously of opinion that there were no grounds for the imputation which had been cast upon her; what would you think of them, if they were to announce to the world that they acquitted her fully and entirely of all lapse from chastity, but that they considered her to have been somewhat thoughtless and indiscreet in her general conduct? (*Hear, hear, hear.*) Would you not think, that the expression of such an uncalled for opinion was intended to weaken the effect of the acquittal they were forced to grant her, on the point which had been more immediately submitted to their investigation and inquiry? (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I am sure that such would be your sentiments under those circumstances, and I therefore call upon you to express similar sentiments under the circumstances before you. The honour of a soldier is as delicate as the reputation of a woman; (*hear, hear;*) and an imputa-

tion once cast upon it, is as difficult to remove. (*Hear.*) Will you then say, as you will say, by agreeing to this amendment, "True it is that there are no grounds for imputing corrupt and improper motives to our late Governor-General, but there are grounds for thinking that he has been careless and indiscreet in these transactions at Hyderabad"? For my own part, I dislike all eulogies which end with a "but," or a "nevertheless." I think that they are not so much eulogies as secret and invidious attacks. (*Hear, hear.*) Say not, then, I conjure you, of the Marquis of Hastings, "We admit him to be honest, but we conceive him to have been indiscreet; we acknowledge him to be incorrupt, but we are afraid he has been imprudent; we allow that his conduct has been honourable and upright, but we see much in it on which the Court of Directors were bound to express their public disapprobation." (*Hear, hear.*) I know that they did express such disapprobation; but I verily believe, that if it were to do again, the Court would determine not to do it. (*Hear, hear; and cries of "No, no," from some of the Directors.*)

Notwithstanding the denial I have just received, I repeat my assertion, and will tell you the grounds on which I rest it. It is universally admitted that these despatches were written upon an imperfect view of the subject. (*No, no.*) Indeed they are filled to the last with perpetual calls for further information. (*Hear.*) I conclude from that circumstance, that the disapprobation expressed has either been too little or too much; (*hear, hear;*) and I thence deduce another inference, that, what the Court of Directors wrote on information which they themselves acknowledge to be imperfect, and which others state to be not merely defective, but also discoloured and partial, we ought not to approve, sanction, and confirm, without having the most perfect and satisfactory evidence to judge and act upon. (*Hear, hear.*) If we agree to the original resolution, we agree to that which nobody disputes, and by which nobody can be injured; but if we agree to the amendment, we adopt all the censures which these despatches contain, and thereby make ourselves parties against those who state that they have already received serious injury from the proceedings of your local government, and who are even now appealing against the justice of those proceedings. (*Hear, hear.*) Believing that

there are no grounds for imputing improper motives to the Marquis of Hastings with regard to these transactions, —and if there be grounds for imputation, it is our duty to examine and investigate into them, —why should any man here object to a resolution which does no more than give to that belief a tangible shape and appearance? (*Some Gentlemen here exclaimed, "Read the papers, and you will soon see why."*) I acknowledge that I have not read these papers; but it has not been owing to any fault of mine. The public duties in which I am engaged have prevented me from doing more than prying into the realms of paper (*I laugh, and cries of "Hear!"*) which you have ordered to be printed; but, without wading through them, I can see that you will act on *ex-parte* statements; and, therefore, even if you accidentally come to a right judgment, will act unjustly in consenting at present to this amendment. Parties, whose interests are materially affected by it, are not here to speak to you upon it. The House of Palmer & Co. has not been heard; Sir W. Rumbold has not been heard upon it. (*Hear, hear.*) True there has been much incidental discussion, in which their names have been stated and their pretensions canvassed; but your verdict, if a verdict you should this day give upon their conduct, will be an *ex-parte* verdict, since it will be given upon hearing the statements of one side, and without waiting for the statements of the other. (*Hear.*) If I had any influence with the Chairman, I should advise him to consent to the original resolution, and to withdraw his amendment upon it, on a perfect understanding that we should hereafter agree to enter upon the discussion of these transactions, when we can have them placed before us in an integral shape, and not broken up into distinct and separate parts. (*r*)

(*r*) The end of Mr. Stephen's speech is, if possible, still more absurd than its beginning. An immense volume of Papers had been before the Court for months. Mr. Palmer's memorial, Sir William Rumbold's letter, Mr. Russell's letter, and a great variety of pamphlets on both sides, were accessible to all who chose to read them; a dozen speakers had been heard on behalf of each party in the question; and the debate had been protracted to a length never before known on one topic. All the materials for accurate judgment were, therefore, now before the Court; and yet he proposes further delay, and future discus-

(*Question, question.*) If this proposition be not agreed to, I once more repeat, that I shall feel myself bound to vote for the resolution of the hon. Proprietor. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. SAMUEL DIXON rose, amid loud cries of "*Adjourn, adjourn,*" from all quarters of the Court. "I entreat the patience of the Court," said the hon. Proprietor, "till I ask the Chairman one question. Is there any probability that this amendment will be withdrawn? (*Loud cries of "No" from several Gentlemen both within and without the Bar.*) If there is not, I shall now move the question of adjournment.

Sir C. FORBES rose to second the motion; but

Sir G. A. ROBINSON having risen at the same time, proceeded to address the Court as follows:—The hon. Baronet rises, I believe, merely to second the motion; I rise to speak to it. I think that, after what occurred on a former occasion, he will not dispute my right to do so, even though I should appear to be applying myself more to the arguments of the preceding debate than to the merits of the present question. It is not, however, my intention to trouble the Court upon that subject at this late hour of the day. If I have the opportunity afforded me at another time, and perhaps I may, I should wish to reply at much greater length than I now can do to the arguments of several Gentlemen who have addressed you, both on this and on a former day. What I now rise for is this: Since we have been assembled to discuss these transactions, there has been a publication put forth by the hon. Proprietor, who brought forward the original resolution respecting their merits. I have read it in the interval between the last Court and the present. Now, I wish, in common courtesy, to put to the hon. Proprietor a question upon it. I put it to him, to be kind enough to inform me whether, in the paragraph which I am going to read, I am the individual to whom he alludes? I really shall consider it a personal favour, if he will answer me the question. The paragraph which I am going to read is not

on a subject already exhausted to very weariness. From any other person this would have been regarded as a piece of keen irony; but from a Master in Chancery, to whom protracted proceedings are not more welcome than those speedily terminated, we have no doubt it was serious; if so, it only proves how nearly gravity and folly may be united.

in an official paper—it is to be found in page 97 of the publication I allude to. After speaking of an individual, “a newly introduced member of the Government at Calcutta, as having been exposed in full Council, as having slandered Mr. Russell,” it proceeds as follows:—

“It is possible that the same gentleman who thought proper to spread his injurious and unfounded suspicions regarding Mr. Russell about Calcutta, may have thought himself equally justified in communicating them to his correspondents at home. It is matter of universal report that Mr. Stuart was in the habit of corresponding with a leading and most influential Director of the time, who had been openly hostile to Lord Hastings’ original appointment, and to the policy his Lordship was kown to pursue.”

It would have been the extreme of vanity in me, under ordinary circumstances, to have supposed that I was the individual alluded to as a leading and most influential Director; but at that time I had the honour to fill your chair, and I therefore conceive that by possibility I may be considered as the individual to whom allusion is made. Now, if the hon. Proprietor will do me the favour, and I shall consider it as a very great favour, of stating whether I am the person to whom he alludes, I shall feel myself greatly obliged to him; and—

Mr. D. KINNAIRD interrupted the hon. Baronet; and if we heard him rightly, amid the extreme confusion which prevailed in the Court from the time the question of adjournment was moved till it was carried, (two or three members sometimes speaking at once,) replied, “I can assure the hon. Baronet, that if I had intended to allude to him, I should have mentioned him expressly by name.”

Sir G. A. ROBINSON.—The frank declaration of the hon. Proprietor renders it unnecessary for me to read to the conclusion of the paragraph which I had commenced, or to make the remarks which, in case it had alluded to me, I had intended to offer to the Court upon it.

Sir C. FORBES intimated to the Chairman a wish that the Court would adjourn over to-morrow, as there was a call of the House of Commons for that day, which might prevent the attendance of several hon. Proprietors, who were anxious to be present at the termination of the debate.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have the honour to be a Member of the House of Com-

mons, as well as the hon. Bart., and I know the meaning of a call of the House too well to have any of the apprehensions which he seems to entertain in case of our adjourning this debate till to-morrow. I have no wish to enter at present into the merits of the great question which is now before you; but as I have been personally alluded to by the hon. Director who sits below me in the course of his speech, I trust that you will not think me trespassing unfairly upon your attention, whilst I say a few words to set myself right in your good opinion. (Hear.) If it were at all necessary, which I think it is not, I could add many facts to those which have been already mentioned, to substantiate the charge of inconsistency against that hon. Director. I refrain, however, from such a course of proceeding; but since he has thought fit to make some observations in reply to my assertion, that this amendment would have been the amendment of the Court of Directors, if time had allowed, I must enter a little more into our secrets than has been yet done. (Loud cries of “Adjourn, adjourn.”) I am sure that the Court of Directors will not adjourn whilst I am speaking. (Great tumult.) The requisition for calling a Court on the motion which you are now met for the fourth time to discuss, was sent into the Court of Directors by the eight Proprietors, whose names are subscribed to it, on the — day of the month of —, and was followed up the next day by a motion on the part of the hon. Director, to whom I have before adverted, conceived in a spirit similar to that which pervades the requisition. This fact may perhaps appear to you at present irrelevant, but it is necessary to the due investigation of the assertion which the hon. Director has advanced, that I should state it distinctly to you. So anxious was the hon. Director on the subject,—I mean him who now declares that he argues it as a peace-maker,—that on the 9th of February he moved a resolution in the Court of Directors to this effect.—“That this Court be instructed to make known to the Court of Proprietors at their next general meeting, that it is not the intention of the Court of Directors to offer any opposition to the motion which it is assembled to discuss.” A debate at some length occurred upon that proposition; but so little support did the hon. Director and his seconder receive upon that occasion, that we allowed him to withdraw it, and did not place it on our

records. The courage of the hon. Director increased, however, on the 11th. He again brought forward his proposition; and on that occasion, having mustered resolution to go to a division, he discovered that, out of 22 Directors who were present, only seven could be found to vote in favour of it. This took place as the clock was on the point of striking. Having at that moment brought out of my pocket a copy of the amendment, which I have since proposed, with the intention of submitting it to the Court of Directors, I put it to you, whether, under such circumstances, I was not justified in saying, that, if time had been allowed, the amendment I have proposed would have been the amendment of the Court of Directors? (*Hear, hear; and cries of "No."*) Gentlemen may cry "No," but the result of this discussion will show whether I am or am not right in the position I have advanced. (*Hear, hear.*)

Having said thus much on this point, I must not let the Court depart without saying a word upon another. The hon. and learned Gentleman who has just addressed you, a Judge in one of the highest courts of the country, comes down here, and, without having read the Papers which are necessary to enable him to understand the subject in dispute, tells you that he shall vote for the original resolution, and against the amendment. (*Repeated cries of "Adjourn," and great disorder in the Court.*) I cannot permit you to separate, without expressing my astonishment, that a Gentleman, who acts as a Judge, should have made the remarks he did, without reading the Papers either on one side or the other; (*continued cries of "Adjourn."*) that he should have expressed himself so warmly in favour of the original resolution, without examining how far his impressions went to condemn others,—that he should announce it as a matter of mighty importance, that the noble Marquis should be declared innocent throughout these transactions, and treat it as a matter of indifference whether others be declared so or not. (*Adjourn, adjourn.*) And all this, I say, without reading the Papers. (*Continued uproar.*) I have a right to say, that the hon. and learned Gent. has not read the Papers.

Mr. STEPHEN.—Why, I said so myself. (*Hear, hear.*)

The CHAIRMAN.—That it is which leads me to wonder how the hon. and learned Gentleman can be so inconsistent

as to vote against the amendment, at the very moment he confesses that he is not qualified to vote upon it at all. (*Hear, hear; and cries of "Adjourn."*) "But," says the hon. and learned Gentleman, taking his cue from the hon. Director who preceded him, "It is, *pendente lite*, that you are going to approve of these Papers, and thereby to decide against the appeals which have been presented." I affirm that it is no such thing that you are called upon to do. (*Several voices here exclaimed, "This is not speaking to the question of adjournment."*) I admit that Mr. Palmer has sent a memorial to the Court of Directors, mentioning his appeal to the Bengal Government. (*Cries of "Question," "Adjourn"*—in the midst of which)

Sir C. FORBES rose.—I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, to have to rise to order, but—(*Adjourn, adjourn.*)

Mr. S. DIXON, speaking at the same time, said, "I could insist on my question being put, if I were to stand on the strict point of order, but I decline—(*Adjourn.*)"

The Chairman having sat down, and Mr. Dixon having given way,

Sir C. FORBES proceeded.—I rose with great reluctance, Sir, to call you to order; but I conceived that you were deviating widely from the motion which is now before the Court, and which I had the honour to second. If we are to proceed upon the general question, the hon. Bart. near me is certainly in possession of the Court.

The CHAIRMAN.—It is not for me to decide whether I am in or out of order. I think that I am in order; but you, Gentlemen, are the judges. I certainly conceive that I am entitled to enter into the statement I am now making upon the question of adjournment; and I conceive so, from a recollection of the conduct of the hon. Bart. on a recent occasion. For, last Friday, five times did he promise, by St. Dunstan's clock, to sit down, after he had made a single observation more, upon that very question; and five times did he go on again at great length, notwithstanding his promise. (*Hear, and a laugh.*) To return, however, to the point from which I was diverted by this interruption: I say, that by approving this amendment, you are neither deciding upon these appeals, nor making yourselves parties against those who have lodged them. (*Adjourn.*) The last despatch which we have received from the Government of Bengal on this subject, is dated 23d January 1824. Now,

it is only two months since Mr. W. Palmer has sent to us a copy of his memorial, giving notice of his appeal. (*A voice here exclaimed, "It would be as well for him to let it alone; it will be all in vain."*) It may or may not be vain; but on that point I decline to enter, since the Members of the Bengal Government have not yet favoured us with the view which they are inclined to take of it. It is said, that the parties to it are not now before us, and therefore we ought not to approve the amendment. How well that argument comes from those who do not vouchsafe to read the Papers, I will not stop to observe. I will merely state, that Sir W. Rumbold is now in London, and that, whenever an opportunity is afforded by the termination of this discussion, we shall take up that question. I hope you will not separate without observing how this matter is argued against us. (*Question, question.*) Our opponents complain that they have not all the Papers before them; and yet the hon. Bart. who called me to order, said, at our last Court, that he had not read, and that he did not intend to read, the whole of those Papers, which have recently been printed. He said, that his mind was made up, because he had received full information on the subject from—whom? Why, from Sir W. Rumbold. (*Hear.*) I, for one, must observe, that I never conceived it possible that any man would think of deciding a question like the present upon such information; and, sure I am, that I must have other information than that of Sir W. Rumbold—and I say it not disrespectfully to him—before I can alter the opinion which I have formed upon it, after great care and much investigation. (*u*)

Mr. STEPHEN rose, amid deafening cries of "*Question*" and "*Adjourn.*"—I beg your patient indulgence for a few moments, whilst I say a word or two by way of explanation. I feel it necessary to trespass again upon your attention, in consequence of the misconception of the Chairman, as to my reasons for coming to vote upon this question. I admit that I have not read these papers. At the very outset of the remarks I offered to your consideration, I told you that I had not read them; and I told you so, in order that I might put myself right in your estimation. I added to that declaration

(*u*) We must do Mr. Astell the justice to say, that his arguments in this short speech appear to us to be founded in good sense.

another, that though I could not vote upon the amendment, because it contained topics which were disputed, and which other occupations had prevented me from examining, I could vote on the original resolution, which acquitted the Marquis of Hastings of the weight of corrupt motives, because that was a topic which had been admitted by every body. That declaration, I repeat, and, in repeating it, I feel that I do not deserve the imputations which the Chairman cast upon me. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. D. KINNAIRD rose to address the Chair; but, owing to the uproar in the Court, stood silent for more than a minute.

The CHAIRMAN.—We must not separate, Gentlemen, without fixing the day to which we shall adjourn. (*Farious voices, "To-morrow!"*)

The CHAIRMAN having put the question upon that proposition,

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said—I avail myself of the question of adjournment, to say, that it was an unfair conclusion to which you, Sir, came on the conduct of the hon. and learned Gent., when you said that he was acting inconsistently, in declining to vote upon the amendment, because he had not read the Papers which were requisite to understand it, and in persisting to vote upon the original resolution, which equally depended upon the facts detailed in them. I say, there is no inconsistency in such conduct; for the amendment involves topics of a complicated nature, and requiring deep consideration, whilst the original motion affirms a single proposition,—that there is nothing in these transactions to affect the personal honour and character of the Marquis of Hastings, and has not been denied by any body.

Mr. FRESHFIELD.—I, too, avail myself of the question of adjournment, to answer the objection of the hon. Proprietor. (*A laugh.*) I deny the justice of the conclusion, that, because the amendment embraces the whole subject of these Papers, and the original question only a part of it, an individual, who has not read the Papers on which the merits of both depend, and who therefore knows nothing of either, has a right to vote upon the question which is limited, but not upon that which is general, in extent. If he has read the Papers, he is competent to vote upon both questions; if he has not, he is incompetent to vote upon either. How then do you deny the fairness of the conclusion, that the hon. and learned

Gentleman is acting inconsistently when he undertakes to vote upon the original question, which he assumes to be correct, because it is not contradicted, and votes against the amendment, which he cannot say is incorrect, because he knows nothing of the statements upon which it is founded? (x)

(x) Mr. Freshfield appears to us, also, to take the most correct view of the point in dispute. The question was, that the *Papers* before the Court contained nothing which could substantiate a charge against the Marquis of Hastings. Now, without *reading* those *Papers*, no man

The CHAIRMAN then put the question, that this Debate be adjourned till to-morrow, which was carried unanimously.

The Court then broke up at a few minutes before 6 o'clock.

could, of his own knowledge, either affirm or deny the proposition; and if he merely joined in the general cry, and said there was nothing in those *Papers*, because *others* said so,—then his evidence was not worth giving; for such a rule would be utterly subversive of the first principles of jurisprudence.

DEBATE AT THE INDIA HOUSE.—FIFTH DAY.

On Tuesday, March 1st, the Court met, pursuant to adjournment.

The CHAIRMAN took his seat at 12 o'clock; and the minutes of the last Court having been read, he desired the Clerk to read the motion and amendment, which was accordingly done.

Mr. POYNDER then rose and said: I wish, before the debate begins, simply to request a patient and attentive hearing for every Member who may feel it necessary to address the Court upon this very serious and important inquiry. Sir, I make this request in consequence of the very disorderly scene which occurred at the close of our proceedings on the last day's debate. In making this observation, I am not actuated by any personal feeling; for, as far as I am personally concerned, I have no reason to complain: on the contrary, I have to thank the Court for the attention with which my observations were received,—an attention which I beg to assure them was far beyond any claim or expectation of mine. I must, however, say, that on the last occasion it gave me pain to see such men as Mr. Stuart, Mr. Freshfield, and other highly and deservedly respected Proprietors assailed with cries of "Question," when they attempted to explain the motives by which they were actuated. Sir, even the gallant General himself (Sir J. Doyle) had, on a former debate, called on an hon. Proprietor to answer his arguments, and not to interrupt him. I perceive that these constant interruptions operate as an extreme difficulty and discouragement to many Proprietors, who are otherwise able to afford much valuable information to the Court upon this subject. Some Gen-

tlemen, not being in the habit of addressing public assemblies, are, from a fear of similar interruptions, induced to refrain from speaking at all on the question (a). I have not the power, neither have I a wish, again to address the Court upon the merits of the case before it. What I have said, has reference to others, not to myself; and I trust that the evil of which many Proprietors have had cause to complain, will be avoided during the remainder of the present discussion. At the last Court even our hon. Chairman was more than once obliged to sit down, being unable to obtain a hearing. Such conduct is most unseemly in a body of such high and dignified character, (b) assembled, as we are, for the purpose of discussing so important a question as the present. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. S. DIXON.—I hope, Sir, this Court will deal out the same equal measure of justice to every Proprietor, without distinction of persons or opinions. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. POYNDER.—I beg to assure the Court that I mean nothing else.

Mr. WASBOROUGH.—Sir, I rise solely

(a) It would be matter of congratulation if this, or any other cause, operated still more powerfully; for the number of the speakers, as well as the length of the speeches made at the India House, might be curtailed, with eminent advantage to all parties.

(b) This is rather assuming too much. There is not a public assembly in England, certainly, and probably not in the world, that is less entitled to the epithets of "high and dignified," as applied to its collective character, than the Court of Proprietors of India Stock, of which any one who doubts need only visit it once to be convinced.

for the purpose of noticing an allusion made to what fell from me, by an hon. Director (Mr. Pattison) at the last Court. That Gentleman, I think, alluded to my being connected with the public press, and expressed a hope that I would take care to give to the public a correct report of my speech, or words to that effect. It is true, Sir, that I am so connected; but I appear here, not in connexion with the press, but in my character of Proprietor of East India Stock. Feeling, as I justly ought to feel, diffident of addressing this Court after my learned Friend, Mr. Jackson, who is my neighbour, and who I understood was to open the debate yesterday, I asked that Gentleman whether, in courtesy, he would allow me, in the event of my attending the Court, to deliver my sentiments before him; but he intimated that in all probability Mr. Pattison would open the debate. Therefore it was that I spoke to the hon. Director upon the subject.—I told him that I understood he was to open the debate, and pointed out to him the difficulty under which I should labour, if I attempted to follow a Gentleman so perfectly well qualified to make a striking impression on the Court. (c) I was, in consequence, allowed to take precedence; but before I entered the Court I had laid down this rule to myself,—a rule from which I never will deviate,—that, whether I did or did not secure the attention of the Court, (and I stated the fact to my respectable partner,) that I never would publish in any paper or pamphlet what I said within the walls of this Court. (d) It is not, therefore,

(c) Mr. Wasborough's aim, then, was here avowedly to make an advantageous impression, on his own personal behalf, as an orator; and the *naïveté* of the confession is instructive as well as amusing. If he were intent upon the higher object of assisting to obtain justice for injured men, he would never have occupied himself with such a paltry manoeuvre. The very thought itself sufficiently indicates the character of the mind in which it could have originated. Mr. Wasborough may rest assured, however, that ignorance and folly are not the less so because they precede, nor the more so because they follow, information and wisdom. Let him speak when he may, no person of discernment will mistake him for an oracle.

(d) Then, if Mr. Wasborough be an editor of a paper, he was guilty of a great breach of duty in making such a resolution; for it was his duty, as such,

too much to hope, that I may be allowed to do my duty as a Proprietor of East India Stock, without reference to my avocations elsewhere.

Mr. DANIELL.—From my long acquaintance with the hon. Director alluded to, (Mr. Pattison was not at that moment in Court,) I am sure nothing could be farther from his intention than to make use of any expression, personally or even indirectly, offensive to the hon. Proprietor. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. WASBOROUGH.—I again repeat, that before I entered this Court I had determined, that nothing which I uttered, whether well or ill-received, should be given by me to the public in any printed form. I appear here solely as a Proprietor.

Mr. PATTISON, (who had just entered).—I am most anxious to explain to the hon. Proprietor; and though I had not the pleasure of hearing all he has said, I trust he will deem my explanation perfectly satisfactory. I recollect well what I said on the occasion to which he alludes, and I beg to assure him that I said it with the most perfect good-humour. (*Hear, hear.*) The Court will recollect that the hon. Gentleman stated his being qualified, as a Proprietor of East India Stock, to speak on this question; and I think it was not quite unnatural to suppose that he intended giving his speech to the public. But, in making that allusion, I beg to assure the hon. Proprietor that I meant nothing personally offensive to him; and if my observations were taken in that light, I am perfectly ready to assure him that they were not so intended. (*Hear.*) The hon. Proprietor is in this Court only a holder of East India Stock; and whether he be or be not connected with a newspaper or other publication, is matter with which we have nothing whatever to do. His observations are entitled to as much respect, and ought to carry with them as much weight, as those of any other Proprietor. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. AMORY.—Sir, in opening the debate upon this great and momentous question, I cannot help stating that the diffidence I feel is greatly increased by the recollection that I am obliged to avow, after a most attentive consideration of the Papers, that I feel compelled to differ from Gentlemen on the other side of the Court, for whose opi-

to have his own sentiments reported as well as those of other men.

nions I entertain the highest respect, and whose talents I hold in the greatest estimation. I may with great truth direct this expression of my diffidence to an hon. Director, (Mr. Pattison,) whose abilities I greatly admire, but whose speech I cannot help saying did not produce upon my mind that impression which that Gentleman appeared anxious to make upon the Court.

Of myself I beg to say a word or two:—I belong, Sir, to what the gallant General (Sir J. Doyle) perhaps looks upon as a proscribed class,—a class against which the gallant General has been pleased to direct many strong animadversions;—but I have no connexion with any of the parties whose conduct is now under the consideration of the Court. I stand here merely as a Proprietor, and in that capacity I shall state my sentiments as briefly as I can; and I trust I shall do so without pursuing the course adopted by other Members: I mean, reading voluminous extracts from the great mass of papers which had been submitted to the Court. A Gentleman of high respectability and deservedly great influence, (I mean Mr. J. Smith,) has told you, that it is impossible to look at this question in any other light than that of an “aye” or a “no” question;—as a question either affirming or taking away the character of the Marquis of Hastings;—as a question which resolved itself into this—“Is the noble Marquis, or is he not, an honourable man?” (*Hear, hear.*) Sir, I beg to state that I dissent altogether from this proposition. I think it quite possible that the noble Marquis, after having received from this Court, and from the Court which is held in the other room, the highest testimonials of their approbation, may nevertheless have cause to regret that the injudicious activity which he has shown in serving his friends, has given rise to a question which may induce unprejudiced men not to entertain so high a respect for his character as they had formerly done. The political conduct of the noble Marquis is not, I conceive, at all mixed up with this question; and therefore I shall omit noticing any part of it, but will leave it to be decided by the particular Papers relative to it, which have been laid before the Court, and confine myself strictly to the motion and amendment now under discussion.

You have been told by an hon. Director, to whom I have already alluded,

that the motion is a clear and simple one, and that the amendment only serves to puzzle and perplex the question. Sir, I cannot agree with the hon. Director in this opinion. The original proposition, in my judgment, contains much more than a hasty perusal of it would lead individuals to suppose. It is, I think, drawn up with the accustomed ability of the hon. Mover; it is calculated to secure the approbation of Gentlemen who will not look narrowly into it; and is likely to induce them to grant that which it may not be their intention to concede, but the concession of which they will not be likely at the moment to perceive. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir, I must be allowed to observe, that the motion does not merely go to the affirmation or negation of the proposition “whether the noble Marquis be or be not an honourable man;” it goes a great deal further. (*Hear, hear.*) It goes in substance to this, “that nothing contained in these Papers touches in the slightest degree on the personal character and integrity of the noble Marquis.” Had the motion stopped here, I, for one, would have cheerfully given it my support. But, Sir, I must say, that in raising the question of personal honour, those who introduced the proposition, have given rise to a question of very considerable difficulty; a question upon which I, as a Proprietor, cannot help entertaining very great and serious doubts. What, I ask, is personal character? Where personal character is found in perfect purity, it may be said to consist mainly, if not entirely, of three points: First, Prudence; second, Caution; and third, Impartiality. Sir, it is not my intention to put my argument in any way which can be considered offensive to the noble Marquis, but I must say, after a careful perusal of the Papers, I do not find that he has acted upon every occasion with becoming prudence, caution, and impartiality. I state this fairly and openly, because I have no connexion either with the noble Marquis, or with those who may be supposed to be opposed to him. In what I do or say here, I am influenced only by a sense of justice. Let me ask, Sir, to what end does the proposed amendment go? But before I enter upon that question, I must take leave to observe, that had it been moved by any hon. Member without the bar, instead of coming from the Directors themselves, it would have pleased me more; (*Hear, hear.*) and for this reason, because I think the Court of Di-

rectors are fully entitled to the extent of credit given to them in that amendment; and therefore, it would, in my opinion, have been more becoming, if the Proprietors had been the first to propose that approbation which the Directors appear anxious to have bestowed upon themselves. (*Cheers.*)

I must make one remark upon the manner in which my last observation has been received. I am aware that the official situation of our Chairman does not in any way incapacitate him from acting as a Proprietor of East India Stock. Although a young Member of the Court, yet I have read on the subject every thing likely to give me a clear insight into your forms; I have waded through all the Acts of Parliament which have been passed for the regulation of the Company, and nowhere have I found any thing which prevents you, Sir, from adopting any course of proceeding which is open to any other Proprietor.

Allow me now to return shortly to the amendment. It is there set forth, in the first part, that there is no ground for imputing to the noble Marquis any corrupt motive. In this statement, I for one, must fully concur; I think it was well and justly said, in describing the character of the noble Marquis, that he was of "too easy a temper." As to his having been actuated by corrupt motives, it has received the most marked and general contradiction. (*Hear, hear.*) The amendment proceeds to give a certain portion of credit to the other members of the Bengal Government; and, Sir, I must be allowed to observe, that had I drawn up that amendment, I certainly should not have gone quite so far. (*Hear.*) It goes on to a point which, I think, indispensably necessary, and I shall tell you why I think so. It appears to me that hon. Gentlemen have been diverted, in the heat of argument, from the main feature of the original question; for I think it impossible that the Court should come to an affirmative vote on that motion without strongly censuring, by implication at least, the Gentlemen who sit on the other side of the bar. (*Hear, hear.*) This, Sir, is my sincere feeling; but I will go further, and say, with perfect fairness, that though there are some few observations in those despatches, which (with the information we now have before us) would, I conceive, were those documents to be drawn up at the time, be struck out; yet, as a whole, I think they were undoubtedly called

for at the period when they were sent out. Such remonstrances were necessary then, and they are necessary now, to establish and keep a-foot that sort of salutary control which ought to be always maintained by this Company over their Government abroad. (*Hear, hear.*) What then, must be the inevitable result, if we agree to the present naked motion? It will give rise to a very important question; nay, it will, I fear, sanction a very dangerous principle. The greater the talent of the noble Marquis, the more pregnant with danger does the principle appear to me. In a word, if we refuse to approve of what our executive body, in the exercise of a sound discretion, has done, we shall go the length of making all future Governors-General of India perfectly independent of the authorities at home. (*Hear, hear.*) I have come to this conclusion, after a very calm and deliberate consideration of the question. In the course of the remarks I have made on these despatches, I have fairly said, that, as a whole, I approve of them; and I have, no less fairly observed, that there are isolated parts of them, which, being now in possession of more information than the Directors had when the despatches were drawn up, I do not approve of. (*Hear, hear.*) But are Gentlemen, who applaud that sentiment, prepared to say that they approve of the whole of the letters from the Marquis of Hastings to the Court of Directors, which form a part of these Papers? (*Hear, hear.*) If they are, I must say that I am not disposed to do so. (*Hear, hear.*) I observe in those letters vituperative and disrespectful language, at which the Court naturally felt displeased. I also find that the letters, officially addressed to the noble Marquis, were not considered by him as the letters of the Court of Directors—as the regular despatches of the Company—but were treated as letters coming from individuals. (*Hear.*) In one of his letters, the noble Marquis observes, "that the Court of Directors have suffered themselves to be deceived and imposed on by the civil servants here." I think such observations, to say the least of them, were wholly uncalled for, and come with a very bad grace from a man of sense, such as the noble Marquis undoubtedly is. I think, therefore, that we are bound to support the despatches of the Court of Directors, to prevent such insinuations and observations being made in future. I conceive that those despatches were,

under all the circumstances, imperatively called for; and it is necessary for this Court to uphold them, as tending to keep up that proper check on our foreign servants, which is absolutely and essentially requisite for the maintenance of good government. (e) (Hear.)

Having said so much, and having in the outset declared that I did not intend to quote from these Papers, I will merely state why I have refrained from doing so. I have not, then, called the attention of the Proprietors minutely to those documents, first, because many other Gentlemen have entered into their examination; and next, because, in the course of a debate, it requires a clearer head, and greater abilities than I possess, to bear up with any tolerable success against the weariness which a constant reference to papers is calculated to produce. Therefore, I have not gone into an examination of this mass of documents. I will now, with the permission of the Court, make one other observation. As I belong to a particular class of men, I call on the hon. Baronet (Sir John Doyle) and others, who have animadverted on that class, to treat us with the same fairness, urbanity, and justice, which other parties receive. (Hear.) I will say, as a professional man, that my time, and the time of my brethren, is our stock in trade, (hear,) and if we give up our time to this discussion, we give up that which is as valuable to us as the time of any other gentleman is valuable to him. (Hear.) I object, for one, to the idea of there being any restriction, by which lawyers are to be debarred from discussing any subject that may be brought before the Court. (Hear.) Therefore, if I address the Court, or if an hon. Friend of mine (Mr. Freshfield), whom I do not see in his place, thinks proper to deliver his sentiments, I think we are entitled to receive the same degree of attention as is extended to other hon. Proprietors. (f) (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BRID.—The hon. Proprietor (Mr. D. Kinnaird) who brought the

present motion before the Court, introduced it in a very praise-worthy manner—with great good-tamper and much gentleness of demeanour; but I am sorry to say, that a pamphlet which the hon. Proprietor has published, and which bears on the present question, does not deserve the same complimentary notice. In that pamphlet he has reflected on the individual who was second in authority in Bengal, when Lord Hastings was Governor-General. That individual is a highly respectable Member of Council, whom I have known for four or five-and-thirty years. When I first met him he was a young man of fine talents, of good principles, one who manifested great application in acquiring a knowledge of the Oriental languages, and who was most anxious to obtain an insight into the affairs of the Company. He promised, at that time, that he would at some period arrive at a high situation in the Company's service. (Hear.) I will lay before the Court some of the passages of the hon. Proprietor's pamphlet, in which that Gentleman is spoken of. In page 97, the hon. Proprietor thus notices that individual:

‘It is possible that the same Gentleman who thought proper to spread his injurious and unfounded suspicions regarding Mr. Russell about Calcutta, may have thought himself equally justified in communicating them to his correspondents at home. It is matter of universal report that Mr. Stuart was in the habit of corresponding with a leading and most influential Director of the time, who had been openly hostile to Lord Hastings's original appointment, and to the policy his Lordship was known to pursue. But whether Mr. Stuart did or did not communicate his injurious suspicions of Mr. Russell to his correspondent, or whether some person to whom Mr. Stuart may have confided them at Calcutta, was the channel through whom they were received and adopted at the East India House; it is, to the writer of these remarks, as clear as the sun at noon-day, that these unworthy calumnies had been communicated, had *there* received a ready belief, and were the real foundation of the foregoing letter.’

This was, observed Mr. Bebb, the letter of the Court of Directors of the 24th May 1820, to the Government of Bengal, directing them to withdraw the license from the loan of Messrs. Palmer and Co. immediately. The paragraph proceeds:

‘The belief in the foul conspiracy, slanderously alleged to have been formed between Lord Hastings, Mr. Russell,

(e) That check should be a free press, and the open expression of public opinion on the spot. There is no other that is of the least efficacy whatever.

(f) No doubt; but lawyers generally demand more. It is *what* is said, however, and not *by whom* it may be spoken, that should, in all assemblies, be the principal object of consideration.

and the House of Palmer and Co., will alone account for the tone and the terms of the orders of the despatch in question; no other theory can render it intelligible. The circumstantial evidence in this, as in most cases, is of a nature that convinces more fully than any direct proof. Can an intelligible explanation be given of it in any other manner?

Here Mr. Russell is spoken of as having been slandered, and Mr. Stuart is pointed out as the propagator of the slander. I do not take to myself the character of "a leading and most influential Director of the time." I do not deserve such a description. An hon. Baronet (Sir G. A. Robinson) who spoke yesterday, thought that he was the person meant, and I am of the same opinion, for the hon. Baronet's name is the first affixed to the letter withdrawing the license of Palmer and Co. I, in the face of the Court, include myself amongst the correspondents of Mr. Stuart. I had corresponded with him for many years before the Marquis of Hastings went out to India, and consequently many years before he became a Member of Council; and I cannot let this opportunity pass without declaring, in the most unqualified, distinct, and unequivocal manner, without any mental reservation,—and if I were in the last stage of existence, I would make the same declaration,—that Mr. Stuart never did, in any letter addressed to me, state or insinuate, or in any way imply or intimate, that Mr. Russell was a partner in the House of Palmer and Co. I will go further, and state, that Mr. Stuart corresponded with another hon. Director (Mr. Davis), now no more. I never saw Mr. Stuart's letters to Mr. Davis, but I have often had conversations with him about Mr. Stuart, and I will solemnly declare, that Mr. Davis never said, that Mr. Stuart had at any time made such representations to him; (*hear*;) and certainly to me, any intimation of the kind alluded to never had been thrown out by Mr. Stuart. (*Hear*.) I hope, therefore, that as far as the voice of one individual will go, the Court will clear Mr. Stuart from the severe imputations which the hon. Proprietor has advanced against him in print. (*Hear*.)

With respect to the late Resident at Hyderabad, who addressed the Court some days ago with so much energy, and who made such an impression on the Proprietors,—with respect to that individual, I will say a few words. I never did hear that he was a partner in the House of Palmer and Co. until I

saw it mentioned, as a slander, in this pamphlet. The late Resident has told the Court that he had had pecuniary transactions with a namesake of his, Mr. S. Russell, who previously had many dealings with the House of Palmer and Co. What those transactions were, the late Resident has not informed the Court, neither had he a right to do so. Whether it was by way of loan, at a legal interest, or at a higher rate, he has not acquainted the Proprietors. He has, however, informed the Court, that at this period Mr. W. Palmer was accommodated in the Residency; and the Natives being of opinion that Mr. W. Palmer derived considerable influence from living in the Residency, Mr. Russell desired that Gentleman to withdraw. In consequence of that direction, the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Russell) informed the Court that Mr. W. Palmer did withdraw; and there was thus produced between him and Mr. Palmer a great degree of hostility. Here the hon. Proprietor left the Court with respect to the hostility which had been engendered. But it appears that this hostility was not of eternal duration, for Sir W. Rumbold, in his letter to the Court of Directors, included a private letter from Mr. Resident Russell, in which that Gentleman encouraged W. Palmer and Co. to withhold the accounts which the Bengal Government had desired the House of Palmer and Co. to produce. (*Hear, hear*.) If I am wrong, the Gentlemen who cry "hear, hear," can set me right. That letter did encourage Palmer and Co. not to produce those accounts; and it appears that Sir W. Rumbold, one of the partners, was to be the instrument by which that object was to be effected. This letter is to be found in page 731. It is dated 30th October 1819, and runs thus:

"MY DEAR PALMER:—I have sent the letters to the Residency to have the remainder of them copied, and directly that is done I will send them off. I return you the letter to Sir William, agreeing in every thing you have said in it. The openness with which you have come forward to exhibit the whole detail of your transactions in the Arrungabad concern, ought to operate powerfully in favour of the House; (*hear, hear*;) but no mercantile establishment ought, in common justice, to be exposed to a scrutiny of this inquisitorial character.—(*Hear, hear*.) Sir William, I should hope, would be able to prevail on Lord Hastings, if this captious cavilling spirit continues to be displayed, to say, that

whenever any substantial objection is urged, he will call on the House to explain it, but that he cannot consent to call on them for an indiscriminate exposure of their concerns, merely under the expectation that some ground of objection may be discovered in them. Such a practice is subversive of the very basis on which society is founded. (*Hear, hear.*)

Yours, very truly,
H. RUSSELL.

Thus it was that directions were given for the House of W. Palmer and Co. to resist the orders of the Government,—those orders being forwarded on the offer which they had themselves made, and in the spirit of which the license was granted. It is not necessary for me to go into all the particulars. It is sufficient to say, that an application was made by the House of Palmer and Co. for a license which would exempt them from the operation of the law by which British subjects, in general, were bound. That license was granted; it bore date the 23d of July 1846; and in acceding certain powers to the House of W. Palmer and Co., the Governor-General, in effect, says, that permission was granted to exercise those powers, “provided that whatever transactions you (Palmer and Co.) may have with the Nizam’s Government, shall be such as are approved of by the British Government.” But how could they be approved and sanctioned, unless the Government knew what those transactions were? (*Hear.*) It is quite clear that the penalties provided by the Act of Parliament relative to pecuniary transactions between British subjects and the Native Princes, were intended to prevent the former from obtaining too much influence over the latter, by lending them money and exacting an enormous rate of interest from them. The question, then, is, Did Palmer and Co., or did they not, obtain an undue influence over the Nizam, through the medium of their connexion with the Government of the Marquis of Hastings? (*No, not answered by cries of Yes, yes!*) And next, whether they did or did not receive an exorbitant rate of interest from the Nizam? (*No—Yes.*) Here is the instrument itself, which allowed the House of Palmer and Co. to enter into these pecuniary transactions, and it contains this specific clause:—

‘Provided, however, that the said Firm of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. shall, at all times, when required to do so by the British Resident at Hydrabad

for the time being, communicate to the said Resident the nature and subject of their transactions with the Government or the subjects of his said Highness the Nizam.’

In this case the parties were required to produce their accounts; and they did send them to Calcutta; but they took very good care that they should be accompanied by one of their most active partners, Sir W. Rumbold, who was to exert his influence to prevent those accounts from being placed on record. And the reason given by the noble Marquis for conceding this particular point, namely, that the accounts should not be recorded, is a most curious one. It is, without circumlocution, simply this: that if the accounts were sent to London, they would be submitted to the inspection of persons ignorant of the habits, manners, and usages of India. Who, I demand, were the persons thus pointed at? They were not individuals who are to be met in fashionable clubs, or in places where the chit-chat of the day occupies the attention of the parties assembled. In the first place, those persons included the Executive Body of the East India Company, from whom all despatches to the Government abroad necessarily emanated. On these despatches they were bound to exercise a fair and proper judgment; and having well considered them, it became their duty to seal them with their sanction. The Executive Body, of which I am now speaking, may be said to consist of two parties: first, of Gentlemen who have not been in India, and, next, Gentlemen who have been employed in that country, which is the case with several of them. There are many Gentlemen in the Direction, who, though they have never been in our Eastern dominions, have given up a great portion of their time and attention to the study of Indian affairs; and by long and laborious study, have acquired a perfect knowledge of the Company’s best interests. (*g*) The other Gentlemen to whom I have alluded, are persons who have passed many years in India, where they have held high offices,—and are intimately conversant with the habits, manners,

(*g*) This may be believed by those who are themselves equally ignorant: but it is notorious to all who have ever come in contact with the Directors themselves, that few men are more ill-informed on the subject of the *real* interests of India than they.

usages, and language of the natives, (h) These certainly were very fit individuals to examine the accounts of Messrs. Palmer and Co., if they had been placed on record;—yet were they mentioned as persons who were likely to form all sorts of erroneous conclusions. (i) (*Hear.*) But who were the other parties thus spoken of? Why, the Commissioners for the affairs of India. When despatches arrive in this country, they are forwarded to the Commissioners for Indian Affairs as soon as possible. I know that none of these Gentlemen have been in India, but they are empowered to look into all matters connected with the administration of the Indian Government; and considering the prompt and effectual assistance which they receive, I see no reason why they should not discharge their duties correctly and satisfactorily. The President of the Board is often in communication with the Chairman, who informs him, from the authentic records, of every point relative to which he requires explanation. Again, who are the other individuals thus slightly mentioned? They are—yourselves—the constituent body of the East India Company,—the General Court of Proprietors,—the greater number of whom, I am aware, have never been in India. Among them, however, are to be found men possessing much natural acuteness of mind, assisted by education, and enlarged by a constant intercourse with the world. But at this moment I observe, on the other side of the bar, individuals who have filled high situations in our Indian Empire,—persons who are perfectly conversant with the habits, manners, and

(h) These, though not deficient in information, are so besotted with Indian prejudices and despotic habits, as well as feelings, that more unfit men to rule the destinies of a great country could hardly be found.

(i) The result has shown that the predictions were just: they have formed all manner of erroneous conclusions; and, notwithstanding their “intimate acquaintance” with Indian affairs, they are ignorant of a fact known to every man who has passed six months in that country; namely, that all rates of interest, from twelve to forty-eight per cent. per annum, are paid, not merely by Natives, but by English borrowers of money; the rate depending entirely on the proportion between the supply and demand, and having no reference whatever to any standard fixed by statute law.

usages of the natives of India, and who are in every respect capable of speaking justly and accurately on any question connected with India. (*Hear.*) These were matters of account—and have we no persons who are capable of judging of matters of that description? Have we not the assistance of a Gentleman who has held one of the most important situations under the Indian Government,—who may be considered, (if not in name, yet certainly in fact,) as the chief financier of India? How, then, could it be asserted that any erroneous conclusion was likely to be drawn, if those accounts had been recorded and sent home? (k)

It appears, with respect to the Aurrangabad arrangement, that the information afforded to the Bengal Government, was too vague and unsatisfactory to enable them to come to any decision on its merits; for Messrs. Palmer and Co. had not stated the rate of interest which they were to receive—a most important point, as every man conversant in such matters must allow. It does, however, appear, that Palmer and Co. were to have assignments on the Nizam's revenue, to the amount of thirty lacs of rupees per year, for which they were to advance two lacs of rupees per month. Now, I contend that, supported as this House was by the countenance and influence of the Governor-General and the Resident at Hyderabad, unless some convulsion took place in the Nizam's territories—some such convulsion as would overturn the Bank of England—those assignments were as good and as valuable as bank-notes. (*No, no.*) Any person, I am convinced, would have taken them in liquidation of an account. (*Hear, hear.*) Some of the Members of Council did not like the explanation which had been given of this Aurrangabad transaction by Palmer and Co., and they called on Mr.

(k) The answer is, that this, which is considered impossible to happen, has happened: the accounts are now before this very Court whom Mr. Bebb is addressing. One half of the Members have not read them; a portion of the other half do not even pretend to understand them; and the remaining portion are so divided in opinion, that one party declare the whole to be fictitious, fraudulent, and disgraceful—the other, real, honest, and honourable. What more can be necessary than to prove that the majority, at least, are not qualified to pronounce any opinion whatever on the subject?

Sherrer, the Accountant-General, (a most able and efficient officer,) to inspect the documents which had been transmitted by Messrs. Palmer and Co., and to report his opinion upon them. Mr. Sherrer wrote a letter, in which he referred to the 37 Geo. III., cap. 142, and expressed his doubts whether Mr. Russell, the then Resident, was competent to give his sanction to any such arrangement. This doubt was founded on the fact, that it was not known to him, nor did it appear from the correspondence laid before him, that the consent or approbation of any of the Governments of India had been obtained to the arrangements concluded at Hyderabad, between the Nizam's Government and the House of Palmer and Co.; and he observed, that had such consent been obtained, the circumstance would of course have been noticed in the correspondence. Mr. Sherrer then proceeded to take a detailed view of the question, and, in the end, he called for a figured statement of the transactions between the House and the Nizam. An order was in consequence directed by the Government to the Resident at Hyderabad, calling upon him to transmit to Calcutta the accounts which Mr. Sherrer had mentioned. The accounts were forwarded to the seat of Government; but the great object of the order was baffled. The business was so conducted that the accounts were not placed on the records of the Council. The senior Member of Council, (Mr. Stuart,) in a minute which did him very great honour, and which might be considered a sort of protest against what passed in Council at that time, recorded his opinion on the subject. To that minute the Governor-General replied; and his first observation was, that the Government of the Nizam was independent. What was the nature of the independence enjoyed by that Prince, is fully shown in Mr. Resident Russell's Report on the Military and Political State of the Nizam's Dominions, addressed to Sir Thomas Hislop. That Report is subsequently introduced into an estimate, drawn up by Mr. Stuart. But I will for a moment give hon. Gentlemen the benefit of the position: I will suppose the Nizam to be as independent as Gumbhur Sing, the Rajah of Muniapore, or the King of Ava, with whom we are now at war. But, Sir, what became of this boast of independence, when mighty promises, backed by the countenance of Government, were held out by Messrs. Palmer and

Co.? It must be obvious, when we consider the relative situation of the parties, that only a nominal, not a real independence, could be maintained under such circumstances; and therefore this specious plea of the noble Marquis falls at once to the ground. (*Hear.*)

I hope the Court will excuse me, if, upon this occasion, I make use of the language of the noble Marquis himself, with reference to a point to which I made allusion at the commencement of my speech: I mean the alarm which appeared to prevail even at the idea of sending those accounts to England. The noble Marquis says:—

'When Sir W. Rumbold was called before the Council, he explained that the supplication of the House for Government's dispensing with the delivery of a copy of the accounts, had this sole motive:—the accounts once put on the proceedings of Council, must be transmitted home, so that the transactions of the House would be subjected, in London, to the inspection of persons liable to form all kinds of false deductions, from total ignorance of the habits of the country, and of every concomitant particular. At the same time, he offered to explain every part of the transactions verbally, on oath, to the Council. He further proposed to wait upon Mr. Stuart, at his own house, and there submit the accounts to his examination.'

That a man, possessing the great talents, and holding the high station of the Marquis of Hastings, should have placed upon record such sentiments as these, is, to me, totally inexplicable. It is so unlike his general conduct, so inconsistent with the great service he has done the Company, (and no man is more ready than I am to bear testimony to those services,) that, when the passage first met my eye, I was struck with astonishment. (*Hear.*) The hon. Proprietor (Mr. D. Kinnaird) has, in his pamphlet, made a direct attack, not, indeed, by name, but in a manner not to be misunderstood, on the Court of Directors, whom he describes as the judges, and very partial judges, of my Lord Hastings. The pamphlet says,—

'Whether the original motive for these calumnies may have been to injure Sir W. Rumbold and his partners, or Mr. Russell, or Lord Hastings, it is abundantly apparent that their judges' (meaning, of course, the great body of the Directors).—If I am wrong, in this assertion, nothing can be more easy than to set me right 'and their accusers have been equally ready to believe, without

examination, and to record as true every charge that has been made/

Sir, as a Member of that Body, who have thus been stigmatized, I feel bound to give a full and complete denial to the whole assertion; I will say that, for myself, the calumnies complained of by the hon. Proprietor have not, in the slightest degree, biassed my judgment. True it is, that those calumnies reached me, but I treated them merely as matters of report; as matters which might be true, or might be false, but upon the truth or falsehood of which I was determined not to decide without proof, and until the subject was brought fairly before me. I will go further, and state, that I am sure that my colleagues were actuated by the same feeling; and that the rumours, to which I shall have occasion to advert more directly, in a few minutes, did not in any manner sway their opinions with respect to the transactions at Hyderabad. I cannot help saying, that I am sorry the hon. Proprietor has put forth that pamphlet, and I am so, because I entertain a respect, as well for him personally, as for the great talents and high character which distinguish him. I am sorry that the hon. Proprietor has thought it right to go out of his way, for the purpose of casting an imputation upon that body of which I am an humble Member. That imputation I am most anxious to repel, because I feel that it is uncalled for. What, I ask, is the base insinuation that has been thrown out, and which has caused such pain and anxiety to the friends of the noble Marquis? Sir, I shall repeat it in the words in which the hon. Proprietor has thought it right to give it to the world in print. It was originally a rumour, a mere rumour, but the hon. Proprietor has given it "a local habitation and a name," by inserting it in a publication which has the sanction of his signature. He tells us in that publication, and I am sure it is his sincere conviction, that the rumour is a false and most unjust one. He then goes on to describe it in these words:

'The calumny, of which the friends of the Marquis of Hastings thought it necessary to take public notice, was contained in the following allegations:—that Sir William Rumbold had been invited by the Marquis of Hastings to accompany him to India, being a creditor on his Lordship for a large portion of his wife's (Lady Rumbold's) fortune, of which Lord Hastings was a trustee; that Lord Hastings was to compensate

Sir W. Rumbold by using his power and his influence in his favour on any occasion that might present itself; that he (Lord Hastings) had a corrupt interest and motive for so doing; that in contemplation of availing himself of Lord Hastings's undue favour and protection in behalf of any commercial establishment with which he might connect himself, Sir W. Rumbold sought and found a connexion with the Firm of W. Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad.'

I hope, Sir, and indeed I may safely say, I entertain no doubt that the hon. Proprietor felt a conscientious conviction that the whole of this rumour was a calumny; but he has not favoured the public so far as to let them know, whether this conviction arose from positive knowledge, or was founded only on his private opinion. I must presume that the hon. Proprietor is prepared to produce a contradictory statement, authenticated by Sir W. Rumbold, who, as the guardian of his wife's fortune, was bound to see that the trustees had duly and fairly executed their trust. I hope, Sir, that Sir William Rumbold and the co-trustees of the noble Marquis will assist the hon. Proprietor in removing this calumnious assertion.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I am one of the trustees myself.

Mr. BENB.—Then, Sir, the account can be at once authenticated by the hon. Proprietor himself; he can inform us what was the amount of the lady's fortune, and how it has been invested. (*Hear, hear, and a laugh.*)

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I do not think it right that I should be thus called upon to disclose my own private affairs, or those of any other person with whom I may happen to be connected. I can, however, state, that the lady's fortune has been legally invested. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. BENB.—Sir, I thought, and I still think, that such a statement might be produced as would set the question at once, and for ever, at rest. I mean no disrespect to the hon. Proprietor in thus pressing this part of the question; I do so, because, in human affairs, I like to sift and examine matters thoroughly. (*Hear, hear.*) I should like to know how the account stands with the Governor and Company of the Bank of England; if no such statement is laid before us, then, Sir, I must say, notwithstanding the respectable character of the hon. Proprietor, that Gentlemen will be left to draw their own conclusions. (*Hear.*) If something like this be not done, then individuals may say, with the late

Lord Chesterfield, that "A number of concurrent circumstances, joined with a great degree of probability, would often sway the mind, before a declaration made upon honour, or even upon oath." (*Hear.*) It was said, by another great character, that "persons who were in embarrassed circumstances would often"—(*Cries of order, order.*)

MR. KINNAIRD.—Sir, I rise to order. I have, personally, a great respect for the hon. Director, but I really must interfere, not only to protect the rules and forms of this Court, but to protect the hon. Director from himself.—(*Hear, hear.*) And, Sir, I feel persuaded that that hon. Gentleman is not aware of the extraordinary situation in which he has placed both himself and me. The hon. Director, if he mixed more with society, would be aware, that, when he appealed to a Gentleman, and received his answer, he was bound to take it as true, unless he could show it to be false. (*Hear, hear.*) I hope he will not put me upon the necessity of showing the indecency of arguing the point after such answer has been given. I speak not only for myself, but also to protect the forms of this Court. It cannot, Sir, be expected that I should sit silently here, and listen to a discussion as to the probability of my having uttered a falsehood. (*Hear, hear.*)

MR. BLISS.—Sir, it is impossible either to disprove or affirm an assertion without seeing the statement upon which such assertion is founded. When that statement is brought forward, whoever examines it will be enabled to decide correctly. (*Hear.*) I admit, Sir, that the noble Marquis has performed great and important services for the Company, and I wish that the nine Proprietors who signed the requisition had pursued the course pointed out by the Resolution of the 3d of March, 1824. It was there stated:

"That there be laid before this Court all such papers and documents respecting the loans made by Messrs. Palmer and Co., of Hyderabad, to his Highness the Nizam, as may enable this Court to decide on the merits of any claim which the Marquis of Hastings may have on the further liberality of the Company."

I should be glad if the honourable Proprietor had kept this resolution in view, instead of following a widely different course. He, and other Gentlemen with him, have narrowed the grounds of the question to the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings in the pecu-

niary transactions of the House of Messrs. Palmer and Co. One hon. Director (Mr. Pattison) has taken a still more limited ground; but, Sir, the question goes a great deal farther than the conduct of my Lord Hastings. And here permit me to make a few observations upon the conduct of the Bengal Government after the noble Marquis quitted India. I shall first call the attention of the Court to the concluding paragraph of the hon. Proprietor's Pamphlet. It is as follows:

"That the credulity of the Directors, and the blind confidence of the Bengal Government in the bare assertions of Mr. Metcalfe, have been the means of enabling that person to effect the ruin of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., and to blacken the character of honourable and irreproachable men."

Sir, I call upon the Court to mark what it is that the Bengal Government actually did after the departure of my Lord Hastings. But, before I call your attention to that point, let me state what was the opinion of that noble Lord himself with respect to those transactions. You will find that opinion in a letter from the Bengal Government to the Resident at Hyderabad—a letter drawn up by the Governor-General himself, or, at least, under his direction. In page 186 you will find, in the Secretary's letter of the 13th of Sept. 1822, addressed to the Resident at Hyderabad, the following passage:

"SIR,—I now proceed, by command of his Excellency the Governor-General in Council, to reply to your despatches of the 29th July and 1st August, of which the receipt was acknowledged under date the 24th ult. Their contents are calculated to excite sentiments of extreme surprise and displeasure. In the mind of his Lordship in Council, at the conduct of the House of William Palmer and Co., and of the Minister Bajah Chundoo Loll. A conclusive judgment, of course, is not formed, while there is a possibility that Messrs. Palmer and Co. who have had no opportunity to answer, might show the existence of misapprehension in the statement. (*Hear, hear.*) But at present there is strong presumption, that these Gentlemen have been engaged in extensive pecuniary dealings unknown to the Resident or the British Government, while they were professing to make a frank and unreserved disclosure of all such transactions existing between them. Even with regard to the loan of sixty lacs, an account of which is now submitted, there is ground to suspect the most culpable misapplication of the funds specifically assigned for the pay-

ment of the principal and interest of that debt.

Such was the opinion of my Lord Hastings himself, at that period. In page 286, you will find the following passage, in a letter dated the 19th or 20th of November, 1822, and also addressed by the Secretary to the Resident.

“I am also directed to communicate to you the following observations and orders of his Excellency in Council, on another point noticed in your despatch, on which further information is indispensably necessary to a full understanding of the nature of the subject to which it relates. The point in question has reference to Mr. W. Palmer's statement, in explanation of the large monthly allowances held by him and his brother, Mr. H. Palmer, and the stipends to the children of the former from the Government of his Highness the Nizam. On the subject of the allowance to Mr. H. Palmer, the statement of Mr. W. Palmer is entirely silent: it will be necessary, therefore, to ascertain whether the omission be accidental, or whether the House do not desire to offer any further observations in reply to the reference already made to them on that subject. With regard to Mr. W. Palmer's explanations of his own and his children's stipends, it is sufficient to remark, that it is extremely unsatisfactory, and that although the right of the Nizam to confer what allowances he pleases on those who are now, or have been, in his service, or on their families, be unquestioned, it cannot be expected by his Highness that the British Government should come forward to advance a large sum of money for the liquidation of heavy arrears on such account. In the special instance under consideration, these arrears appear to have been accumulating, in common with the other debts of the state, at an exorbitant rate of interest.”

Such, Sir, is the language of the Bengal Government, of which my Lord Hastings was at that time the head. The letter further adds.

“If the above observations hold good in regard to pensions actually conferred by the Nizam himself in the free exercise of his independent authority, they must apply with still greater force to the acts of the minister, supposing the Nizam not to have been consulted in the appropriation of so large a sum of the revenues of the country in their present deteriorated state. Such an assumption of power on the part of Chudoo Loll, while engaged with us, and enjoying our support, for the purpose of reducing establishments and expenses which the state was unable to bear, could never receive the sanction of this Government,

and cannot, indeed, be regarded otherwise than as standing wholly at the pleasure of the Nizam. Such charges cannot be acknowledged by this Government.”

When this letter was written, the Council consisted of my Lord Hastings, Mr. Adam, Mr. Fendall, and Mr. Bayley. Mr. Stuart, it must be observed, was then absent on account of ill health. Sir, having brought the opinion of the noble Marquis under the consideration of the Court, I will now take leave to inquire what has been done by the Bengal Government since the departure of that noble personage from India. They acted with a liberality worthy of their high and honourable character; they enabled the Nizam's Government to liquidate the just debt due to Palmer and Co., by purchasing a peishewshi or tribute from that prince, for which they gave him as fair and adequate a compensation as any man selling an estate in this country could expect to receive. From a statement made by Mr. J. L. Barnett, the Assistant Resident at Hyderabad, it appears that the payments made to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., on account of the Nizam's Government, from the 3d April to the 21st July 1823, amounted to 78,70,670 rupees. (*Hear.*) This sum, of course, includes the Aurungabad transaction, the Berar Suwar concern (with twenty-four or twenty-five present interest), and also the sixty lac loan, (except the bonus, which was, with great propriety, thrown aside,) with eighteen per cent. interest. Let me ask, Sir, whether, after this, any reasonable man can say that the Bengal Government dealt hardly with the House of Palmer and Co.? The Gentlemen, composing that Government, acted in obedience to their superiors, as well as upon their own judgment, and I maintain that their conduct was not only just but liberal. It may be proper to mention here, that, from the accounts before us, it appears that Government paid over to the House of Palmer and Co. seven lacs of rupees more than they were bound to pay them. (*Hear.*)

My hon. Friend near me (Mr. Pattison) has drawn the attention of the Court, not I think in the fairest manner, to a number of extracts from the despatches of Sir C. Metcalfe; I think I am justified in saying this, when I see that he has selected a line here and a line there, commenting upon them as he went on, without for a moment considering the situation in which that Gentleman was placed at the

time he was appointed to go to Hyderabad. He had been preceded in that appointment by a Gentleman of intelligence, honour, and integrity; a man of abilities and of great research; but who had always been friendly to the House of Palmer and Co., his principal Assistant, Mr. Hans Sotheby, having been connected with that Firm. Where then was Sir C. Metcalfe to seek for information? The persons most capable of affording it were hostile to him; but most hostile of all, he found the Nizam's Minister, Mr. Chundoo Loll. (*A laugh.*) He was, therefore, driven to find his way as he best could, and he proceeded, stating circumstances fairly as they arose, without the slightest concealment or reserve. Is it to be wondered at, that so situated, some discrepancies should occasionally appear in his communications? (*Hear, hear.*) I maintain, Sir, that notwithstanding some trifling variations, the statements of Sir C. Metcalfe are, in substance, perfectly true and correct. That Gentleman, having filled, with much ability, a very important situation at Bengal, had been very properly selected to fill the station of Resident at Hyderabad. That appointment he filled with great honour to himself, and advantage to the interests of the Company; and the experience he had acquired while in office, the better enabled him to unravel the intricacies in which the affairs of the House of Palmer and Co. were involved. Sir, I have already stated that this question goes a great deal further than has been stated by hon. Proprietors who have spoken on the other side. The wise and vigorous acts of the Bengal Government, backed by the scrutinizing inquiry and prudent measures of the constituent body, have rescued the inhabitants of the Nizam's territories from many and severe oppressions. (*Hear, hear.*) The line of conduct pursued under the direction of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. carried ruin and devastation in its train, and if not speedily put an end to, would, at no very remote period, have reduced the people to such a state of exhaustion and discontent, that a scene would have ensued similar to that which had been witnessed in the Carnatic. (*Hear, hear.*) The people would call upon the British Government to rescue them from the oppressions heaped upon them by the House at Hyderabad. (*I*)

(*O*) They might, with better reason, every day call upon the British Govern-

Sir, I have no hesitation in saying, that in such an event it would be found necessary to appoint another commission for the purpose of settling the claims of the parties.

Again, I say that the question goes much further than appears on first looking at it. It goes to this, that if you, the Proprietors, adopt the original motion, and thereby cast an indirect censure upon those who are appointed by the Executive body to manage the affairs of India, you will hold out any thing but encouragement to them to discharge their important duties with promptitude, vigilance, and fidelity. (*Hear, hear.*) My highest ambition, in the discharge of the duty I owe to the Company, is to meet with the approbation and support of this Court. If I am refused that approbation, it will indeed be disheartening; but if, on the other hand, you accede to me, in conjunction with my colleagues, by assenting to the amendment, you will cheer our minds, and give increased zeal upon every future occasion. If, by your vote to-day, you manifest your disapproval of those transactions which the Court of Directors have censured, it will hold out a salutary lesson to all future Governors whom you may appoint to India. It will teach your servants in that country, however high in rank, in character, or authority, that they are not to act upon private friendships at the expense of millions. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir, I again repeat that approval by this Court of the conduct of the executive body will operate as a salutary warning—it will serve as a beacon to all future Governors of India. (*Hear.*) It is not my wish to impute blame any where, but I will say, that men holding places of such high trust—men possessing such extensive powers and such extended influence, ought to be most narrowly and vigilantly watched, (*hear, hear.*) not only by the executive body, but by this Court also. Their every action ought to be watched by the Board of Commissioners with a scrutinizing eye, and, through that body, by the Government of the country, and ultimately by Parliament. (*m*) (*Hear, hear.*)

ment to rescue them from the oppressions heaped upon them by the East India Company! But these last have taken care to deprive them of the press, for fear their cries, through that channel, might reach to British ears.

(*m*) Mr. Behb, like many other equally wise men, begins at the wrong end when he wants vigilance and narrow watching

Sir, the question before us goes to the full length which I have pointed out; it is a question of great importance, and it is because I think so, that I have trespassed at such length upon the attention of the Court. I cannot conclude without returning my sincere thanks for the patient attention with which I had been heard. Before I sit down, I feel called upon, as an old servant of the Company, to bear the humble tribute of my testimony of the merits and services of the hon. Gentlemen whose names have been introduced in the course of the debate. I speak of them as their names appear in the documents before you, and not with reference to their rank. Taking them in this way, I come first to Mr. Sherrin, next to Mr. James Stuart, who, though a servant of the Company, is now in this country. I next come to the names of Mr. Adam, Mr. Bayley, and Mr. Fendall, who are at present in India, and who are all most able, efficient, and honourable men (a)—men who have discharged their several duties with a fearlessness and fidelity equally creditable to themselves, and beneficial to the best interests of the Company. With Mr. Adam, who for a time held the high office of Governor-General of India, I have not the honour of any personal acquaintance. I saw him, when a very young man, in Calcutta, but I never spoke a word to him; his father I knew and respected most highly; he had, for several years, filled the honourable situation of standing counsel to the East India Company, in which capacity, as well as in every other, he conducted himself

of men in power to be accomplished. To set up the Parliament of England, the Board of Control, and the Court of Proprietors, as sufficient checks against misrule in India, is like sending commissioners to St. Helena to watch over the proceedings of functionaries in Van Dieman's Land. The narrow watching, the vigilance, and the check, should be in the country where the transactions take place; and these should be, the public eye to see, and the public tongue to reveal. Let the Court of Directors have only a free press in India, and neither they, nor any other branch of the controlling powers, need apprehend the evils which now baffle all their vigilance to discover and put down.

(a) So are they all—"all honourable men." Will Mr. Bebb dare to say of any man in the whole of the Company's service, that he is *not* an honourable man? To lay stress on any virtue as peculiar to certain men, would lead to

with the greatest propriety. (c) I shall conclude with this simple observation, that much as has been said against the Gentlemen whose names I have mentioned, I do, and shall continue to hold them in the highest estimation as honourable, faithful, and efficient servants of the Company; and I hope they will each receive that reward to which they were entitled, and which they most highly valued,—the cordial support and co-operation of this Court. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

Mr. RUSSELL.—Sir, I beg to say a few words in explanation. I must, in the first instance, be allowed to disclaim all participation in the pamphlet published by the hon. Proprietor (Mr. D. Kiunnaird), and so often alluded to in the course of this discussion, and on which the hon. Director (Mr. Bebb) has founded so much of his argument. I am sure the hon. Proprietor will bear me out in the assertion that I have no connexion whatever with that publication. (*Cries of Order, Question.*)

Mr. BEBB.—Sir, I shall bear with the greatest attention any expla-

the supposition that it was not common to the class; this would be a libel on the Indian service, which Mr. Bebb would be the first to repel. Yet if *all* are honourable men, what merit is due to those who have only what is common to all their colleagues?

(c) Here is valuable testimony! One would really think, from the frequency with which this ground has been gone over, that Mr. Adam must be very deficient in virtue of his own, to require the slender stock of his father to be drawn so largely upon in his behalf. It would be satisfactory to learn to how many generations this hereditary transfer of the good qualities of the father to the children is to descend. The *larger* family of Adam have much to answer for, on account of their first parents' weakness in yielding to his consort Eve; and the taint of their original sin is not yet considered by many to be quite obliterated in us; but the *smaller* family of Adam seem to be made an exception to the otherwise universal rule of human corruption: and because one of this exemplary race,—a lawyer from his boyhood, a trimming Whig in his manhood, and a corruptionist in his old age,—had the good fortune to be once a paid servant of the East India Company, as standing counsel to the Court of Leadenhall,—that first of all existing schools for purity and justice; *therefore*, his children, and his children's children, to the end of time, are to be held incapable of wrong! Oh! admirable power of demonstration! how happily art thou sometimes used!

nation which the hon. Proprietor thinks proper to offer, and I trust I shall find it satisfactory. In the meantime I feel bound, in justice to that hon. Gentleman, to state that when he (Mr. Russell) was Resident at Hyderabad, he performed great and eminent services for the Company. (*Hear, hear.*) It is but justice, then, that any explanation which the hon. Proprietor wishes to enter into, should be received by this Court with the greatest attention. (*Hear.*)

Mr. RUSSELL, (addressing himself to Mr. Kinnaid.)—I would ask, Sir, whether the pamphlet in question has not been prepared and published without any communication, direct or indirect, with me?

Mr. D. KINNAID.—It certainly was prepared and published without any such communication.

Mr. RUSSELL.—That being settled, I am next anxious to explain the circumstance alluded to by the hon. Director, of my having placed money in the hands of my friend and namesake, Mr. S. Russell, at Hyderabad. This fact I have already stated, but if it so happened that I was not on the former occasion sufficiently understood, I now beg leave most distinctly and decidedly to disclaim any knowledge or belief that any part of that money was employed in an illegal or objectionable manner, (*hear, hear.*) and my only motive in withdrawing it was lest it should be so employed. (*Hear, hear.*) When I say objectionable, I mean, as far as the employment of my money might particularly affect me; for I wished to avoid even the idea of having any, the most remote participation in the transactions between the Nizam and the House of Palmer and Co. The hon. Director has said that Mr. W. Palmer had a dwelling within the Residency walls. The fact is, he never had. Mr. S. Russell, my name-ake, had a private dwelling, a house of his own, within the walls of the Residency, where Mr. W. Palmer and other persons often met; and when I saw that extensive pecuniary transactions were carrying on, I forbade Mr. W. Palmer to go there. (*Hear, hear.*) The hon. Director has alluded to the hostility which existed between me and Mr. W. Palmer. Now I will again say that this was not a feigned hostility; it was direct, open, and acrimonious. There are, I believe, twenty Gentlemen in London who would now come forward to affirm the fact of their own

positive knowledge. (*Hear, hear.*) The hon. Director has stated that this hostility was not of eternal duration. I have had unfortunately, in the course of my life, hostilities with many individuals; but few, if any of them, I am very happy to say, have been of that fixed and eternal nature to which the hon. Director has alluded. (*Hear, hear.*) I do not desire that description of hostility—it is not in my nature—it is foreign to my disposition. (*Hear, hear.*) But I must be allowed to state, that up to the present time the hostility between me and Mr. W. Palmer has been eternal. No personal intercourse—no interchange of civilities, had taken place between us for some time prior to the circumstance I have mentioned; and since that, no communication of any sort or kind whatever has occurred between us. The hon. Director has alluded to a note of mine which is to be found in No. 734 in the printed Papers. It was a private note, and if I had been consulted, I would not have given my consent to its publication. But as it has been published, I will not withdraw my support from any one sentiment it contains. As to the familiar manner in which I addressed Mr. W. Palmer in that note, styling him "My dear Palmer," it is a circumstance very easily explained. I and Mr. Palmer had been intimate from our boyhood. For seven years I had been in constant intercourse with Mr. Palmer, when the rupture took place. For some years after, I had no communication with him even by letter. I had even made it a personal request to Mr. Palmer, when a letter was addressed to me, that if he had any farther communication, other than that of an official nature, it should be made through my brother, and not directly to me; and while my brother remained in India, that course was taken. A correspondence afterwards occurred on topics of a public nature, but the forms were not always official. When I was in the note in question, I was in the country. Had I written it in the Residency, it would have been official undoubtedly; but as it was written privately, I did not think it was necessary to depart from those forms of courtesy which, before the rupture, had always been kept up between us. (*Hear, hear.*) If the words, "My dear Palmer," with which the note commenced, and the words, "Yours truly," with which it concluded, are selected to prove that no hostility existed between me and

Mr. Palmer, I am ready, in contradiction, to show that a settled hostility did exist. When the hon. Director says that the object of this note was to induce the House of Palmer and Co. to disobey the orders of Government, I will contend that it was, in fact, directly the reverse. I approved of Mr. Palmer's intention to lay the detailed accounts before the Government. I thought then, and still think, that Mr. Palmer was wise in doing so; but I must candidly confess that I did not approve of the principle of calling on mercantile men to make public their money transactions. It appeared to me that such a course of proceeding was not meant to remove any single or tangible objection to a transaction, but was intended to seek out and discover objections, if any such existed, against the transactions of the House generally. My note alone related to that general principle, and not to the particular case on which it has been brought to bear. (*Hear, hear.*) Some allusion has been made to the Nizam's country when I was Resident at Hyderabad. The hon. Director has said that under the arrangements of the House of Palmer and Co. it was going to ruin; and in a late debate on this question, great stress was laid on the difference between the character of Chundoo Loll, the Minister, as drawn by Sir C. Metcalfe and myself.

Mr. Impney rose to order, but the calls of "*Go on*" prevented him from being heard.

Mr. BEBB.—I hope the Court will not refuse the hon. Proprietor the fullest means of explanation.

Mr. IMPNEY said, he would not unnecessarily interrupt any Gentleman; and certainly he would be the last man in the world to interrupt the hon. Proprietor, because he had been a most deserving and meritorious servant of the Company. He would be happy to hear whatever the hon. Proprietor had to say ~~that~~ was regular; but if he went into the history of Chundoo Loll and the Nizam, he must object to such a departure from order.

Mr. RUSSELL.—Sir, I was not going to state the character of Chundoo Loll, but to defend my description of that Minister. It has been asserted with great vehemence that the character I gave of Chundoo Loll was false. Now, I will ask, Whether any man who has been called on to give a character of Chundoo Loll, Sir C. Metcalfe alone excepted, has not given the same character as I have done? Captain

Sydenham, a Gentleman whose talents and services are well known, recorded his opinion on the plan that had been set on foot for the government of the Nizam's dominions. He says distinctly, that the best scheme of Government for the Nizam and the Company would be to give a very large share of power to Chundoo Loll, who was in every way an efficient person to carry on the business of the administration.

Mr. STUART and Mr. R. JACKSON having risen at the same time,

Mr. R. JACKSON said, I am ready to give way to the hon. Proprietor, if he is going to explain; but I hope he will not make a new speech.

Mr. STUART.—I claim the indulgence of the Court; that it is an indulgence, I am perfectly sensible; but very serious and very painful imputations having been cast on me, I wish to request of this hon. Court to suffer me to give a simple statement, with respect to the assertions contained in the pamphlet which has been quoted by the hon. Proprietor. If this indulgence be conceded to me, I am resolved not to abuse it.

Mr. R. JACKSON.—With every desire to accommodate the hon. Proprietor, I must say, that the ground which he has taken is the worst that can be imagined. Because a pamphlet has appeared, twenty-four hours back, and is quoted in this Court, does it follow that the hon. Proprietor should be allowed to answer it? Why, Sir, half a dozen other pamphlets may have been published on the same subject, and are Gentlemen to be permitted to stand up and answer these also? Mr. Buckingham has written some very able observations on this subject;—are these also to be discussed here? My hon. Friend (Mr. Bebb) was as much out of order as any man could be, in introducing that pamphlet, and reading long extracts from it. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. S. DIXON.—For my part, Sir, I could wish that this pamphlet had been any where else but here; but it having been allowed to be read by an hon. Director, and the Court having listened to it, I think the observations of the hon. Proprietor ought to be heard. Leave was given to the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Russell) who last addressed you, to defend himself against certain observations which had fallen from the hon. Director, and I think that in courtesy the indulgence which has been requested by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stuart) ought to be granted. When an individual is assailed, I hope the good-nature of the Court will al-

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ways allow him a fair opportunity for vindicating himself.

MR. POYNDER.—The distinction between the two cases is simply this: in one case an individual was alluded to by the hon. Director in the course of his speech, and the question thus alluded to immediately gave a specific answer; but in the present instance no name has been mentioned in conjunction with this pamphlet. I think, therefore, that the hon. Proprietor cannot answer the contents of that pamphlet in this place. In my opinion, the learned Gentleman (Mr. R. Jackson) is quite correct in his observations. (*Hear.*)

MR. IMPEY.—I dissent entirely from the sentiments of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. In this case the hon. Proprietor (Mr. D. Kinnaid) has made a motion of a particular nature,—and then most imprudently, and in the middle of the debate to which that motion gives rise, he publishes a pamphlet which reflects severely on one of the best Officers of the Company. That pamphlet was brought into Court, and a part of it was read. Now, after having listened to the attack made in that pamphlet on Mr. Stuart, if we do not allow that Gentleman to answer the improper imputations cast upon him, we may, with much truth, be accused of having denied him justice. (*p*) (*Hear, hear.*)

MR. D. KINNAID.—So far as I am concerned, I am ready to hear any explanation Mr. Stuart may think proper to give. The observation of the learned Gentleman (Mr. Impey) does not apply to any proceeding of mine. The pamphlet is before the world, and of course I am responsible for it both here and elsewhere. The learned Proprietor must be aware that it was quite impossible for me to have intended to publish that production while the debate was going on. The duration to which the discussion has extended, and which is beyond all precedent, has occasioned the publication at this moment. No calculation could have led me to imagine that the debate would be still proceeding when the pamphlet made its appearance. The learned Gentleman

must himself perceive that the pamphlet was prepared ~~even~~ before the discussion commenced. In drawing it up, I have given as honest and honourable a proof as I could do, that I wished the question to be confined solely to Lord Hastings' conduct, which was my original intention when I brought this motion forward. Though I thought that the whole of the matters contained in these pages should be considered, yet I was desirous that their contents should not be mixed up with the plain and specific question which I submitted to the Proprietors. This is a public question; my pamphlet is before the public, and I hope public answers will be given to it. If I prove to be wrong, and it should appear that Mr. Stuart or any other Gentleman has been adverted to unnecessarily, or conduct imputed to him for which there is no foundation, I hope I shall be able to explain to him satisfactorily, on a view of the Papers, the passage, which led me to draw particular conclusions.

MR. PATTISON.—I wish to speak to order, if order can again reign in this most disorderly meeting. (*g*) If the hon. Proprietor, Mr. Stuart, aims at a speech, perhaps the shorter way would be to hear him; but, certainly, a very great concession will be made to him, if the learned Proprietor who is in possession of the Court gives way, because Mr. Stuart is not going to defend himself against the author of the pamphlet, but against his own friends, who have brought it forward. Why should the hon. Director have read any part of that pamphlet?

The CHAIRMAN requested the hon. Proprietor to confine himself to the question of order. (*Cries of Chair, Chair.*)

MR. PATTISON.—Sir, I am speaking to order. In the course of the debate you have yourself been sometimes out of order. (*Cries of Chair, and Hear.*) I say it is trenching on the right of the learned Proprietor, if Mr. Stuart be allowed to proceed; and it would be highly creditable to the good feeling of the learned Gentleman if he gives way. In that case I shall hear Mr. Stuart with attention.

(*p*) This, from Mr. Impey, who would not hear of any man being allowed to answer accusations preferred against him in India; who would suppress all public discussion there; and who glories in the Government of the Company being an absolute and unalterable despotism,—is worthy of note.

(*g*) Well, indeed, might this expression be used. We have often before said, and we repeat it as our continued conviction, that such another disorderly assembly is not to be found in all England. The meetings at Spa-Archie and Manchester were better regulated, and the Catholic Association was a pattern which it might be proud to follow.

The CHAIRMAN.—I should consider that I was not discharging my duty if I did not state what the regular course of proceeding is. I ask Mr. Stuart whether he is about to explain? Explanation is all, I think, that in strictness he can claim. As to the pamphlet, it certainly contains matter relative to Mr. Stuart; and as an indulgence, in the way of observation, has been granted to another hon. Proprietor (Mr. Russell), perhaps a similar indulgence ought to be granted to the former Gentleman. He certainly has been attacked, and the signature of the author appears to that attack. Now, if a meeting of the General Court were convened for the purpose of removing rumours which have appeared without a signature, I think that where a report comes before us with the name of the Gentleman who has sent it forth appended to it, we ought to hear any refutation that may be offered. In my opinion, Mr. Stuart is bound to notice these statements, and we, in courtesy, ought, I think, to hear him.

Mr. STUART then proceeded.—I mean to make a few observations on certain statements which the hon. Proprietor has sent forth in his pamphlet. The hon. Member has told us that he confined his motion, and what he had to say, specifically to the Marquis of Hastings, and to that transaction which is the unhappy cause of these discussions. Now, Sir, I think the hon. Proprietor was bound in candour, while yet the original motion was neither affirmed or negatived, to abstain from publishing those statements, which contain more slander on the character of individuals than any thing which has appeared before this Court. Having received the indulgence of the Court, for which I feel truly grateful, I will, without making a formal speech, observe upon those propositions of the hon. Proprietor by which my character is affected. I will state the proofs with which, it appears, the hon. Proprietor attempts to maintain his statements; and I shall submit the whole to the candour, justice, and honour, of this Court. (*Hear, hear.*) The first proposition of the hon. Proprietor is, that the House of Palmer and Co. were the notorious objects of jealousy in India, because the members were not in the Company's service. (*Hear, hear.*) The second is, that I was induced to participate in that jealousy, and that I, therefore, endeavoured to attack and ruin the Firm. The third proposition is, that it was not possible to reach

that House without impugning the character of Mr. Russell, for the purpose of shaking his testimony in favour of Palmer and Co.; and that, therefore, pains were taken that Mr. Russell should be removed. I am distinctly charged with having spread injurious suspicions relative to Mr. Russell. I should be glad if the Clerk would read a passage in page 63 of the pamphlet, as it will save this weak voice of mine.

The Clerk then read the following passage :

‘The letter of Mr. Sherrer is the first recorded attack on the character of Mr. Russell. It is clear, that if the House of W. Palmer and Co. (the notorious object of jealousy, because the members were not in the Company's service) were to be attacked, it was impossible to reach it without first destroying Mr. Russell's character for integrity, and, consequently, the value of his testimony in their favour. That was necessarily, therefore, the first outwork to assail or undermine. It is not, under the extraordinary conduct of Mr. Sherrer, difficult to believe that he had been made acquainted with, and possibly attached to, the poisonous suspicions which Mr. Stuart was bold enough to express to Mr. John Palmer, of Mr. Russell's corrupt connexion with the House at Hyderabad. It is singular that Mr. Stuart should have been so anxious to have the opinion of Mr. Sherrer, as if he knew prophetically that he should find a congenial view of the subject in that gentleman.’

This, Sir, is sufficient for my purpose; and I submit to this Court, whether the inference is not clear that a design to ruin the House is in this passage imputed to me? Why was the House to be attacked and ruined? By whom was it to be attacked? By whom was it to be ruined? Certainly somebody must be pointed at; and then I am mentioned as infusing the poison of my suspicions, with reference to this House, into the breast of another Gentleman. What inference, Sir, can be drawn from this, except that I am the person whose labours were directed to the destruction of the Firm of Palmer and Co.? The fourth proposition alleges, that the better to accomplish this object, I conveyed by letters home, to a leading and influential Director of the time, insinuations derogatory to the character of Mr. Russell.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I stated no such thing.

Mr. STUART.—The charge is, that I either communicated my suspicions by letter to a leading and influential

Director at the time, or that they were sent home to the Court of Directors by somebody to whom I had communicated in Calcutta.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—Read the words.

Mr. STUART.—The words are these :

‘It is possible that the same Gentleman who thought proper to spread his injurious and unfounded suspicions regarding Mr. Russell about Calcutta, may have thought himself equally justified in communicating them to his correspondents at home. It is matter of universal report, that Mr. Stuart was in the habit of corresponding with a leading and most influential Director of the time, who had been openly hostile to Lord Hastings’ original appointment, and to the policy his Lordship was known to pursue. But whether Mr. Stuart did or did not communicate his injurious suspicions of Mr. Russell to his correspondent, or whether some person to whom Mr. Stuart may have confided them in Calcutta, was the channel through whom they were received and adopted at the East India House; it is to the writer of these remarks as clear as the sun at noon-day, that these unworthy calumnies had been communicated, had there received belief, and were the real foundation of the foregoing letter. The belief in the foul conspiracy alleged to have been formed between Lord Hastings, Mr. Russell, and the House of Palmer and Co., will alone account for the time, and the terms, and the orders of the despatch in question; no other theory can render it intelligible. The circumstantial evidence in this, as in most cases, is of a nature that convinces more fully than any direct proof. Can one intelligible explanation be given of it in any other manner?’

Now, Sir, I ask whether this does not fully sustain the proposition I have laid down? What does the hon. Proprietor say? He asserts it is possible that I may have written to a Director at home, those suspicions which I spread about Calcutta, or, if those suspicions did not reach the India House in that way, that they were communicated by some person to whom I had made them known in India. I am in the judgment of the Court, and I demand whether such a statement does not justify my argument? (*Hear, hear.*) There is, Sir, a fifth charge, on which I certainly feel some doubt, as I really do not comprehend what is meant by it. It is, that in my slanderous allegations which so reached the India House, I included the noble Marquis in that foul conspiracy, said to have been formed between Lord Hastings, Mr. Russell, and Messrs. Palmer and

Co. I think it quite clear that the hon. Proprietor means that I communicated those slanderous allegations which were mentioned in the passage. These, Sir, are the imputations charged against me, and I shall now touch on the proofs, or attempts at proofs, by which they are sought to be supported.

First, it is said, that a notorious jealousy existed against the House of Palmer and Co., because they were not servants of the Company. Now, Sir, I consider this observation as a base and gratuitous assumption of the hon. Proprietor’s, and one which every hon. Gentleman who has been in India must know to be fallacious. (*Hear, hear, from Mr. Kinnaird.*) The hon. Proprietor will hear me better by not interrupting me. I appeal to any Gentleman who has ever been in India, whether anything like this mean and despicable jealousy exists against the estimable men who are occupied in mercantile pursuits in India? (*Mr. Hear, hear.*)

(*r*) Mr. Stuart will not, perhaps, think our testimony upon such a point altogether worthless; for we have been, as he well knows, in India, and not altogether unobservant of the state and feeling of society there. We assert, then, and challenge contradiction, that throughout the leading Members of the Civil Service in Bengal, there is a feeling either of jealousy, or dislike, or disrespect, towards the great body of mercantile men, which leads to their almost entire seclusion from the higher ranks of society. With the single exception of Mr. John Palmer, who ever met a Calcutta merchant at the table of a civil servant of high rank, unless he were himself a civil or military servant of the Company who had quitted the employ of his honourable masters for more lucrative and independent pursuits? Such men (of which there are many in the principal houses of Calcutta) do not quite lose their caste by quitting the Company’s service for mercantile employment; and, therefore, such men as Col. Young, Doctor Ballard, and Mr. Sutherland, of Alexander’s House, Captain Brownrigg, Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. Sargent, of Palmer’s House, with others of the same description, may be received into the circles of civilians as before; but let a London or a Liverpool merchant arrive in Calcutta, or let one bred to commerce in that city itself, intrude themselves on the notice of a Member of Council, and he will soon learn that, in that city of palaces, a servant of a trading company or of merchants is a much greater man (in his own estimation)

The hon. Baronet who spoke for two hours on a former day, (Sir J. Doyle,) ascribed to the Company's evil servants *'unesprit du corps.'* I am sensible that we have that feeling. We are very proud of the honourable service to which we belong. We should be very sorry to see any man intruding on those offices which by a peculiar system of legislation are confided to us. But that I should feel the detestable, low jealousy of men engaged in the honourable pursuit of commerce, and entertain the malignant designs which are imputed to me in the pamphlet, I indignantly deny. There is a plithy Latin idage which I can with great propriety apply, "*Nemo repente fuit comparsimus.*" I speak in the presence of Gentlemen who have known me long, and have had an opportunity of watching my conduct. They know that I was held in some degree of respect, and that I was received into the most respectable society, which it was morally impossible could have been the case, if I were a man capable of forming the fiendish plan—(I can find no other language for designating it) which the hon. Proprietor in his pamphlet imputes to me, and wishes you to believe, of ruining the members of the House of Palmer and Co., and through them, Mr. Russell. (s).

Among other topics, to which the hon. Proprietor has alluded in his pamphlet, the conversation which took place between me and Mr. John Palmer took a prominent place; and here, before I go further, I must call upon the Clerk to read from page 157 of the Papers, the questions proposed to Mr. John Palmer by the Governor-General in Council, on the 10th of May 1822, with that Gentleman's answers to them.

tion, at least) than an independent merchant himself, or a "free trader" and "interloper," as it is the custom for those servants to call the rivals of their masters in commerce.

(2) Who is there now that has any doubts of the Bengal Government, with Mr. Adam at its head, having determined to ruin Mr. Buckingham and his assistants, by first banishing him from the country, then breaking up his property, and, lastly, declaring that no use should be made of it as long as its rightful owner should derive a profit from it; though they have since permitted it to be used for the profit of another man? This might be well called a "fiendish plan"; also, yet Mr. Adam and his colleagues are not only received into re-

The Clerk read as follows:

'Question propounded by the Governor-General.—Did you apprise me, that a person of consequence had, in substance, expressed to you his persuasion of Mr. Russell's being connected with the House of William Palmer and Co. in their transactions with the Nizam's Government?—Answer by Mr. Palmer. Yes, I did.

'Question.—Did I upon that intimation say, that such a supposition must not sleep uninvestigated, and that I should require Sir William Rumbold to attend the Council on the morrow to answer that point?—Answer. Your Lordship did say so.'

Mr. STUART.—That is enough. The hon. Proprietor has given, in page 61 of his pamphlet, the Marquis of Hastings' account of this examination, in a letter to the Chairman of the Company. I will just remark, that the hon. Proprietor has put a wrong date to this letter, namely, December 1822, instead of October, as it appears in the Papers at page 107, from which I request the Clerk to read an extract, beginning "The charge against me."

'The charge against me rests upon my having adopted a course of procedure on grounds which I studiously, and almost avowedly, withheld from the honourable Court. As a basis for that supposition, it is assumed that Sir William Rumbold was examined before the Council, regarding the particulars of the dealings between the House of William Palmer and Co. and the Nizam's Government. No such examination took place; of course the suppression of information given by Sir William Rumbold on that occasion is inaccurately presumed. It would have been idle to require from Sir William Rumbold expositions already before the Board in various documents, and sifted in repeated discussions. The appearance of Sir William Rumbold was demanded by me, that I might put to him a single question. To explain this, I am compelled to state the circumstances of that sitting. I do it with pain, but I have no option.

'To all in this country it would be absurd to expatiate on the character of John Palmer, Esq.; but, since the statement is meant for submission to the honourable Court, it is not superfluous to mention, that the above Gentleman is at the head of the British mercantile inter-

spectable society, but defended and enlorged by their masters here! What, however, does all this prove? Nothing more than that the eulogizers of such persons are as deeply participators of the guilt of these transactions as themselves.

rest in India, and that he is not more distinguished by that pre-eminence, than by the strict and mainly cast of his uprightness. By the communication which he has, on my requisition, made to the Council, it appears that he had informed me of a very grave doubt expressed respecting the probity of Mr. Russell. The suspicion purported no less, than that Mr. Russell had been secretly leagued with the House of William Palmer and Co. in negotiating the Aurangabad and the last loan, whence exorbitant profit was to be drawn from the Nizam. It had long before been imputed to me by several persons, that Mr. Stuart was strongly prejudiced against Mr. Russell, through artful misrepresentations from the father of a Moonshee, whom Mr. Russell had dismissed for malpractices; but I had, till then, never imagined that any one could listen to an imputation on Mr. Russell's integrity. Though I was entirely unacquainted with that Gentleman, all I had heard of his character made me confident the surmise had been loosely hazarded. Nevertheless, when such an accusation was hinted against a person holding an important trust, a public duty obviously forbade my suffering such an insinuation to sleep uninvestigated, and I expressed that sentiment energetically to Mr. Palmer, who was somewhat reluctant to have it known that he had repeated Mr. Stuart's observations. In consequence, I directed that Sir William Rumbold should be requested to attend the Council on the morrow. I did not specify my object; so that the summons might have been expected to apply to a misapprehension, on the part of Sir William Rumbold, in correspondence about the nature of accounts which the Board desired should be laid before it. On the entrance of Sir William Rumbold into the Council-Chamber, I moved that he should be put upon oath, and be asked, whether, in the transactions above alluded to, Mr. Russell had taken any step in concert with the House of William Palmer and Co., by which he could, directly or indirectly, participate in its profits; or had any connexion with the House, whereby he could, immediately or remotely, compass gain, other than the interest of any money of his own which he might have lodged in their bank? Mr. Stuart, then a Member of the Council, was evidently in the instant sensible of Mr. Palmer's having communicated to me the conversation which passed between them. He started up, and eagerly objected to the proposition, on the ground that such a question put upon record, would be degrading to Mr. Russell, as exhibiting him in the light of a person obnoxious to a suspicion, which no man who knew his character would for a moment admit. I could not

press my motion without justifying my pertinacity, by bringing forward the language held to Mr. Palmer, so much at variance with the present professions. I gave credit to Mr. Stuart for his having, in the interval, satisfied himself that his conjectures were unfounded; and I shrunk from distressing a Gentleman thoroughly honourable, though too prone to listen to defamatory whispers. I said, if it were understood in Council that no doubt was entertained of Mr. Russell's purity, I should not agitate the matter further. Of course, the motion dropped. Sir William Rumbold, however, complained strenuously of not being permitted to touch, upon his oath, that which he asserted on his honour,—namely, that Mr. Russell had not, in the above-mentioned transactions, any connexion with the House, or cognizance of its procedures, beyond what was involved in those references to him, of which the particulars were necessarily laid before Government. A considerable time after, it struck the members of the Eijn, that what had passed in Council did not leave a registered exoneration of them from a suspicion so injurious to their reputation, as the possibility of their having seduced a public functionary to promote their interests unfitly. From that reflection, they sent to me the affidavit, a copy of which is annexed to this letter. I did not produce it at the time when it reached me. It was, in my opinion, unnecessary with regard to the character of the House; and as it would appear levelled at some assertion, I thought it would be invidious to revive a subject which seemed to have gone by. Beyond what I have recited, any thing addressed to Sir William Rumbold, or started by him before the Council, was incidental and unconnected. I was intimated by me, that as Sir William Rumbold was before the Board, he was open to be questioned on any particular. If any interrogatory was put to him, it must have been in a manner so light and so professedly colloquial, as that there was no thought of reducing what passed in that manner to writing; but nothing of the kind is retained by my memory.

I am speaking of topics distinct from that which is represented in a minute of mine on the occasion. As that minute was transmitted home, and is commented upon by the honourable Court, its subject will not come within the description of information withheld. Sir William Rumbold's offer to wait upon Mr. Stuart at his own house, with the accounts, was included in that part of the discussion. Observation on that point shall be reserved, till I show it in context with matter which will define its bearing. Reverting to the forbearance which has entailed so rigorous a construction from the honourable Court, I

may truly say, that if I acted improvidently for myself, in not causing these particulars to be recorded on the proceedings of Council, I still cannot regret a delicacy no less due to the honourable Court than to Mr. Stuart. No foresight could have looked to the possibility of such an interpretation as I have experienced. My having refrained from gratuitously obtruding upon the honourable Court a detail at once so superfluous and so unpleasant, may perhaps now be thought not absolutely blameable.'

MR. STUART.—I think that the examination of Mr. John Palmer took place about a year and a half subsequently to the time when the alleged conversations between him and me occurred. The conversation, I believe, took place on the 9th of October 1820, whilst the date of Mr. Palmer's examination is 10th of May 1822, leaving an interval of about eighteen months. Any Gentleman, at all conversant with the principles of the law of evidence, will know that very slight importance is attached to reports of conversations given from memory. Why was this? Because, from the imperfection of memory, distortions of sense were apt to result from parts of conversation being taken and severed from their context; my reason for making this remark is, because Mr. Palmer did not state the effect of my observations more strongly than the fact will bear out. Let me not be misunderstood: I fully concur in the honourable character given to Mr. Palmer in the Marquis of Hastings' letter; but I feel it due to myself to say, that his memory failed him, when he stated so strongly that I expressed my conviction or persuasion that Mr. Russell was concerned in the House. I myself have a very imperfect recollection of the conversation; but I can undertake to say, that the utmost that ever passed was a reference to some reports which had unfortunately been prevalent. Let it be recollected that Mr. John Palmer was the brother of Mr. William Palmer, and must have been well acquainted with all the transactions which had taken place between the House and Mr. Russell. He was more likely to be acquainted with every particular on that point than I could be, and, therefore, it could never have been my intention to do Mr. Russell an injury by a conversation of that kind.

I must beg, in reference to this subject, to make a remark upon the manner in which the examination of Mr. John Palmer was conducted by the

Marquis of Hastings. The questions, which were put to Mr. Palmer, were of the most leading character. The Marquis does not request Mr. Palmer to repeat the conversation itself, but merely the conclusion which Mr. Palmer had drawn from the conversation. And how does Mr. Palmer answer? In three words,—“Yes, I did.” When I see such an examination as this I am entitled to give my own account of the transaction, and to say, as I do, on my honour and in my conscience, that, to the best of my recollection, in the conversation, I did no more than make allusion to prevalent reports. (*Hear, hear.*) I likewise feel it necessary to make a few observations, with respect to the Marquis of Hastings' account of the proposed examination of Sir William Rumbold. That account is written more than two years after the transaction took place. His Lordship was constantly occupied in a variety of most important affairs, which were likely to weaken the impression left by an event, which certainly could not be considered of equal importance, and, therefore, the accuracy of his statement must be subject to all the deductions which should be made on that account. I must say, that, in some respects, his Lordship's account is not perfectly accurate. In the first place, his Lordship speaks of my gesture; he says, that I started up. I well remember, that on Sir William Rumbold being introduced, his Lordship, without stating why he had called him, proposed that he should be put upon his oath. My conclusion was, of course, that his Lordship had called Sir W. Rumbold for the purpose of affording us some information for our own private consideration, and not with a view of making a public use of his evidence; but when I found that I had mistaken his Lordship's intention, I answered the proposal for putting him on oath in the negative. The question too, which his Lordship proposed to Sir W. Rumbold, was not exactly what his Lordship had stated it to be; but, however, I felt the whole proceeding to be unjust towards Mr. Russell, and, upon public principles, I objected to such an examination being entered upon without any grounds being stated for the necessity of it.

The Marquis of Hastings speaks of his conduct as being dictated by candour and delicacy towards me. I shall regret, to the last day of my life, that the noble Lord has so different a notion of candour and delicacy from that which

I entertain. What is the state of the fact? The noble Marquis had obtained possession of a confidential communication. There was an evident reluctance on the part of Mr. Palmer to any use being made of it; it concerned my honour and that of Mr. Russell; and what measure does his Lordship adopt? He comes to the Council, and without any preparation—

A PROPRIETOR.—[rise to order. I think the hon. Gentleman is not justified in impeaching the character of the Marquis of Hastings in this manner. (Hear.)

MR. STUART.—I will submit to the judgment of the Court. The only attack which I have made upon the Marquis of Hastings has been an attempt to show that he had not a correct notion of candour and delicacy; and surely I may be permitted to do so much in a matter wherein I am personally concerned. (Hear.) I certainly think that, in fairness and candour, his Lordship should have given me some intimation of his intended proceeding. I was called upon to put myself in the situation of the accuser of Mr. Russell's honour and integrity. I was determined not to put myself in that character, and, therefore, made the objection to receiving the evidence of Sir William Rumbold. His Lordship states that he waived the question. My recollection leads me to think that his Lordship persevered in it, and that Sir William Rumbold answered it; and I must, in justice to Mr. Russell, add, that the answer entirely cleared his character. I have before said that I would bear testimony to the character of Mr. John Palmer, but I must regret that I did not bury in my own bosom my recollection of reports instead of confiding them to a friend. Had I done so, many painful discussions, to which my imprudence has led, would have been avoided. But I appeal to every person in this assembly whether my allusion to reports, most unquestionably prevalent, deserves to be stigmatised with the epithet which the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Kinnaird) has thought proper to apply to it, namely, that of "slandrous." I submit this question to the justice and candour of the honourable Court.

The next point which the hon. Proprietor alludes to in his pamphlet as respecting me, is Mr. Sherrer's letter, and as the charge which the hon. Gent. makes against me is a very serious one, and impossible to be understood without hearing the letter read, I must,

though reluctant to weary the attention of the Court, request that it be read from p. 17 of the *Paper*.

The Clerk then read the following letter:—

"To C. T. METCALFE, Esq. Secretary to the Government Political Department—

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d inst. transmitting copies of correspondence with the Resident at Hyderabad, and requiring my opinion as to the expediency, in a financial view, with reference to the interests of the Nizam's Government, and ultimately perhaps of our own, of the arrangements concluded at Hyderabad, between the Nizam's Government and the House of William Palmer & Co.

"—2. "That arrangement," the Resident observes, in his letter to your address, dated the 28th of April last, "was first suggested by Capt. G. Sydenham to Messrs. Palmer & Co., proposed by them to me, and mentioned by me to the Minister."—3. It appears that, to enable Messrs. Palmer & Co. to establish a banking house at Aurungabad, for the purpose of making a monthly loan to the Nizam's Government of two lacs of rupees, for the payment of the troops in Berar, the Minister agreed to grant to those gentlemen assignments on the revenues of the country, to the amount of thirty lacs of rupees annually, the extra lacs being required, in the words of the agreement, "to cover defects in the revenues, to cover interest, and to give facility to the establishment to make the required monthly payments." Mr. Russell adds, "the conclusion of the arrangement has my entire concurrence."

"—4. I would beg, however, with much deference, to submit, in the first place, whether under act 37 Geo. III. cap. 142, "for preventing British subjects from being concerned in loans to the Native Princes in India," Mr. Russell was competent to give his sanction to any such arrangement. Section 28 of that Act declares, "nor shall any British subject, by himself or by any other person, either directly or indirectly, for his use and benefit, take, receive, hold, enjoy, or be concerned in, any bond, note, or other security or assignment, granted, or to be granted, by any such Native Prince, after the first day of December next, for the loan, or for the repayment of money, or other valuable thing, without the consent and approbation of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, or the consent and approbation of the Governor in Council of one of the said Company's Governments in India first had and obtained in writing." Had the consent or approbation of any of the Governments in India been obtained to the arrangements concluded at Hyde-

rahad, between the Nizam's Government, and the House of Palmer & Co., the circumstances would necessarily, I conceive, have been adverted to in the correspondence before me.—5. In regard to the necessity of this arrangement, Mr. Russell observes, "considerable difficulties having been experienced at Aurungabad, in procuring adequate funds for the payment of the regular battalions and reformed horse in Herar, it became absolutely necessary to substitute some other system to that which had hitherto prevailed, and which had been rendered defective, principally by the mismanagement of the country, the impudence of the Government, and the increasing difficulties of the Talookdars, and in some measure, certainly, by the misconduct of Rajah Govind Buksh."—6. But how the crisis here stated were to be obviated by the arrangement in question, (the entire substance of which is given in paragraph 3, above,) is surely far from obvious, though Mr. Russell styles it, "the only plan which afforded a prospect of efficiency."—7. It is true, that by granting assignments on the revenue for a special purpose, the Government deprived itself of the power of dissipating the revenue so assigned; but Messrs. Palmer & Co. incur no obligation, under this arrangement, to pay the troops, if at any time the mismanagement of the country, or the increasing difficulties of the Talookdars, should obstruct their means. Their fourth requisition expressly provides, "that the Minister should furnish the best tunkhas, and that the Amils should be urged to adhere to regularity in their payments, as it will otherwise prevent the House, by a deficiency of its funds, from making the payments with punctuality."—8. In Palmer & Co.'s letter to Mr. Russell, of the 25th of April last, assuring him that they have never understood that a guarantee of any sort was afforded to them by the British Government, or that any pecuniary liability whatever, on the part of the hon. Company, was involved in this arrangement, they observe, "We were by no means influenced to enter into our engagements at Aurungabad, with a view to any considerable pecuniary benefits. We could have employed our capital more advantageously; and our principal object was, to recommend ourselves to the favourable notice of the Supreme Government, by making ourselves useful in promoting our public objects." Again: "We have no security for the liquidation of the orders granted to us on the revenues of certain districts, beyond the good faith of the Minister; and such an eventual support from your influence, as, from the justice of our demands, and the public utility of our agreement, you may deem it proper to afford us."—9. From all this,

it may, I conceive, be safely inferred, at least, that the assignments annually granted to Messrs. Palmer & Co. have been hitherto realised by them with sufficient regularity; that, if they neither looked for, nor have derived from, this arrangement, "considerable pecuniary benefits," the twenty per cent. tunk, as required by them, in excess of their payments to the troops, "to cover deficits in the revenue, and to cover interest, and to give facility to the establishment to make the required monthly payments," has been found fully adequate to these purposes; and that the House has derived its estimated profit.—10. But, in this case, there has been no want of funds, on the part of the Nizam's Government, for the payment of troops; and the question occurs, whether those funds could not be rendered available for the purposes of the Government, in a manner less objectionable than through the agency of a private house of business.—11. Messrs. Palmer & Co. observe, "that in a country, where there are no regular Courts of Judicature, we never could have established an extensive mercantile concern, without conviction that we should receive from the Resident that support which is essential to the transactions of any British merchant in this country." Whatever support may be here alluded to, it is obvious to remark, that the absence of regular courts of judicature is an argument equally strong against investing any one, not under the immediate control of authority, with powers, which, in such a country, may be so easily abused.—12. Unless, therefore, the most urgent necessity can be shown for an arrangement, which, to the influence of an extensive mercantile concern in such a country, adds that of obtaining assignments on its revenues to the extent of thirty lacs per annum, the arrangement must, I conceive, be regarded as in the highest degree objectionable. In a financial view, I am unable to discern from this correspondence any necessity in the case.—13. In order, however, to enable Government to form a judgment on this point, it may be advisable to instruct the Resident at Hyderabad to endeavour to obtain figured statements from Messrs. Palmer & Co. of the whole of their pecuniary transactions with the Nizam's Government, under this arrangement, exhibiting the following particulars, viz.:—1st. The sums paid by them in advance to the Nizam's Government from time to time.—2. The interest thereon charged and received by them, specifying dates.—3d. The tunkhas, as received and realised by them, specifying dates.—4th. The payments made to them in cash at Aurungabad, under the third article of the agreement.—5th. The discount and premium on different currencies admitted under the fifth article of the agreement.

6th. The premium on bills admitted under the sixth article of the agreement. I have, &c.

(Signed) J. W. SHERRER.
Accountant-General.

Mr. STUART.—That is the letter which the hon. Proprietor denounces as containing an attack on the character of Mr. Russell, which he, at the same time, insinuates was made at my suggestion. I put it to the understanding of any Gentleman, whether there is one word in the letter which can warrant the construction which the hon. Proprietor has put upon it. I shall be glad to hear the hon. Proprietor himself state the grounds upon which he founds his charge.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I can only repeat what I have stated in the pamphlet at page 59 :

‘Because the two letters of the Resident were laid before the Accountant-General, for the purpose of enabling him to understand the questions submitted, he thinks proper to dedicate twelve out of the thirteen paragraphs of which his letter consists, to matters totally distinct from the question on which his opinion was or could be required. First, in utter ignorance that the House had received a license from the Governor-General in Council, three years before exempting them, in the terms of the 37 Geo. 3. from its penalties, he is pleased to inform them that the parties are prohibited, by that Act, from having any pecuniary transactions whatever with the Nizam; for he adds, “That he presumes, that had the House received such a license, the circumstance would have been alluded to in the correspondence submitted to him.” He next solemnly intrudes his doubts on the political question, whether a private House of business be a proper channel through which to make payments to the troops; and further, (assuming falsely such to be the fact,) denounces the danger of intrusting to persons not under the control of immediate authority, in a country where there are no regular courts of judicature, powers which may be so easily abused. What powers he assumes or alludes to, he does not condescend to name. In point of fact, the House neither had nor exercised any powers whatever. After he has, in his 12th paragraph, flippantly denounced the arrangement as highly objectionable, the following words contain the only answer he is pleased to give to the question on which his opinion was asked—

Mr. R. JACKSON.—I must interrupt my hon. Friend to speak to order. I submit that it will be more convenient to appoint a day for the discussion of the question at issue between my hon.

Friend and the hon. Proprietor on the other side. (*Hear, and a laugh.*) I gave way in courtesy to the hon. Proprietor, to allow him to explain; but the hon. Proprietor ought to distinguish between an explanation and a discussion of an hour or two, which will drive us into darkness. (*Hear.*)

The CHAIRMAN.—I really must submit it to the consideration of the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Stuart), whether a sufficient opportunity has not been afforded him of explaining.

Mr. STUART.—I am in the hands of the Court, and will submit to what appears to be the general wish. I had something more to say; but if I have succeeded in removing the imputations which were fixed upon me in this book, I shall sit down contented. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. R. JACKSON.—Sir, I would not have felt it necessary to address the Court this day, and protract the already burthened debate, but for the amendment which yourself proposed. I would have been quite satisfied, as far as the Marquis of Hastings' character is concerned, to have allowed the question to rest as it was left by the speeches of the gallant General and my other hon. Friends. But dear as the character of the Marquis of Hastings must be to his friends, and dear as that of the hon. Proprietor behind me (Mr. Russell) must be to him, (and I cannot help thinking that it has been unnecessarily dragged into the question,) the whole sinks into nothingness when compared with the injurious tendency of the amendment; its deep moral injustice to us, if our privileges are of any value to us, for I look upon it as one of the grossest attacks upon them which through a long course of years I have had the misfortune to witness. (*Hear, hear.*) Let us come back to the consideration of the question before us, and then, I think, that even yourself, Sir, will shrink from contemplating the consequences of your amendment. I knew, from the first moment that I heard the amendment propounded, that it must succeed, coming forward as it does, backed with all the weight of the Chair. Let us recollect how it was brought forward. In the first place, a naked proposition was submitted to the Court, declaring that the Marquis of Hastings had not forfeited his honour and integrity; and you, Sir, united with the Court in applauding my hon. Friend for the simple and unsophisticated manner in which he introduced that proposition. It was

known that such a proposition was to be submitted to the Court; it had been advertised, and every person came prepared to discuss it. What, then, Sir, did you do? I defy any one to show me more than one instance of similar conduct on the part of our Chairman. That instance occurred when political feeling ran high in this Court. A question had been advertised to be discussed, and I, then a very young man, rose to address the Court upon the subject; when I was informed that the Court of Directors had come to a resolution which the Chairman was about to propound, with all the influence which attached to his character. The resolution was, in fact, proposed by the Chairman; and what followed? The Proprietors felt that their privileges were at stake, and men of all parties joined in scotching the Chairman's proposition,—knowing that, if it were not resisted, there would be an end of all debate. (*Hear, hear.*) The Chairman on that occasion did what, I trust, you, Sir, on reflection, will do,—he felt that, in a moment of inadvertency, he had been induced to offer what was inconsistent with the privileges of the Court, and he withdrew his amendment. (*Hear.*)

What is the usual course pursued in proposing an amendment? It is usually, after much argument has been advanced, that an amendment, if there should appear to be room for one, is proposed; but show me an instance where, immediately after the original question had been propounded, the mover himself making a very short speech, and the hon. Member for Medhurst (Mr. J. Smith), who was the means of introducing these Papers to our notice, making one, if possible, still shorter,—an individual has risen, like you, Sir, to propose an amendment wholly distinct from the subject of the original motion, about which no Proprietor could know any thing, and which was recommended by an invocation for support, such as that contained in your address. From that moment I knew that, as far as his Lordship's honour depended on this popular and honourable assembly, that honour was destroyed—gone for ever. (*Hear.*)

Mr. WEEDING.—Perhaps the hon. Proprietor means to say there is no honour in this Court. I would have him to know that I am as independent as he is. (*Loud cries of Order.*)

(1) Here is an illustration of what we have before remarked—that of the parties

Mr. PATTISON.—I do entreat that the hon. Proprietor, who has been waiting for two or three days to deliver his sentiments, may be treated with some degree of civility. (*Hear.*)

Mr. R. JACKSON.—I am assured of a protection which never failed any Proprietor in this Court, and will never fail me,—I mean that of the Chair. In you, Sir, I am sure to find protection; and should I be led to any undue freedom of expression, I hope you will excuse it. But I am certain that you will never condemn me to silence, or afflict me with your displeasure, for speaking to you in that plain language with which I have so long accustomed myself to the use of. (*Hear.*) (u) I say, then, that if the example set by you, Sir, be not stopped, there will be an end to the freedom of discussion. If future Chairmen are to be allowed, in a similar way, to offer propositions to the Court, supported by all the influence of their situation—an influence which, to a certain degree, I admit to be proper—and added thereto the influence derived from an amiable and estimable character, as in your case, Sir, it will be impossible that the character of any man, be it Lord Hastings, Lord Wellesley, Lord Cornwallis, Warren Hastings, or any other man, can live for an hour.

Look at the operation of the amendment. The question propounded by my hon. Friend was simply, that nothing

engaged in this discussion, whether as principals, agents, and speakers, or hearers, they are all—"all honourable men." Mr. Weeding is on fire at the bare supposition of the contrary; but, so also would it be in a company of banditti dividing plunder. Who does not know the proverb—"There is honour even among thieves"? and who disputes its truth?

(u) Yet the Chairman, Court, Mr. Jackson, and all, condemn their countrymen to silence in India, by opposing the establishment of the press among them there; and it was but the other day, when Mr. Adam visited two public journalists, not merely with his "displeasure," but with "ruin," for this virtue of "plain speaking," on which he so much prides himself, that Mr. Jackson's voice was the loudest among these heard in praise of the very individual who committed this act of unjustifiable tyranny. Where was Mr. Jackson's love of plain-speaking, and his veneration for free discussion? If he were to be sent to New South Wales for daring to maintain his privileges, would he not make an outcry then?

was discoverable in the Papers before us that could affect the character for honour and integrity of the Marquis of Hastings. To which, Sir, you have moved an amendment, adding to the motion two material propositions, of neither of which we had the least previous intimation. But, in the first place, you substitute for the phrase containing the words "honour and integrity," for one in which we find the naked, cold, and half-criminatory word "corrupt." Why that word was selected—why that word should be held in so much more honour than the others, I do not know. The amendment declared, that there was "no ground for imputing any corrupt motive to the Marquis of Hastings;" but it adds, "or to any member of the Bengal Government;" and then what does it propose to do? Why, to circulate throughout the British empire and India four accusatory despatches, (for they contain nothing but accusations,) without the answers to them, although they may be found in the next page to that from which the despatches themselves are taken. (*Hear.*) I ask no more justice for the Marquis of Hastings than would be demanded by the humblest porter in this House; nor does he desire more. But I do ask for as much, at least; and I think I will be able to show, that by circulating these accusatory despatches, without, at the same time, giving the answers to them, you will commit an act of injustice towards his Lordship which there is not a man here would not, in private life, shrink from doing to his most menial servant. (*Hear.*) You, Sir, stated that you acquitted the noble Marquis of corruption; but added, that you thought he had compromised his character. I looked, at that moment, with some degree of earnestness for the instances of compromise, which, according to the usual practice, I supposed would be adduced; but I looked in vain. Not an *iota* of evidence was given to support the assertion. I was surprised to find the amendment introduced in such a manner; but my surprise soon ceased when I saw two or three of my hon. Friends on the other side of the House, rise, and exhibit such a complete aptitude and preparation for the support of the proposition. I was then perfectly convinced that we should have instances enough of the kind of compromise of which the Marquis of Hastings was accused. Amongst other things, Sir, you said that the question had been forced upon you. Is

that just? Who forced on this debate? I do not wish to speak disparagingly; but, Sir, it was the unfortunate and unaccountable silence of your predecessor in that Chair that made it quite impossible that the friends of the noble Marquis could let the subject rest. (*Hear.*)

You will recollect, Sir, that an individual rose up in this Court, and after saying that a public newspaper had stated, that the Marquis of Hastings had plundered the Company's treasury of 300,000*l.*; asked whether there was any truth in the statement. I do not wish to construe the conduct of the late Chairman with severity. He might have been taken by surprise and thrown off his guard; but be the cause of his conduct what it might, the misfortune which resulted from it was not the less grievous. The Chairman, upon that question being put to him, instead of almost springing from his seat, as he might have been expected to do on such an occasion, and calling the author of the paragraph a ruffian and a liar, sagely shook his head and said, "I am not at liberty to answer." (*Hear, hear.*) From that moment his Lordship was disgraced throughout India and Europe, and wherever the report could reach. (*Hear.*) He fell then beyond the power of private friendship to raise him, nor do I believe that any thing short of a vote of the Houses of Lords and Commons can restore that elevated man to society. We, the Marquis of Hastings' friends, therefore, are justified in saying, that it is not we, but the unfortunate conduct of your predecessor, that has forced on this discussion. (*Hear.*)

As the question now stands upon the amendment, the first proposition is, that the Marquis of Hastings is not corrupt, and then the Court is called upon to acquit, in the same terms, the other Members of the Bengal Government of corruption. There is one of the Members of that Government present, whom I have not the honour to know; but I do know another Member of that Government, and if I were commissioned to be his representative here, if I were the brother of Mr. Adam, I should disapprove of the amendment. What does it propose to do? Why, to spread through the Indian empire, that Mr. Adam has been acquitted of corruption. Who has charged him with corruption? Moves there the tongue that dares charge John Adam with being

guilty of corruption? An acquittal must imply a charge and trial, and yet no man is prepared to bring such a charge against Mr. Adam; and I venture to say never will. (x) That proposition, however, has had a serious effect on the discussion. I felt when it was brought forward, that it was a most skilful manoeuvre. I knew, from that moment, that there was such a net spread over the honour of Lord Hastings, that it was impossible it should escape the snare. If the hon. Proprietor opposite (Mr. Stuart) likes the idea of being acquitted of corruption, I can only say, that there is a difference between our tastes. In my opinion, any person who would have ventured to charge him with corruption would not have obtained even a hearing, credence I am sure he would not, with any person who has read the Papers. (Hear.) If after the observations which I have made, the hon. Gentleman wishes to have it published throughout Europe, that he has been tried and acquitted of corruption, I will not object to such a proposition.

I will now come to the despatches of the Court of Directors, but I must first observe, that the amendment does not proceed from the Court of Directors generally, but is the insulated act of the Chairman. It was seconded by an hon. Bart. (Sir G. Robinson), and let us see upon what grounds. He set out by saying, that he concurred in all that could be said of the purity, honour, and integrity of the Marquis of Hastings as fully as the hon. Mover of the original motion, or any one of his Lordship's friends. It must have struck the Court as singular, that the hon. Baronet should have been found in the situation of a seconder, instead of the Deputy Chairman. Why did not he second the motion? I can answer that question. It happened to me only this morning to have read a most powerful eulogium pronounced upon Lord Hastings by the Deputy Chairman some years after the transactions referred to in the Papers took place. There can be no doubt after this, why the hon.

Deputy Chairman did not second the amendment, for he is the last man under heaven to eat his own words. The hon. Baronet, who seconded the amendment, likewise expressed his approbation of the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings subsequently to these transactions. I was, therefore, prepared to hear him say, that he acquitted his Lordship of every imputation on his character; but then out came the secret of what had induced him to second the amendment—it was a sort of nervous apprehension, that it was intended to ask for some money for his Lordship in the event of the original motion being carried. Let me tell the hon. Baronet, that if this house were full of gold and silver, I would not, while a shadow of imputation remained upon his Lordship's character, be the man to bring forward a motion for granting him further remuneration. And I am quite sure, unless I have very much mistaken the noble Marquis's character, that if a motion for remuneration should be carried under such circumstances, he would, although poverty should stare him in the face, and the palace should be exchanged for the hovel, be the first man to cast back the proffered money in the teeth of the mover. (Hear.)

I think it extremely important, that the four accusatory despatches should not be circulated without their antidote,—the answers to them. I think that I shall have the support of the Chairman to an amendment to that effect, which I shall move if the original motion should unfortunately not be carried. Let the world judge whether his Lordship has answered the accusations of the Court of Directors. I would beg the Court to remember what has been the conduct of the hon. Member for Medhurst, (Mr. J. Smith;) than whom a more conscientious and honourable man does not exist; (y) that hon. Proprietor acknow-

(x) Who gave Mr. Jackson the gift of prophecy? Neither he, nor any living being, can say thus much of himself, much less of another. This personal guarantee of one individual for the everlasting honesty of any other individual, is one of the most absurd and contemptible of all the various tricks and fallacies which supply the place of reason and truth.

(y) How does Mr. Jackson know this? Is he the searcher of all hearts, as well as the prophet of the durability of their good qualities? Mr. Jackson cannot know Mr. Smith better than he knows himself; yet will he say, "There is not a more conscientious and honourable man than I, Mr. Randle Jackson, living?" The arrogance of assuming this for oneself is apparent enough; yet if it can be surely affirmed of any one person more than of another, a man may affirm it of himself, because he has a more perfect knowledge of his own

ledged that he came to the consideration of the question with doubts or prejudices; for I consider the words to be synonymous; if I doubt a thing I am prejudiced against it, (x) and require a stronger degree of proof to satisfy me, than a person who has no doubts, against the Marquis of Hastings.

When my hon. friend (Mr. Kinnaid) some time ago moved a proposition to the effect, that the Court of Directors should take into consideration the propriety of granting further remuneration to the Marquis of Hastings, the hon. Member for Medhurst rose and stated, as I thought with great propriety, for I instantly supported him at the time,—that certain reports had found their way into society, which affected the character of the late Governor-General, which he should like to have cleared up before the question of remuneration was entertained; and upon his motion the Hyderabad Papers were ordered to be produced. The friends of the Marquis thought, that if the Papers were

confined to the Hyderabad question alone, it might seem to imply, that there was something bad in that affair, and therefore, upon their suggestion, the production of all papers relative to his Lordship's administration was ordered. I sincerely rejoice in having been instrumental to the production of this volume of Papers, as I think they will be productive of the greatest benefit. As young men who were educated for the law, were told to read Blackstone, so would I tell a young man who was intended for a statesman, to read these papers, and they would make him one if anything would. I see some of the hon. Directors smile; but if we could compel every candidate for the Direction to state, as part of his qualification for the office, that he had read these Papers, I am sure, without doubting the capacity of any of the present Directors, we should not be a bit the worse served. (*Hear, and a laugh.*)

But, to return to the point: the hon. Member for Medhurst stated to this Court:

heart than of that of any other man. It is the fashion among *pious* men to regard human nature as universally corrupt, and themselves, in proportion to their holiness and humility, the vilest of the vile. He is little short of infidelity, however, to assume that any man is perfect, as the whole body of divinity assumes the contrary; and yet to say that there does not exist a more honourable man than any named individual, is not only assuming that he is perfect, but assuming, also, that there is no man now living on the globe who is more so,—a proposition as impious as it is absurd and untenable. Yet such are the vague and miserable fallacies by which public assemblies are perpetually deluded.

(x) Mr. Jackson's philology is scarcely better than his metaphysics. A man may doubt the existence of a future state, and yet be strongly prejudiced in favour of such a mode of rewarding the good and punishing the evil: he may even have strong desires to believe it true, and yet be haunted with doubts not easy to conquer. A man may doubt whether there be such a thing as good laws or just government in any part of the existing world, and yet not be prejudiced against either, but ardently desire and endeavour to promote that which he most strongly doubts the existence, or even the practicability of. Lawyers have ever so constantly strived to maintain the empire of sophistry for others, that it is no wonder they should sometimes fall beneath its influence themselves.

'I have read through these Papers, and have laboured to make myself master of them, and if I am asked as to the result, whether my doubts still remain, I say, no, they do not.—I think there is nothing in the Papers that can affect the honour of his Lordship.—A question is put to me, "Is the Marquis an honest or a dishonest man?" (this, I think, was a fair way of stating the case, and worthy of an English senator) and the question being thus put to me, I am bound to say, that there is in these Papers not the shadow of an imputation which can affect the honour of the noble Marquis.' (*Hear.*)

The hon. Member continued thus.

'In what a painful situation am I placed—I have long known you, Sir, (addressing the Chairman), I am known to have the most cordial affection for you.—I have been accustomed to pay habitual deference to your opinion, but, unfortunately, I cannot do so on the present occasion. This must be an exception to my general practice, for I cannot agree to your amendment.'

And why could not the hon. Member agree to the amendment? Because while it affects to clear his Lordship's character, it in fact impugns ~~it~~—it carries with it the dagger and the bowl, and destroys the man whom it purports to defend. I think it a most disingenuous and cruel act to append four accusatory papers to that which is professed to be an acquittal of the

noble Marquis from all complaint. This is the way too in which the question was viewed by my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Dixon); who said, "It is true that the amendment acquits Lord Hastings of corruption, but then it carries such a sting in its tail that it almost wounds him to death." Some of the Gentlemen, who immediately followed the Chairman, seemed to be so perfectly aware of the nature of the amendment, that every part of their speeches applied to it, to the total neglect of the question which they had had fourteen days to consider of. Those Gentlemen, particularly my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Poynder), reviewed the whole conduct of the House, of Mr. Russell, and of Sir W. Rumbold, with the greatest minuteness, but they failed to connect these particulars with the illustrious Marquis. My hon. and learned Friend must know, particularly as he says that he is in the habit of weighing evidence, that unless he did that, he did nothing. I will suppose that all my hon. Friend wished to be believed, is true—that the conduct of the House was as bad as could be—that the affidavit of facts was false—but what has all that to do with the Marquis of Hastings? My hon. and learned Friend will not be displeased with me, as he appeared to be with the gallant General (Sir J. Doyle), for alluding to his profession, of which I consider him an ornament. I trust, likewise, that my hon. Friend, who followed the hon. and learned Gentleman, and who may well hold up his head as a merchant of the first character for honour (Mr. Carruthers), will not be offended with me, if I should endeavour to destroy the evidence on which he rests his awful verdict of guilty. (a) For do not let

us be deceived; this is a question of guilty or not guilty. If the amendment passes, he is guilty in the eyes of the world, as far as depends upon our opinion. Such a decision, however, will not change my sentiments, for I shall always entertain the opinion of his Lordship's innocence; but I shall deplore that an assembly which I have heard echo with his praises, and in which resolutions have been carried by acclamation imputing to him the most transcendent qualities, and expressing towards him the greatest gratitude, should come to a vote directly in the face of their former acts. It becomes those who intend to vote for the amendment, to do so after they have made themselves fully acquainted with the awful consequences which must result from their verdict, for such I cannot help feeling it to be.

My professional Friend, who spoke first on the question, argued all through his speech upon the assumption that the House had been established solely for the sake of his Lordship's *protégé*, Sir W. Rumbold. I then took the liberty to call upon my learned Friend to mention dates, for this is a question in which every thing depends on dates. He stated that the sanction was given to the House with the view of serving Sir W. Rumbold. I admit that if it had been given with that view, and that it could have operated injuriously to the Company's interest, it would have been a highly censurable act on the part of the Marquis of Hastings. His Lordship himself, in one of his minutes, says, "If I have shown favour to Sir W. Rumbold, or any other person, in any degree to the prejudice of the Company's interests, in that degree I am corrupt." The House first applied for the sanction of Government in February 1814, for the purpose of extending their mercantile concerns. Sir C. Metcalfe has stated that this was all a pretence, but it so happens that upon obtaining the sanction of Government, the House introduced into India not less than 200,000*l.* worth of British manufactures. (*Hear, hear.*) When the House applied for the sanction, no negotiation was on foot for the admission of Sir W. Rumbold into the partnership. The sanction of the Bengal Government was

(a) It is really quite humiliating to see this perpetual interlarding of personal compliment on questions where such flatteries are not only irrelevant, but absolutely mischievous. It ought not to be, and in the minds of reflecting men it will not be, of the least importance to the question in dispute, whether Mr. Poynder be an ornament to his profession, or Mr. Carruthers one of the first of his? If these terms were applied to Mr. Brougham or Mr. Baring, they would be more in place; but they are absolutely mischievous, because in an assembly of unreflecting persons, where, to a charge of corruption or tyranny, it is deemed a sufficient answer to say, "Such a one is an honourable man," these flatteries delude the hearers into a belief that Mr. Poynder and Mr. Car-

ruthers are incapable of practising any deception even on their understandings; and, therefore, such fulsome and flattering adulation should be treated with contempt.

granted in 1814. I must not be told that the sanction was given from motives of partiality or favouritism, because it was confirmed by the Court of Directors, who, in their first despatch to India, after they were informed of it, said, "We see no objection to it." It happened that some time after, a proposition was made to Mr. John Palmer to become a partner in the House, which he declined, but suggested that Sir W. Rumbold might be made one of the Firm. Sir W. Rumbold was spoken to on the subject, and he applied to his Lordship for his permission to become a partner, and singular as it may seem, for a whole year, up to the beginning of 1815, his Lordship continued to discourage the project. Every answer of his Lordship was discouraging. He first tells Sir William that his Lady's fortune must not be risked, and then he reminds him of the liability to pecuniary losses to which he would be subjected. However, at the beginning of 1815, Sir W. Rumbold having consulted on the subject with an old and valued friend of his father, Mr. De Freis, of Madras, the result of that Gentleman's advice was so favourable to the undertaking, that upon its being reported to Lord Hastings, he, at length, consented to the wishes of Sir W. Rumbold. I contend, after this explanation, that all that part of the verdict which my hon. and learned Friend means to give, which is founded on the assumption, that his Lordship sanctioned the establishment of the House for the sake of serving his friend, Sir W. Rumbold, must be abandoned.

The terms of the letter in which the noble Marquis signified his consent that Sir W. Rumbold should become a partner, have been made a matter of the deepest inculcation of the noble Marquis. The supporters of the amendment all state, that this letter is the key, or arch-stone of the noble Marquis's improper conduct. I will take no advantage of the circumstance that this letter is a private letter. (*Hear.*) I find in the letter much that redounds to the credit of the Marquis of Hastings. It is precisely that kind of letter which a father would have written to his son, on his coming of age, and entering into business. It is almost word for word such a letter as a father would write under such circumstances; and I protest, that when I read the letter in the Papers, I exclaimed, "here is a characteristic example of the frankness of the noble Marquis, and of his unsophisticated mode of conducting himself through life, wherever such traces are to be found." (*Hear, hear.*) Here is the letter of his Lordship, which, when we consider that it was written to so young a friend, does him great honour:

"My DEAR SIR WILLIAM:—The account you have given of the House of Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad, is very favourable, and certainly the details justify your inclination for going to that city, in order to inspect the books. I enclose you a letter to the Resident, couched in terms which will ensure to you his attentions, and most earnest good offices. The partners speculate that you being one of the Firm will interest me in the welfare of the House, to a degree which may be materially beneficial to them; it is a fair and honest calculation."

I think that when the circumstances of the case are considered, nothing could be more natural, or more fair than this expression on the part of his Lordship. (*Hear.*) The letter proceeds thus:

"The amount of advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the Natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well in the favour of the Supreme Authority here."

I contend that it is unfair to infer, that the Marquis of Hastings had only Sir W. Rumbold in his eye, when he wrote this sentence. The House had been known to stand well in the opinion of the Supreme Government for fifteen months, before the negotiation commenced for receiving Sir W. Rumbold into the partnership. The very circumstance of the granting of the license was a proof of the favourable disposition of the Government towards them. But to proceed with the letter:

"Perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the Firm from the consequent discouragement to competition with you, by any other British partnership, to which a similarly professed sanction would not be granted."

"Here," exclaim the opposers of the motion, "here is that which increases the guilt of the Marquis of Hastings ten and twenty-fold." One of my hon. Friends told us, that he had been engaged many a night in poring over these Papers. I am sure there was nobody who heard him, that

would not give him credit for industry; for he must have been employed many days and nights in picking out, as he has done, every passage that could tend to destroy the noble Marquis's fame, whilst he cautiously abstained from noticing those parts which contained answers to the imputations cast upon that noble individual. (*Hear, hear.*) What follows the passage which I have just read?

"It is on the ground of the service to the Nizam, at the request of our Resident, that I have consented to let the good wishes of the Government for the prosperity of this Firm be signified. No new establishment could have such a plea." (b)

(b) There are no terms too harsh by which to characterize the disingenuousness of this garbling and suppression of the material parts of a sentence, and Mr. Jackson deserves praise for having exposed it. But it will form some little drawback to the value of that praise to state, that Mr. Jackson himself did the same thing, and to an equal extent, in the Debate on the question of the Indian Press, on the 23d of July last. On turning to the *Oriental Herald*, vol. 3. p. 103, the reader will see that Mr. Jackson was striving to make it appear that Lord Hastings was friendly to restrictions on the press, and never intended it to enjoy freedom. He quotes, in support of this opinion, the following words from his Lordship's speech of July 1819:—"I regard the freedom of publication as the natural right of my fellow-subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned." And Mr. Jackson, stopping short here, then went on to say: "Upon the conviction of a special and urgent cause, his Lordship accompanied the removal of the censorship with certain regulations," or restrictions. Now the passage in which Mr. Jackson had stopped short with so much ingenuity, would, if read on to the end of the same sentence only, have given quite a different meaning; for after the words "special and urgent cause assigned," Lord Hastings thus continues:—"The seeing no direct necessity for these invidious shackles, might have sufficed me to break them," &c. Here, then, was a distinct admission that there was no necessity whatever for those very restrictions which Mr. Jackson quoted this passage to prove Lord Hastings as imposing! (See *Oriental Herald*, vol. 3. p. 117.) It is difficult to say, whether the garbling of Lord Hastings's letter or his speech be the most effectual; the cases are strictly parallel; but Mr. Jackson's appears to us most mischievous, as involving a question of even greater importance than

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What were the services which the House of Palmer and Co. had rendered to the Nizam?—They had been instrumental in bringing about those events for which we have already thanked the Marquis of Hastings—the annihilation of the Pindarree force, amounting to, I believe, 40,000 men, which was carrying fire, and sword, and rape, into the heart of a peaceful country; the destruction of the Mahratta force, (of which it was truly said, that if it were not destroyed, it must destroy us,)—these were the services which the House had rendered. (*Hear.*) Was there any other British Firm which had contributed, in like manner, to put down a hostile force which was shaking the empire to its centre? I ask any man, Whether, if he be called upon to return a verdict of guilty, or not guilty, which is to destroy or secure the honour and happiness of the Marquis of Hastings, he could on the contemplation of that letter, declare the noble Lord guilty of corruption? I have before remarked on the extraordinary aptitude which my learned Friend exhibited, for seizing on such passages in the Papers as were calculated to raise a prejudice against the Marquis of Hastings, and the House of Palmer and Co.

My hon. and learned Friend founded many of his observations on the statements of Sir C. Metcalfe. It was upon one of these that he came to the conclusion that the money in the Aurungabad transaction had been misapplied in the person of Sir William Rumbold. Sir C. Metcalfe states in one of his despatches that he had strictly examined Chundoo Loll, as to whether Sir William Rumbold had received any presents from him. "I admit," says Sir C. Metcalfe, "that the Minister denies it, but Mr. George Rumbold, his brother, received something; and according to my opinion, Sir W. Rumbold was not likely to go without his share." This kind of loose accusation was adopted by my hon. Friend, as one of the grounds upon which he founded his verdict of guilty. It is impossible to consider this part of Sir C. Metcalfe's despatch, without being reminded of the fable of the wolf and the lamb. A wolf having a mind to destroy a lamb, accused him of having done him an injury at a particular

that now between himself and his opponents. He, therefore, in the last words who should reprove others for partial and perverse quotation.

time. There was one trifling matter of fact in favour of the lamb, which was, that he did not happen to be born at the time mentioned by the wolf:—"May be so," said the wolf; "well, then, it must have been your father." It turned out, however, that the charge did not apply to the father either; but the wolf was not to be put off in that way; so, saying that if it was not the father, it must have been the grand-father, which was the same thing, he tore the poor lamb to pieces. (*Hear, and laughter.*) I must make another remark with respect to Sir C. Metcalfe. That Gentleman states, in one of his letters, that he has no doubt that Mr. Russell was a secret partner in the House. "True," he says, "I have no evidence of the fact; I can't get at any thing of that kind; but I have a secret conviction that he is a partner, and I believe it." (*Hear.*) "And I believe it too," says my hon. Friend. (*Hear.*) I hope my hon. Friend will not be angry with me for telling him that at this part of his speech my attention flagged. I could no longer listen to anything assuming the dignity of argument, which proposed to found a verdict of guilty upon such monstrous assumptions. (*Hear.*)

I will now come to my Friend the Merchant, (Mr. Carruthers,) and if I can show that he has been as much in error as my learned Friend, I am sure he will shrink from giving a verdict of guilty. I shall quote some of my hon. Friend's observations from *The Times*, which would not be likely to place my hon. Friend's arguments in the worst light. I find, then, that my hon. Friend said:—

"It must be recollected that the license was granted for the benefit of the Nizam, not for the benefit of Messrs. Palmer and Co."

God bless me! What becomes of all the vituperation which has gone forth, because, as it has been alleged, the license was granted on account of Sir William Rumbold? Here is one of the advocates on the other side of the question, who declares that this was not the case. The report of my hon. Friend's speech goes on thus:—

"Messrs. Stuart and Adam proposed that the money should be found by the Bengal Government. That appeared to him (Mr. Carruthers) a reasonable proposition, but it was opposed by the Marquis of Hastings. It was then proposed that the money should be raised by competition, under the guarantee of the Go-

vernment, there being, in 1826, a great glut of money in the market; but the Marquis of Hastings opposed every proposition by which the privilege was not confined to the House of Palmer and Co."

If I can succeed in satisfying my hon. Friend that his premises are erroneous, I am sure he is not the man to wish to found a verdict of guilty upon them. My hon. Friend's first statement is, that it was proposed to take the money from the Treasury, and that his Lordship opposed that proposition. I admit that he did do so;—but why? The Marquis said that it was illegal. What, then, did he do? He called upon the Advocate-General for his opinion, as to whether he was at liberty to relieve the necessities of the Nizam by lending him money from the Bengal Treasury. The Advocate-General gave it as his opinion that such a proceeding would be decidedly illegal. Now, I put it to my hon. Friend, and to my hon. and learned Friends who preceded and followed him, whether, if Lord Hastings had lent money from the Treasury, in the teeth of this opinion, he would not have been assailed with such declamation as this:—"What! after having asked the advice of the first law-officer, does he act in opposition to it? Nothing but rank corruption could have been at the bottom of such conduct." (*Hear, hear.*) But, says my hon. Friend, it was proposed that the money should be raised at Calcutta, under the guarantee of Government; and to that also Lord Hastings objected. I grant it; and his Lordship acted rightly in doing so. It is well known, that there is no circumstance at which the Court of Directors expressed more displeasure than at the Bombay Government having been betrayed into giving its guarantee to a similar transaction. His Lordship very properly said, that he could not agree to that proposal, without breaching the express orders of those whom he was bound to obey. Still, however, this does not satisfy my hon. Friend, who says he must make up his mind that nothing but favouritism could have induced the Marquis of Hastings to refuse to assist the Nizam with a loan from the Treasury, on a guarantee of the Government. I do not mean to contend that the Marquis of Hastings is a faultless character. Which of us is it that has not some speck in his character? Which of us can claim to be considered a spotless mon-

ster? (c) There are parts of his Lordship's conduct, of which I cannot approve: for instance, his attempt to build a Christian cathedral with money obtained from a Mahomedan Prince. I applaud the Court of Directors for having put a stop to that project. (d) Much as I admire my Friend Mr. Adam, I am willing to admit that he did wrong in appointing a situation in the stationery office to the Scotch parson, (Dr. Bryce,) and that the Court of Directors did right in de-

priving the Reverend Gentleman of his situation. (e) (Hear.)

Mr. Adam, it appears to me, had, at one time, with reference to the question before the Court, delivered himself up entirely to the influence of Sir C. Metcalfe's representations; but he has made the *amende honorable*. His strong mind has burst from the trammels to which it had been subjected; and in his two last letters to the Court of Directors, he states that he has no longer time to read Sir C. Metcalfe's despatches, and he hands them over to you in bundles. I believe that the first representations of Sir C. Metcalfe led Mr. Adam astray; but he has at length shown his good taste in sending that Gentleman's despatches over for the perusal of the Court of Directors. His last letter, I believe, incloses forty-two despatches, and the previous one thirty. This may be because he is busy just now with the Burmese war; but I am rather inclined to think it is for the reason I have before stated. (f)

I now come to my hon. Friend's remarks, with respect to the affidavit. He admits that it is a true affidavit, but says that it exhibits a great deal of mental reserve and evasion, and thinks that if it had been drawn up as Sir C. Metcalfe suggested, it would have been

(c) When it serves his end, Mr. Jackson can admit the failings of human nature as well as any other man. But where was his hon. Friend, Mr. Smith, the Member for Medhurst, than whom a more conscientious or honourable being did not exist on the whole earth,—was not even *he* quite perfect? Where the learned Mr. Poynder, the ornament of his profession, and the hon. Mr. Caruthers, one of the highest characters of his? Were not they even free from stains of every description? This poor human nature, again, that is elevated to divinity, or depressed to frail manhood, just as it suits the purpose of the speaker of the moment, may well justify the exclamation, "How fearfully and how wonderfully we are made!"

(d) We should really like to know why? Mr. Jackson need not be so sensitive, for if he will reflect but for a moment, he must know that the very House in which he was speaking, and all the other edifices belonging to the Company of which he is a member, were built by money obtained from Mohammedan and Hindoo Princes, and peasants, too; and this, not as the money offered for building a cathedral, which was a sum voluntarily offered, but wrung from the unhappy people against their will. From whence are Mr. Jackson's own dividends on India Stock obtained, but from the money of the Natives? The trade to India has long been a losing concern; and all the gains of the Company are derived from territorial revenue, exacted from the sweat of the labourer's brow. Every single rupee that comes into the House and Indian treasuries, and from which all the establishments of India are paid, have their origin in this, and no other. Every thing in the way of gain is taken from the Natives; and the Government-House at Calcutta was built out of their money. Why not, then, build a cathedral from the same source? If it be objectionable to take from the Natives their wealth to apply it to our own purposes, we should abandon India altogether. What would Mr. Jackson say to this?

(e) What! is it possible that Mr. Adam can have done wrong? Wonderful admission! Where is the indignation of Mr. Astell, Mr. Bebb, and all the host of his protectors, who knew his father to be an honourable man,—why do they sit silent, and hear the son calumniate in his absence? Mr. Jackson, who thinks it wrong in Mr. Adam to make this appointment, and right in the Directors to annul it the moment they could, sees nothing unjust, however, in having the individual who first had the virtue and the courage to censure this wrong and recommend this right, consigned to ruin for his pains; nor, when that individual prays for mere inquiry, as the first step to obtain redress, does Mr. Jackson even remain silent, but joins in the general cry to put him and his claims to free discussion down together. This is the consistency and morality of an India House lawyer!

(f) Mr. Adam, had he been really convinced of his error, as described, should have had the honesty to avow it. But he has done no such thing; nor has there been the slightest indication of any abatement, in the rancour with which he pursued the oppressed and injured members of the Hyderabad House, in any of his subsequent proceedings.

just the thing. Still, however, it contains nothing but truisms: for, at the time it was sworn, Mr. Sotheby had left the Firm. The only fault which the Court of Directors found with it is, that it is extra-judicial. When I recollect that till the year 1793 the only bond between us and you was an extra-judicial oath, which it was considered perjury to transgress, we must not speak lightly of these kind of oaths. I now come to my learned Friend, (Mr. Freshfield,) who followed the hon. Merchant, and he will excuse me for omitting to notice more than one part of his speech. Among the many things which my hon. and learned Friend objected to in the noble Lord's conduct was, the fact of his having received a complaint from Chundoo Loll, respecting the oppressions which the Prince, his master, thought he suffered. My hon. and learned Friend thinks it was extremely indecorous in his Lordship to communicate with Chundoo Loll. What! is it to be considered an indecorous act that the Marquis of Hastings should receive a complaint from an injured and suffering Prince, by any other channel than through the hands of the person charged with the oppression? If I were a Member of Parliament, three months should not pass before I obtained a declaration of the House of Commons, as to whether Princes, called independent, were to be oppressed, goaded, and trampled on, and finally prevented from conveying their complaints to the ear of the Governor-General. (κ) The noble Marquis, though he might not approve of the mode which the Nizam selected, of communicating with him, comforted him with the assurance that his case should undergo a fair consideration.

The conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe, in

(g) Yet Mr. Jackson, with all his various professions, has been for twenty years a member of the India Court; and, at the last hour, persists in denying to these mis-called independent Indian Princes, and to all other persons under the Company's rule, the only effectual engine by which complaints of any kind can be made known with a hope of obtaining redress. Let the people of India have a free press, and their grievances will need neither Councils, Boards, nor Parliaments, to make them known. If they are unfounded, they can always be shown to be so; if they are just, they will be able to bear scrutiny, and force themselves on the attention of those who can best redress them.

employing very youthful persons in important situations, was, I think, very blameable. The Marquis of Hastings thus alludes to the subject, in one of his minutes, to be found in page 311:—

‘I am thoroughly inclined to concur in the character given by Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Wells, for talents and disposition; yet that Gentleman, when he was raised to so proud an exaltation, had not been a year and a half out of college.’

This young gentleman and two or three other boys took it into their heads to entirely set aside the laws of the country, and the most solemn contracts entered into between the Sovereign and his people. His Lordship goes on to say:—

‘Let us ask ourselves, what would be expected were youths so little experienced in the world to be empowered in England to superintend a country? Would not intoxication from such early pre-eminence and revolting superciliousness and irritating mis-application of authority be anticipated? How much greater was the probability of such consequences, when those persons were placed over a population which they viewed as of inferior race, with the habits of which they were inconvertant, and which they would not estimate as entitled to the mildness and patience requisite towards Englishmen! (h) The two, however, to whom I have alluded, though not of an age which would have allowed such a trust being confided to them in our own territories, had to look forward towards judicial and revenue appointments in the honourable Company's service, when their years should be more matured, and may be thought to have formed their minds in some degree, as well as to have sought acquirements with regard to that prospect. This supposition, light as it would be to rest upon, could not have place in a Cornet of his Majesty's Thirteenth Light Dragoons intrusted with a similar charge. It is not to be wondered at that he should have taken upon himself to annul the

(h) Yet this is strictly true of nearly the whole of the junior branches of the Civil Service in India. There is hardly a district in which there are not young men as Judges, Registers, Collectors, Assistants, &c., who are neither qualified by age, information, nor steadiness of habits to perform adequately the duties assigned to them. This error pervades the whole system of Indian Government, and must continue till the number of Englishmen be increased, and Colonization, to which Mr. Jackson is a decided enemy, introduced among them.

five years' settlement, just made by the Minister in person with the cultivators of the district, substituting a settlement of his own.'

This Nestor, this wise and important personage, this Cornet of Dragoons, took upon himself to supersede a solemn act of state, negotiated by the Minister, the Mr. Pitt of the Nizam. Is this proper usage for an independent ally? (*Hear, hear.*) If such conduct be allowed to pass unrepheended, our ally of Sind and other states may begin to think that our alliance had better be dispensed with. (i) No sooner did Sir C. Metcalfe arrive at the Residency than he broke through the instructions which were lying on his desk, and which had been drawn up by himself for the guidance of his predecessor, broke into private domains, traversed the whole country, annulling—he and his boys—the existing laws, and substituting laws of his own. Is it surprising that the Minister of a country which was thus treated should complain? He did complain, but that act was fatal to him. I think it is impossible to read the character which Sir C. Metcalfe gave to Chundoo Loll before that complaint, and that which he gave of him after, without being of opinion that the latter was only the result of the wounded and lacerated spirit of a man who had aspired to sovereign power, but whose ambitious projects had been foiled by the complaint of the Minister. (*Hear, hear.*) I will now come to the consideration of the four accusatory despatches which we are called upon to approve. Gentlemen who can venture to say, as men of honour, that they have perused those despatches attentively, as well as his Lordship's answers to them, and have made themselves perfect masters of their contents, and still are of opinion that the latter do not refute all the charges advanced in the former, are justified in returning what my honourable Friend has been pleased to call a verdict of guilty. To those who would be willing to circulate these accusatory despatches through the Indian Empire and the world, without having perused and maturely considered the noble Marquis's answers to them, I will say, in the emphatic language of an honourable and eloquent Member of this Court, (Mr. Russell,) "Let them go home and sleep if they can; I could not under such circumstances." (*Hear,*

(i) They have abundant reason for thinking this already.

hear.) I only wish the Court to treat the Marquis of Hastings with the same justice as we would treat one of our meanest dependants. It is, I think, impossible that this Court will consent, by the adoption of the amendment, to circulate a series of accusations relative to transactions which occurred six, eight, and ten years ago, and which were all known to the Court of Directors, and had occupied much of their attention before they, as well as ourselves, by a solemn act expressed our thanks to the noble Marquis for his conduct during his administration. With respect to the last transaction alluded to in the despatches, namely, the sixty-lac loan, I am of opinion that it is not very material whether it was a usurious transaction or not, in the usual acceptation of that word in this country, unless* it can be shown that the Marquis of Hastings was aware of it. But great difference of opinion prevails as to the amount of interest which the House obtained on the loan. Sir C. Metcalfe thinks that the interest was 33 per cent. The advocates for the House however allege, that the amount of interest, including the bonus was only 20½ per cent.; and the Court of Directors agree with us on that point, for they state in these very despatches that the interest was 20½ per cent. (*Hear.*) Will any man lay his hand on his heart and say, that 20½ per cent. was an exorbitant rate of interest at Hyderabad, when it appears that up to the period of the Nizam's connexion with the House of Palmer and Co., he had been paying as much as 40, and even 60 per cent. (*Hear.*) The first despatch which we are called upon to approve, is dated the 24th of May 1820, in reply to a letter from Lord Hastings, of the 3d of January 1817. The Court of Directors say:

'In paragraphs 284 to 287 of your letter from this Department, dated the 3d of January 1817, you have drawn our attention to an application from Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co., British merchants at Hyderabad, and to the proceedings on your part, to which it gave rise.'

I beg leave to recal to the recollection of the Court what those proceedings were. The noble Marquis consulted with the Advocate-General as to the legality of granting the license, and that law officer declared that it would be perfectly legal. As for the use that was made of the license, I need only refer to the assistance which the House lent to the Mahratta and Pindarree wars, for the conducting of

which we owe the noble Marquis our eternal gratitude, and for which we have already thanked that glorious man. (*Hear.*) The despatch then goes on to state the disapprobation of the Court of Directors at the granting of the license. The despatch then proceeds:—

‘ We have to observe, in the first place, that the power which you have thus thought fit to exercise, could not have been granted by the legislature, in contemplation of such an use as you have made of it. After the experience which we have had, both in Oude and in the Carnatic, of the dreadful abuses which resulted from the pecuniary dealings of British subjects with Native Princes, and the jealousy manifested by the legislature of all such transactions, we can by no means approve of the indulgence which you have extended to Messrs. Palmer and Co.; and we positively direct that the instrument by which that indulgence was conveyed, may be immediately, upon the receipt of this despatch, revoked and cancelled, and that the countenance of our Government may be strictly confined to those objects of a commercial nature, which they professed originally to have in view. You will understand this order as peremptory; and the execution of it must not be delayed for the purpose of a reference to us, or on any ground whatever. We think it necessary to add, that if any discussion shall at any time arise between the Nizam's Government and the House of Messrs. Palmer and Co. respecting any pecuniary transactions which may have taken place between them, you are hereby positively prohibited from interposing, in any way whatever, the name, authority, influence, or good offices, of any sort, of the British Government, for the furtherance of any demand which these Gentlemen may bring forward. Since the preceding paragraphs were written, it has been suggested to us that Mr. Palmer, whose name is first in the firm of the House, to which you have given the permission in question, is a native of India; but that there are other partners, who are Europeans. We desire to be informed of the names of all the partners of the House to which your license has been granted; and we direct, that if, on any future occasion, you should find it necessary to grant a license to lend money, not only the sum lent, but the names of all the persons to whom the license extends, may be distinctly specified in the license, and a copy of every such license, with a statement of your reasons for granting it, be transmitted to us by the earliest opportunity.’

Sir, this letter, to a man of consequence and station, is, no doubt, a let-

ter of strong reproach; but what, if he shall show in his answer—as I maintain he does show—that that reproach is undeserved? Why, Sir, will any reasonable being contend, that, if the case be as I put it, we are entitled to circulate this reproach, this censure, through the world, and yet not circulate the letter which contradicts and explains it at the same time? Is such a course fair—I would ask—is it commonly decent—is it not so glaringly unjust as to be even ridiculous? Sir, I shall put it to the Court, by way of amendment, that the charge against the noble Marquis, and the answer to it, shall go hand in hand together. I ask, Will this Court so act—would it so treat the cause of the very humblest of mankind—as to send forth his indictment at large to all the world, without conveying, upon the very same document, his defence against that indictment, and the record of his acquittal? (A) Now, the letter, which conveys the censure of the Company upon the noble Marquis's conduct, is dated in the month of May 1820. In the month of November following, he answers that letter at length; and meets distinctly every accusation contained in it. This answer of the Marquis of Hastings is dated on the 16th November 1820; it will be found in page 35 of the printed Report, and I will read some parts of it to you and to the Court; for it is my duty most especially to call all your attentions to its effect:—

‘ In sanctioning ’—[these are the words of my Lord Hastings himself, in his answer to your letter of reproach—Political Letter from Bengal, dated 16th Dec. 1820].—‘ In sanctioning certain negotiations of the House of William Palmer and Co. with the Minister of the Nizam, the Governor-General in Council conceived himself to be acting consonantly to the purview of the 28th clause in the statute 37 Geo. 3. cap. 142. As that enactment leaves, not only to the Governor-General, but to any other Governor in Council, the amplest discretion, it was inferred, that the Legislature intended the power to be exercised according to considerations of public expedience, and the Governor-General in Council most respectfully submits, that he is unapprised

(A) Yet this is what Mr. Jackson, and every other opponent of the establishment of a Free Press in India, lend themselves to the support of, every day of their lives: and as long as their opposition to the freedom of discussion in India continues, so long will this reproach be their portion.

of any restriction which confides the employment of that power to cases of expediency; though, were the substantiation of an expediency necessary, he apprehends it can be satisfactorily displayed. Although the Legislative provision gives to the Governor-General, or Governor in Council, a concurrent power with that assigned to the hon. Court, for licensing British Subjects to have pecuniary transactions with the Native Princes, implying thereby that the authorization might be independently signified, the Governor-General is unquestionably liable to the heaviest consequences of the hon. Court's displeasure, should he grant the sanction inconsiderately, or with the intent of benefiting individuals, or in a manner operating to the injury of the Prince concerned; nay, even should there be disadvantageous results, arguing improvidence in the measure, however honest its purpose, the Governor-General stands within the widest and most acknowledged responsibility to the hon. Court.

Now, have we made up our minds, with this paper in print before us, to circulate the accusation against Lord Hastings through the world, and not let it go accompanied by his frank, his candid, explanation? Admitting the *onus* which you have cast upon him—the making out a case of expediency—a fact, of which, by the favour of the Court, he alone could be the competent judge—he proceeds to show, past dispute, not only that expediency, but the heaviest expediency called for the arrangement in question, which was entered into entirely with a view to uphold and preserve those Native Powers generally with which the British Government was in amity:

‘Referring to this principle, and endeavouring to show to the hon. Court the motives and effects of the several permissions given to the House of William Palmer and Co., it will be expedient, not only to state the circumstances to which the letter from the hon. Court alludes, but to bring into view the more recent transactions of the House with the Nizam’s Minister, and sanctioned by this Government. The connexion is so immediate, that the considerations cannot be disjointed.’

He now comes to the circumstances which induced the granting of this license:

‘At an early period, the Governor-General had been forcibly struck with the objectionable nature of the sway exercised by this Government over the state of Oude. He personally witnessed, that the sovereign was held in undisguised thralldom by the British Resident, while the latter could give no impulse to the

interior administration of the country capable of counterbalancing the paralyzing influence of minute and desultory interferences which destroyed all efficiency in the native functionaries. The disorder, and consequent distress of the country, appeared to the Governor-General not imputable to the misrule of the Nabob Vizier, in any degree equal to that in which they were chargeable to froward interruptions exercised in the name of the British Government. It was thought by the Governor-General, that, by allowing freedom of action to the legitimate power of the State, and only by Council directing it justly, our ally might be taught to manage his territories with benefit to his people, and with an exoneratation of the British Government from the odium which attached to it, as the source of the existing evils. The Council, on an exposition of these sentiments, concurred with the Governor-General. Correspondent instructions were furnished to a new Resident, and the improved condition of Oude justified the experiment. The effects of a system, similar to that which had been corrected in Oude, were represented to the Governor-General as being still more lamentable in the Nizam’s dominions. The remedy was there more difficult than in Oude, from the untowardness of the Nizam’s personal disposition, yet it was resolved to make the trial, whether judicious or not. It was the conscientious aim of the Governor-General in Council, to uphold and preserve entire those Native States which were connected with the British Government by pledges of amity. An imminent danger of disorganization threatened the Nizam’s Government, from the mutinous spirit of the troops, through grievous arrears of pay, and through the insubordination of the feudatory Chiefs, each of whom practised dreadful exactions over the Nizam’s subjects. Anxiety to cure those evils led to the following measures.’

If this be not a case of expediency sufficient to justify the exercise of any powers which a Governor might possess, I am at a loss to understand under what circumstances such an expediency would be taken to exist. But I go on:—

‘On the first establishment of the House of William Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, the nature and extent of their dealings do not seem to be exactly defined. It was not until they applied for a sanction in 1816, that their past transactions appear to have been examined. The scrutiny was very favourable for them, exhibiting, indeed, particulars which strongly enforced the presumption that the distresses of the Nizam’s Government would have come to a

crisis, had it not been for the assistance rendered by the House of William Palmer and Co. A conviction of this fact caused the grant of the sanction for which the House applied; and it at the same time led to the employment of that instrument more effectually.

'In 1816, and the beginning of the succeeding year, the probability of serious contest with the Mahrattas became visible. There was an obvious mode of rendering the Nizam more efficient to our aid, by prevailing upon him to have a portion of his soldiery, both cavalry and infantry, disciplined after the manner of our troops, which was practicable only by allotting a proportion of European officers to them. This condition would make the troops essentially ours, though paid by the Nizam. His Highness' assent was gained by his being made to see how he would be enabled by such a force to subdue his refractory Zemindars, an object in which he had hitherto failed, either through the collusion of the Chiefs sent against them, or the incompetency of that armed rabble to any duty; and, it may be stated here, that in this prospect the Nizam was not deceived; the principal rebellious feudatories having been brought into complete subjection by those well organized corps. He had the further advantage from them of becoming entitled to enormous gains (emancipation from chout, and acquisition of territory) through the issue of the war, in which those troops actually served in the divisions from the Deccan. The submission of the men to a requisite strictness of discipline, was alone to be obtained by securing to them the accurate discharge of their monthly pay. This was provided for by the Minister, by an arrangement with the House of William Palmer and Co., on terms of unprecedented moderation (these words are important) for that part of India, with the sanction of this Government. It is here not inapposite to remark, that misapprehensions may be entertained if all the parts of such a subject be not examined. Reference having been made to the Accountant-General, for his opinion as to the convenience or inconvenience of the arrangement in a pecuniary point of view, for the Nizam, he answered, that he could not see a necessity for it, as the assigned districts had always yielded the estimated revenue; overlooking that the pay of the troops was to be advanced monthly, and that the produce of the districts assigned for the repayment of those advances was received only at the close of the year.

'The disorders of the Nizam's dominions lay too deep to be cured by a partial remedy; they menaced the total subversion of the state. This Govern-

ment, sensible how discreditable to us such a calamity would be, ostensibly pledged, as we were, to support the throne of our ally, made strong and repeated remonstrances to the Minister. We represented the despair and misery to which the greatest part of the population in the Nizam's dominions was reduced through the incessant exactions and violence practised by the lawless troops of different chieftains; and we insisted on his adopting some plan for suppressing those dreadful abuses. The Minister, Rajah Chundoo Loll, first required from us the promise of our support in the undertaking; and, having obtained it, subsequently brought forward his detail of the means by which he hoped to achieve the end. Your hon. Court will perceive that there was but one opinion in Council as to the expediency of the case. The imminence of excessive embarrassments, and the necessity of precluding them, if possible, were admitted by all; nor was there a doubt as to the expediency of the Minister's aims; the only difference arose respecting the mode by which he meant to furnish himself with supplies for accomplishing his purpose."

Omitting the detail of these discussions, the Governor now comes to the effect of the transactions with the House of Palmer and Co.:

'Suffice it to say, that the question never was the inadmissibility of the arrangement with Messrs. William Palmer and Co., and the facing preferably the bursting of the storm; but the possibility of obtaining the loan on cheaper terms elsewhere; a hope which seemed to the Governor-General quite ungatory, and dangerously delusive. What the result of the measure sanctioned has been will appear from the letter of the Resident, dated on the 1st of September 1820. 'The reducing the expenses of the public establishments, at one stroke, by twenty-five lacks annually, is no considerable advantage; yet it bears no comparison with the benefit secured to the state by the discharge of those troops, who were the scourge of the country, and who could not be disbanded till their arrears were paid. This too has been followed by the removal of all the chiefs of the districts, through whose connivance the systematic plunder was exercised, so that the general population of the territory has profited signally by the reform.'

Now, shall I be told that here is not a full reply to every point which the most mistaken zeal for inquiry could urge? Will it be said now, that there is not a case of expediency—of great advantage—and equal advantage—fully proved? Will you ask, after this,

what became of the fruits of these loam?—what was gained by the grant to Palmer and Co. of this license,—after you hear what was achieved by it in the affairs of the kingdom of Hyderabad? I ask you, whether, upon this showing, you can condemn Lord Hastings for what he did? And again I tell you, if you do condemn him—be honest, and send his answer to your reproof into the world by the side of it.—(*Hear, hear, hear.*)

The next letter, Sir, which the Court is called on to approve and circulate, is the letter of the 28th of November 1821; full, I admit, of such heavy charges as would have sunk my cause, if I had not, luckily, to save me from despair, found an answer to them. I do find an answer to them recorded; and an answer admitted by the highest authorities known to our constitution. And, in noticing that letter of the 28th of November, and the reply to it, I shall the more particularly advert to one among a series of accusations, because the noble Marquis has distinguished it, as felt more personally by him than any of the rest. I must read to the Court what the Marquis of Hastings says, the moment he finds his personal honour and integrity called in question. He abandons the argument, then, of right or wrong; he talks no more as to whether what he did has turned out beneficially or otherwise; he says—

“I waive the consideration of what I have done: I have now to look only to what I meant. Upon every point of judgment, I allow myself as fallible as any man in the world; but, when you tax my honour and my principle, you shall excuse me then, if I speak strongly in my reply.”—(*Hear, hear, hear.*)

The attack upon the Marquis of Hastings runs thus—it appears in page 78 of the printed book, paragraph 53—Political Letter to Bengal, 22th November 1821.

“We have looked with anxiety for some attempt to justify or to palliate—”

I shall have a word to say upon the style of this letter presently; but, for the moment, I proceed with it:

“We have looked with anxiety for some attempt to justify, or to palliate, a proceeding which, so far as our recollection serves, is without a parallel on the records of our Indian Governments; but in your letter it is reported as if it were a circumstance needing no comment, and it is only through the following passage in the minute of the Gover-

nor-General, recorded on your consultations of the 1st January 1820, that we have been able to acquire a knowledge of the motives of this novel and most irregular procedure. “When Sir William Rumbold was called before the Council, he explained that the supplication of the House, of Government dispensing with the delivery of a copy of the accounts, had this sole motive: the accounts, once put on the proceedings of Council, must be transmitted home; so that the transactions of the House would be subjected, in London, to the inspection of persons liable to form all kinds of false deductions, from total ignorance of the habits of the country, and of every concomitant particular. At the same time, he offered to explain every part of the transactions verbally, on oath, to the Council. He further proposed to wait upon Mr. Stuart at his own house, and there submit the accounts to his examination. The validity of the objection to producing the accounts in Council struck me immediately, and I believe was similarly felt by two other members.”—This apology is meant to apply exclusively to the suppression of the accounts, and not to the suppression of Sir William Rumbold’s explanations, for which no apology is made; although, if admitted in one case, we do not see how it can be rejected in any supposable case. It is the language, not of a responsible, but of an irresponsible Government. It is not an exercise of the license of acting without instructions, and reporting the proceedings for the information and sanction of the Authorities at home; it is the assertion, by your Government, of a power to act, without the obligation to communicate to any superior authority the means of judging of your acts; and, consequently, the assertion of a power to elude all check and control. It is not an assumption of a discretionary power, on the part of the local Government, to suspend the execution of instructions from home; it amounts to the assumption of a power to do what you please, and to communicate to us just so much of what you have done as you may see fit. And on what ground does this assumption rest—that we are not qualified to draw right conclusions from the information which is laid before us; but, that, from ignorance of all we ought to know, it is not only unnecessary but unsafe to put us in possession of the materials of knowledge. We should be unworthy of the station we hold, if we did not strongly condemn such proceedings, defended by such allegations.”

Now Sir, I desire no more justice for Lord Hastings at this bar, than I would desire for the commonest clerk in your establishment; but you must

remember, that between such a nobleman as Lord Hastings and a common clerk, there should be some difference, not in the thing done, but in the manner of doing it; Lord Hastings, the man to whom you write in these terms, is the man in whom your own honour is bound up. If you degrade him, your Governor, in the eye of the Native Princes, or in the opinion of your own servants, I tell you, that you injure and degrade yourselves. Sir, I say, let the Company beware how it weakens its own authority and influence, by treating those individuals lightly, who are the peculiar and chosen depositaries of that authority and influence; and I say no more than has been already said in a higher quarter than this, when I tell you, that unless your clerks will curb their pens—(*hear, hear, hear*)—unless they will alter the phraseology which they have been in the habit of using for the last thirty years,—men of high character and rank will not consent to accept of office under you. Sir, I need not remind you of one despatch in particular,—a despatch from this Court to Lord Cornwallis, which was corrected in terms so rude and unfitting, that the authorities of Government refused to forward it. (*Hear, hear.*) That despatch, in fact, never went out at all; and it is still known by the name of “the intended despatch.” To return to the letter which I have quoted, and the charges contained in it: Sir, the Court would do well in condemning such conduct as is here imputed, if it really existed in the way which is apprehended; but what can those Gentlemen say to us, who, after the full explanation of this conduct by Lord Hastings, still call upon us to approve the charge, and not to notice the answer given? I ask, why is it that we are to pass over an explanation so complete and satisfactory, that it even satisfied the mind of the honourable person, who, acting as Deputy Chairman, had given his sanction to the first paper (the accusation); and who, in all the candour of his enlightened mind, anxious to do justice to every creature whose interests are intrusted to his care, has actually published upon the subject, in his joint capacity of Proprietor and Director, one of the most able official documents, which, in the course of my experience, it has ever fallen to my lot to notice? Sir, my knowledge in matters of this description may be inferior to that of some Gentlemen whom I see about me;

but, for myself, I have no hesitation in declaring, that the protest signed by Messrs. Pattison, Mills, and Daniel, is one of the strongest official papers that, in my practice, I ever read.

I now come to the reply of the Marquis of Hastings to your letter;—reply dated 20th Oct. 1822, containing the defence upon which that document is founded. “To the Honourable, the Chairman of the East India Company, &c. &c.”—This is in page 107 of the printed Papers:

“The letter from the honourable Court, dated the 28th November 1821, is a body of such serious charges against me, that, in justice to myself, I must enter formally upon an explanation of circumstances which have been strongly misapprehended. Where the animadversions are only impeachments of my judgment, I feel it incumbent on me to bow to the censure with entire submission; where the honourable Court impugns my constitutional principles, and assigns to me incorrect motives, a greater degree of latitude may equitably be allowed. Not meaning, for reasons which shall be given hereafter, to follow the exact series of the honourable Court’s observations, I hasten to the article which is meant to affect me the most materially. In paragraph 53, the honourable Court is pleased to charge me with assuming the power of setting aside its authority, and claiming for myself a privilege of action, subversive of the system established by the legislature for the administration of affairs in these territories. I beg leave to disclaim the ever having harboured a pretension to powers of such a description. The sense which I believe myself to entertain for my public duty towards my country, and of my solemn engagement to the honourable Court, would, I trust, suffice to prevent my indulging a license of that nature through any fallacious views of momentary expedience. Confident, still further, that the warmest recognition of special obligation to the honourable Company is never absent from my mind, I may assert, that my gratitude operating with common-place honesty renders it totally impossible I should ever in thought or deed have invaded the honourable Court’s supremacy. The charge, however, is broadly made; and my simple asseveration cannot be accepted to balance the detailed reasoning by which crimination is attached to me. It will, indeed, be shown that the fact on which the argument is founded has been altogether misapprehended; yet, as so forced and arbitrary a conclusion would not be deduced, even had the fact been literally as was imagined, unless the charge referred to some habitual disposition in

me, the existence of that disposition shall be brought to the test. I shall call upon the Members of Council to declare as men of honour, whether they have ever discovered in me any management or apparent inclination to evade an order from the honourable Court, which could without distinct injury to the honourable Company's service be fulfilled. Whether in the case of Instructions from the honourable Court, the most irreconcilable to existing circumstances, consequently the most embarrassing, they have ever heard me remark on the inapplicability of the orders with any irreverent levity; whether on the contrary they have not observed in me an invariable solicitude to warp the exigencies of the juncture as far as possible to the honourable Court's wishes, so as that the latter might be satisfied to the utmost extent safely practicable. Having premised this intention, I proceed to detail the matter on which so extravagantly unfavourable a structure has been raised.'

It would be vainly occupying the time of the Court, if I were to read the detail, from this letter, of that which is already perfectly well known to it. I maintain that the letter, as it stands, is a full answer to every circumstance of accusation. Now then, I will give the hon. Directors every credit for the circumstances under which they first acted. I attach no blame to them in the world for any thing they did prior to the reception of this document; all I say is—and that I must repeat—I never can or will consent, with this letter before my eyes, to let the accusations against the Marquis of Hastings go forth as if they had not been answered. At the close of this letter, the noble Marquis appeals to his colleagues in office, and to his Council. Many of these gentlemen are persons to whom he stood in office systematically opposed. He calls upon them, as men of honour, to declare if there is a single pretext for the charge set up against him, of having been used to treat the orders of the Company with irreverence. What is then answered to this question? What do these gentlemen say—these gentlemen who are in the habit of differing from Lord Hastings upon most other points? How do they reply to this appeal? what is their evidence? They will not be inclined to bear false witness; in Lord Hastings's favour, opposed to the noble Marquis as they are on other subjects; every one of these officers signs a contradiction to that charge; all say that there never was a man, or a Governor, who could have

treated the orders of the Company with more profound respect; and yet, though Lord Hastings himself has answered this charge; though his answer to it is confirmed by the statements of four of his Council; still the Proprietors of East India Stock are called upon, as a measure of justice, to circulate the accusation against the noble Lord, and to close their books upon the page of his reply! (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

There are three other letters applying to this subject; but they are only important here as they set forth some legal papers. There are six or seven legal opinions on the subject of transactions similar to those which form the ground of the present inquiry. Now, what is taken to be the law here does not much affect our question, I think, because it appears what the opinion of the Directors themselves had been upon the effect of the Act the 37th Geo. III. for no less than 28 years; and besides these opinions are not sent out until very lately—until two years subsequent to the grant of the licences, and and five years subsequent to the loan of Aurungabad. But, if what is declared here be the law, or is to be taken to be the law, it is a law which must not pass on my part without strong comment. If this be law, I cannot but caution the Proprietors of East India Stock as to the danger in which their interests stand so long as the law remains in its present condition. If the law is as it is now read, the sooner, I think, that that law is repealed, and another made, the better. (i) Until now, I had

(i) In the debate on the Press in India, however, this same Mr. Jackson contended, that the law which prevented the Colonization of India, was a good law, because it had lasted so long. His words were, "I believe there is no parliamentary rule more strict in its construction than this: that when the Legislature continues, through a long series of years, to repeat the same enactment, it is to be held, that the operation of that enactment has been found beneficial. When we find that Parliament has undeviatingly persevered in enacting the same principle, we have a right to refer to that as a proof, above all other arguments, that the law has been found to be wise and useful." No mind but that of a lawyer could have suggested such an idea as this.—If it were true, then the mere existence of any law would be proof of its excellence: its antiquity alone would be sufficient evidence of superiority, and any

thought that our powers stood upon a very different footing; and, as it seems to me upon a far more eligible one. Until now, I thought that the Directors of the East India Company, by themselves and by their officers, had power at their pleasure, to grant licenses and authority, to enable the Native Chiefs and Princes of India to raise money from European merchants for their public exigencies. About the result, that is, the effect, in the present instance, there can be probably but one opinion. We are all satisfied, I take it, that these loans which were raised, were raised to meet a public exigency; and, being raised under such circumstances as they appear to have been, I should say only—we may thank God that they were so successful. For the idea now started goes to this length: suppose the sovereign of Oude, or Hyderabad, or any other Native Prince in actual or professed alliance with us,—suppose us to be at war, and to want that chief's aid, and him to be ready to afford it,—suppose him to say, "Here I am; I am prepared with my troops, I have heart, and I have power; I want nothing but money to bring my soldiers into the field, but I cannot so bring them forward without first paying their arrears." Suppose this case to happen, and the money necessary to procure their reinforcement to be obtainable only from the capital of European merchants; then, according to the principle now contended for as law, whatever might be the consequence to our dominion, that money could not be raised! But I say, that the fact is otherwise, and that, with a view to meet contingencies like these, the Legislature, 28 years ago, distinctly enabled the local Governor to allow Native Princes to raise loans from European capitalists; those loans being for the peculiar service of such chiefs, and raised by each within his peculiar territories. I say that it was subject to these conditions, and for the purposes here covenanted, that the loans now in question were raised from Messrs. Palmer and Co. by the Nizam. If that law were good which is now contended to be good, then, not only within the British dominions, but say, in the centre of Oude, the Governor-General of India would have no power to extend a license to raise

money, even though that money were wanted for the raising of troops which were to save the country from destruction. The Governor would have no power, come what might, to grant a license for the raising of any money, if the rate of interest at which the loan was made exceeded ten per cent. Now is not such a proposition as this too much—this limitation, at all hazards, to 12 per cent. in a country where the Directors of the Company themselves, by a regulation approved by them, and now actually in the House, in giving directions to their judicial servants as to the settlement of rights of individuals in places where no courts exist—when they have directed those officers in such places, to allow as much as 30 or 35 per cent. according to circumstances. Is not a law like that now attempted to be sustained, in fact a law prohibiting European loans altogether? Is it supposed that money will ever be raised in India, and for exigency, at 12 per cent., while the rates allowed in general go to 30 or 35. Why I say, that it is supposing an absurdity to suppose this; and that no man I believe ever doubted, before the present moment, that licenses could be granted enabling the Native Princes to borrow money from Europeans at the common rate of interest paid in their territories.

Suppose, to give an immediate example, suppose, while we are engaged in the very heart of the Burmese war—engaged with all the strength of our own that we can collect, and with the aid of the King's troops, sent out to stand between us and destruction. Suppose, at such a time, a revolt to break out in our own territories. Suppose, an event not very unlikely to occur, that the seeing us engaged, induced our enemies to assemble. Under such circumstances, although the Nizam, or the Sultan of Oude, might be still our staunch friends, yet, if they could not bring their troops into the field, without a European loan, it becomes more than problematical if we can make the least use of their assistance; more than twelve per cent. interest must not be paid for the advances; and every Gentleman who listens to me, knows that we might as well talk of offering two and a half. Sir, the event would be, and if this law continues, some day will be, that an absurd restriction, invented by ourselves, would do that to ruin our possessions in India, which the arms of

attempt to repeal such laws would be treason to the state.*

* See *Oriental Herald*, Vol. 3. p. 97.

our enemies might never be able to accomplish. (m)

Mr. PATRISON.—I beg pardon for interrupting the hon. Gentleman for a single moment; but I wish to say one word on the subject of this letter of the 9th April 1822. I am desirous only to explain my conception as to the effect of this letter, in which I certainly bore a part. My object was to explain to all the parties, resident in India, that, whatever their opinions might have been, antecedent to that time, as to the law about taking more than twelve per cent., they were henceforth to understand, as the rule definitively settled, that, in all parts of India, even although not under the immediate dominion of the English, to take more than twelve per cent., in any case, would be illegal. This was the intention of that letter; and I will just tell the Court why I say this word in explanation. The Directors state in it, that they have the honour to inclose the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, as to loans by British subjects to Native Princes of India; and they add, paragraph 4 :

‘We desire that you will cause this explanation, and instruction, to be made public; and that you will prosecute all persons who in any way contravene the law as so explained.’

Now I beg leave to state, of my own immediate knowledge, that this order was expressly intended to be modified in such a way as not to have a retrospective effect. Whether it has had a retrospective effect upon the House in question, I do not know; but the ob-

(m) This effect will no doubt be one day produced, by the still more absurd restrictions which prevent the Colonization of India by Englishmen. Our present danger is admitted on all hands to arise from the great numerical superiority of the blacks over the whites. Common sense would suggest, as the best remedy for this, to increase the number of the minority, since we cannot diminish the number of the majority in this case. But the law says, No! There are not enough of Englishmen in India; therefore no more shall settle there. And so says Mr. Jackson, who contended in his speech against the Press, and in favour of the power of banishing Englishmen from India without trial, (this, too, from an upholder of law, and a professed friend of liberty!) that our continued preservation of India was chiefly owing to the laws which prevent the settlement of Englishmen there, and shut out Colonization!

ject of this paragraph, in which I had a part, was to prevent the continuance of the practice of taking more than the legal interest; and had particular reference to this case at Hyderabad; but certainly the intention was to guard only against the future.

Mr. R. JACKSON.—The last letter which I quoted, is that dated from Bengal; and it is not necessary for me now to go further into a discussion of it. It does appear to me that to send forth so many charges, contradicted by that despatch since received from Bengal—to circulate the accusation, without giving the answer to it, published on the part of the constituted authority—to do this, would savour so very much of sending forth a man's indictment, and suppressing the answer to it, that I shall suggest, in substance, the following amendment: to call the attention of Proprietors to the answers given to the letters of accusation, as well as to those letters of accusation themselves. The Court will bear in mind the two first letters—the letter dated in 1820, and the letter which I have just referred to, dated 1821. It so happens that, considerably subsequent to these dates; at a time when every circumstance connected with the Marquis of Hastings's administration was before the Court; at such a time, and under such circumstances, the whole subject matter now in question was discussed and reviewed; and we come to several resolutions of thanks, professedly founded upon a consideration of the excellent conduct of the noble Marquis, and the advantages of his general administration. Without purposing therefore—which I shall not attempt to do—to show that there might not have been faults in what he did, and errors of judgment, first, this is clear—the Directors themselves, in the month of May 1822, I repeat, in May 1822—for the time is important—at this date, which will be proved to be two years after the sixty-lac loan, now so much complained of, four years after the Aurangabad loan, and six years after the first granting of the license to Palmer and Co.—at this date, upon the event of the Marquis of Hastings preparing to leave India, our Directors distinctly declare that, as a whole, his administration has been such as to entitle him to the best thanks, they can convey, and that in bestowing those thanks, they acted upon the unanimous feeling of the Court. Now, I will return to this point—for I say it

is unanswerable :—with what consistency can the same Directors, who, in May 1822, made these professions, how can they, who so distinctly carried their vote of approval up to the period of the noble Lord's quitting his administration at that time—how can they now, three years afterwards, send forth an accusation against him—a new one; no, not new, but four, or six years old; an accusation, applying to a past act of his Government; an act, subsequent to which they have themselves interposed, and thanked him for the whole? I must just state, as briefly as possible, what were the very words of the hon. Chairman of that day; the precise words which he used, and statements, to induce us, the Proprietors, to consent to the expression of admiration and applause, which I advert to. Anxious, particularly, the hon. Directors were, that the vote should be passed so as to arrive in India before the Marquis of Hastings left its shores; in order that the whole country might see, and be made aware of the estimation in which they and the Company held him. The Chairman of that day, according to the printed reports, expressed himself thus:

The Chairman acquainted the Court, that it had been convened for the special purpose of laying before the Proprietors an unanimous Resolution of the Court of Directors of thanks to the most noble Marquis of Hastings.

The said resolution was read, being as follows:

At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the 16th May 1826.

Resolved unanimously:—That this Court, highly appreciating the signal merits and services of the most noble Marquis of Hastings, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Knight Grand Cross of the most honourable Military Order of the Bath, and Governor-General of India, are anxious to place on the records of the East India Company, their expression of deep regret that family circumstances have led to a declaration on the part of that distinguished nobleman of his wish to be relieved from the duties of his exalted station.

And this Court, being desirous that the sense they entertain of the conduct and services of the Marquis of Hastings should be promulgated previously to his departure for Europe, have further—

Resolved unanimously:—That the thanks of this Court be given to the most noble the Marquis of Hastings, K. G. and G. C. B. for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability, with which, during a period of nearly nine years, he has administered the Government of British India, with such high credit to himself, and advantage to the interests of the East India Company.

The Chairman then rose, and said the business which the Proprietors now assembled to consider, was one that required but very little introduction on his part. The merits of the noble person, whom they had that day met to thank, were acknowledged on all hands to be of the most exalted and signal character; and,

therefore, he was persuaded that the Court of Proprietors would concur in the sentiments which the Court of Directors had recorded of these merits. It was usual on three occasions to state to the Proprietors the preliminary vote, to which the Court of Directors had agreed; and it sometimes happened that that vote was proposed to the Court of Proprietors for their adoption. But that course would not now be taken, as it was considered more gratifying to the Proprietors themselves, as well as more complimentary to the noble individual in question, to leave it entirely to the Court to take such steps as might appear best calculated to obtain the object they all had in view. The object of the vote which the Court of Directors had come to, was not to praise any particular act of this noble person's administration, but to place on the records of the Company their opinion of his general conduct during a period of nine years. On that account, they had not deemed it necessary to produce any papers, for the history of the noble Marquis was to be found in every document which had been transmitted from India for several years past. The noble Marquis had formerly received, in two instances, votes of thanks from that Court; and, on a third occasion, the strong feelings of regard which the Proprietors entertained towards him, in consequence of his various services, were further expressed by a pecuniary grant;—the two first votes were for particular services; the one for the Nepanese war; the other for the war against the Maharras and Pindarees; both of which contests had been brought to a successful and glorious conclusion. In both instances, the papers relative to those important transactions had been laid before the Proprietors. In the third instance, the Court had come to a unanimous vote of money; and, on that occasion, it was not considered necessary to produce any document, because the reward was granted for services already well known, and duly appreciated. The present resolution might then be considered as a summary of his Lordship's administration. It might be viewed as a tribute of praise paid to the noble Marquis, previous to his departure from that country; which he had for nine years governed so ably; and he hoped that the General Court would, on the motion of some hon. Proprietor, unanimously agree to a similar tribute of respect. The result of his Lordship's administration was to be seen in the general pacification of India, in the flourishing state of the Company's finances; and in the total absence of any thing which appeared likely to disturb the existing tranquillity.

How is this resolution in favour of the same nobleman whose conduct we are to-day discussing? After bestowing all this applause and commendation upon his conduct, are we to-day called upon to pronounce him guilty? Should the majority of this Court, which I can scarcely conceive possible, be against the plain original question; if it should so turn out that that question is negative, and the amendment proposed by the honourable Chairman should come to be propounded as a question, in that event, I shall take the liberty to move, that we enumerate among the despatches which this Court is called upon to approve, one despatch which the Directors do not name, although they have distinctly approved of it them-

selves; in substance, I shall move this addition to the resolution:

'That the Court further expresses its approbation of the despatches to the Bengal Government, dated on the 5th of June 1822, conveying the thanks of the Court of Directors to the Marquis of Hastings, for the zeal and ability with which, during nine years, he has administered the government of British India.'

My amendment in words will stand thus:—

'That the following words be added:— And that this Court further expresses its approbation of the despatch to the Bengal Government, dated the 5th June 1822, conveying the unanimous thanks of the Court of Directors to the Marquis of Hastings, for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which, during a period of nine years, he has administered the government of British India, with such high credit to himself and advantage to the interests of the East India Company; at the same time expressing their deep regret that family circumstances had led to a declaration of his Lordship's wish to be relieved from the duties of his exalted station. And also conveying the unanimous thanks of the Court of Proprietors; enumerating the great merits of the noble Marquis; referring to their former repeated votes of thanks, and expressing the high satisfaction with which they witnessed their executive authority again coming forward, at the termination of a career so useful and brilliant, to express and promulgate their sense of his Lordship's exalted merit, and their deep regret that domestic circumstances should withdraw him from the Government of their Asiatic territories. At the same time desiring the Court of Directors to convey to the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, the expression of their unfeigned admiration, gratitude and applause. And this Court feels itself bound in justice to refer, in this resolution, to a letter from Lord Hastings, dated the 16th of Dec. 1820, written in answer to the despatch of the 24th of May 1820; to another letter, received from his Lordship, dated the 20th of Oct. 1822, in answer to the despatch of 28th Nov. 1821; to the opinion of Edward Stretell, Esq., then Advocate-General of Bengal, dated the 19th of July 1816; and to the opinion of Robert Spankie, Esq., then Advocate-General of Bengal, dated the 26th of May 1821, the legal advisers of the Governor-General in Council; and to a dissent, or protest, dated the 19th of January 1824, signed by James Pattison, W. F. Elphinstone, J. Daniel, and Charles Mills, Esquires, protesting against, and dis-

senting from the paragraph contained in the despatch of January 1824.'

(General cheering, when the honourable Gentleman sat down.)

Mr. PETER MOORE addressed the Court; but the noise which prevailed, prevented us from catching very accurately the particular words in which he expressed himself. He should be very concise, he said, in what he had to state, and should give his opinion without reserve; although, certainly he had read very little of the voluminous mass of Papers which was before the Court. His mind had been made up upon the first view of the original question; and, decidedly, he should vote for the amendment. (u) There were some matters, perhaps, in the world, which lengthy detail only serve to mystify; and, as it seemed to him, this present question was one of them. The truth of the case was pretty clear, and upon that fact, it was that he meant to proceed. A great body of evidence there was prepared certainly; the Papers on the table amounting, in fact, nearly to a review of the conduct of the whole of the Company's establishment. And much pleased he was with one result of this review: it showed that there had been a great devotion to the Company's cause among its servants; much display both of anxiety and of talent; a little touch of irritation and of mis-judgment here and there; but not one particle, and right glad he was to see it, not one point that looked like corruption. (o) Under such circumstances, it was just that Gentlemen should be guarded in their accusations, particularly against such persons as were not present, and could not defend themselves. He begged to repeat, that he saw no symptom of corruption any where; not merely in the conduct of Lord Hastings, for that might be

(n) This is a speedy mode of coming to a decision, no doubt. We have heard of love at first sight, but then it is on seeing all the beauties of the countenance or form that may excite it. Here, however, is a judgment upon the first view of a question, the materials of which that question is entirely made up not having been read or examined by him who forms this immediate conclusion! If accurate decisions can be formed in this manner, these papers, debates, evidence, and juries, are useless, and should be at once abolished.

(o) How could any man say this, who had not read, nay, attentively examined, the papers which Mr. Moore confesses he had scarcely looked into?

understood almost of course; but none in the conduct, high or low, of any individual among the Company's servants. Now, when he entered the Court, he had found one honourable Gentleman defending his own conduct. On a former day, two or three other Gentlemen had enjoyed the same advantage. This might be perhaps rather irregular, but it was only right and just; for, in fact, they were upon their defence. But the circumstance which he complained of was, that the present proceedings put too many persons upon their defence; and some who, unluckily, were not present to answer for themselves. The honourable Gentleman who had last spoken, (Mr. Randle Jackson,) had been very severe in his strictures upon the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe; not entirely bearing in mind that that gentleman was not present, and could not reply. He repeated that this course was scarcely fair. (p) A Gentle-

(p) How often is this to be repeated, and within the walls of a building where it has been so often shown to be the constant practice of the heads of the establishment to encourage this hearing of accusations without defence? But, in the present case, it is both absurd and untrue, to say the parties have not been heard, and are not present to speak in their defence. The debate is on certain papers, under real signatures, and descriptive of real transactions, recorded and defended by the writers in the most deliberate manner. They are, therefore, there in their writings, as much as a petitioner is before the House of Commons in his petition, or a plaintiff and defendant before a court of justice in his briefs. And in the same manner as members in the one case, and barristers in the other, rise to argue on these petitions and briefs without the face of the petitioner and client being seen or their voices heard; so also here, are nearly all the India Directors, besides dependent lawyers, and independent Proprietors, reverend and irreverend, speaking in behalf of these absent individuals, who are better defended than any one not a servant of the India Company can hope to be, without fee or cost to themselves. The most unfair proceeding ever heard of, was that of Mr. Adam first banishing a man from India, then stopping the tongues and pens of every man there disposed to defend the exile; and after that, when he himself could not, and his friends dared not, say a syllable in defence, then sending forth a volume of calumnies against him to the world, which no man was allowed to answer! Yet this proceeding never once excited

man (Mr. Russell) had spoken and cleared himself; another Gentleman, whose conduct was attacked, had also cleared himself; but Sir Charles Metcalfe, unfortunately, was not in a condition to be able to do so.

Now, let the Court just remember the time when the despatch of the 24th May 1820, which formed the ground of the present proceeding, had been written. It had been written while the Company was just smarting under the effect of the attacks made upon their treasury for the loans of Oude, and of the Carnatic; and with two Commissions actually sitting, to determine what claims should be paid, and what should not. The short truth was, that transactions like those of the Messrs. Palmers would not do. The treasury of Madras had already lent large sums of money in this way; and but the other day, when the new bundle of Grenvilles had come into place, the first thing they had done was to go down to the House of Commons; and ask that 300,000*l.*, or some such amount, should be made good to Mr. Prendergast. (q)

He imputed no misconduct to the Marquis of Hastings; he thought such transactions as those which the noble Lord had sanctioned, highly injurious; but he believed that he had been inveigled into sanctioning them. Still the question now was, whether such bargains between British subjects and the native Princes should or should not be prohibited? He thought that they ought to be prohibited; (r) and,

Mr. Moore's indignation; nor was he then to be found at his post to condemn so unfair a proceeding.

(q) The transactions of Messrs. Palmer and Co. bore no resemblance whatever to those from which the Madras Government suffered: nor to those which commissions had been appointed to inquire into and adjust. Many of these have been found to be false and fictitious. Not a single item of Messrs. Palmer and Co.'s claims have been yet shown to be otherwise than fair, moderate, and strictly *bona fide* true. If Mr. Prendergast was paid, for himself and others, the sum claimed by him, it is to be presumed that the claim was shown to be well-founded; if so, it ought to be paid; and this, instead of being an argument against Messrs. Palmer and Co., is a strong one in their favour, and ought to encourage them to proceed in the demands of retributive justice.

(r) This is a mere matter of opinion: honest bargains ought to be as open to

if they were not, the Company would be the sufferers. They would find gentlemen like Messrs. Palmer and Co. constantly coming down with long faces to the Board of Control. "We are ruined," they would be saying, "by these contracts; (s) we undertook them on the faith of a guarantee from the Government; we have so many seats (no matter how many) in Parliament—do pray give us a lift." (t)

In conclusion, the hon. Gentleman, after declaring that, if such transactions as those of Messrs. Palmer and Co. were not prohibited, he should tremble for the dividend of the Proprietors, (u) sat down, by saying that

Natives and English, as to different people of any other nations: dishonest bargains should be opposed everywhere. But the India Company seem to have no objection to any bargain from which they can themselves derive profit: witness their monopolies of tea, opium, and salt, each full of iniquity, but they shut out others from a participation in their gains; the bargains are good when made by themselves, and bad only when made by others. If the mere taking of money from Native Princes were a crime, then the greatest criminals existing are the East India Company; to say nothing of their taking everything else, power, thrones, sceptres, liberties, and rights, of which, when they once deprive their Native allies, they have never the honour or the generosity to restore them.

(s) Messrs. Palmer and Co. are ruined, not by the contracts they made, but because the Bengal Government most dishonestly encourage the party with whom they were made not to fulfil their engagements; and while they professed to guarantee the House by its protection, not only withdrew that protection, but encourage those indebted to the Firm, not to pay their debts; aiding and abetting, in short, acts of the grossest swindling.

(t) The ignorance betrayed by this remark is worth notice. The unfortunate Members of the ruined House have neither seats, nor even friends, in Parliament, as it would seem: their bankruptcy makes them too poor to buy the one, and their honesty may operate to prevent them obtaining the other, by any means but such as are not the most successful. We hope the day will come, however, when some of the few honest men in Parliament will bring their injuries before that assembly, and demand that the public voice shall be pronounced on such flagrant and disgraceful oppressions as they exhibit.

(u) Here, then, is a frank avowal of
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he fully approved the letter of the Directors of the 24th of May 1821. The three other letters were not of great importance; but he trusted the Court would approve that; and they might approve it without casting the smallest censure upon Lord Hastings.

Loud cries of "*Adjourn, adjourn,*" at the conclusion of the hon. Proprietor's speech.

The CHAIRMAN having obtained order,

Mr. IMPEY rose and said, that, if the thing were practicable, he should be anxious to come to a conclusion that night.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD attempted to speak, but the cries of "*Adjourn*" compelled the hon. Gentleman to resume his seat.

Mr. EVANS then moved an adjournment in the regular form, which was immediately seconded from several quarters.

The CHAIRMAN.—Order, order.

The Rev. Mr. SIMPKIN.—Mr. Chairman.—Sir, when I look to the future proceedings in which it may be the duty of this Court to become engaged, and consider how mischievous an effect the prolonged debate—already of five days—upon this question, may have, as a precedent, upon our discussions hereafter, I hope that the Proprietors assembled will allow me to move an amendment upon the motion for adjournment—which will be, Sir,

the *motive* of opposing the claims of Messrs. Palmer and Co. With Mr. Moore, the question is not, "are the claims just?" but, if they are admitted, "*who are to pay them?*" The monstrous dishonesty of making this a standard of right and wrong must be apparent to all: and if once admitted, would justify the non-payment of every debt, however lawfully contracted. But Mr. Moore is as wrong in point of fact as he is in point of morals. It is not true, that the entire payment of all the claims of Messrs. Palmer and Co. would affect the dividend in the slightest degree. Thanks to the *wisdom* of Parliament, that dividend has been rendered quite independent of all such events: and hence the indifference of India Proprietors to the interests of the country from whence they draw the wealth that pays their dividends. If these were but suffered to rise and fall, as all other mercantile dividends do, according to the right or wrong management of their affairs, we should see Indian subjects more closely attended to and better understood. But, even were it true, that the dividends would suffer by payment

"that this Court do now adjourn, *sine die*." (x)

Strong opposition to this motion, with loud cries of "*Question*" and "*Adjourn*," in the midst of which several Proprietors rose, but did not obtain a hearing.

The Rev. Mr. SIMPKIN begged to say that he had moved a regular amendment upon the motion to adjourn.—(*Order, order.*)

The CHAIRMAN.—There is a slight want of formality in the motion of the Rev. Proprietor. An amendment may be moved upon every other description of motion; but the forms of the Court do not admit of moving an amendment upon the motion to adjourn. For myself, inconvenient as the protraction of this debate must necessarily be to the Directors of the Company, as well as to the hon. Proprietors, who have abundance of other matters of importance to attend to, still I think I shall best consult the will of the Court, as far as I can at present collect it, by offering no objection to the proposition for adjournment. I am perfectly sensible that this is going on to a very inconvenient and unprecedented length; and, in effect, in some degree affecting the case of the noble Lord, the Marquis of Hastings himself—to whom it certainly will afford no gratification to hear that it became a question of five days' debate, whether a particular vote concerning him should, or should not, be carried. I would put it to the friends of the noble Marquis, how far this delay can serve his cause; but to the adjournment, if it be pressed, I shall offer no opposition.

Mr. SAMUEL DIXON.—I agree entirely with the hon. Chairman, that this debate has already occupied too great a length of time; and certainly it would be desirable, on all accounts, that we should bring it, as soon as possible, to a conclusion. But, if Gentlemen oppose the adjournment, and call for the question, and that should be the

opinion of the majority, those who call for the question must be bound to hear patiently all that may farther have to be stated upon it. Now, are Gentlemen prepared, at this hour, to take the chance of being able to perform that duty?

The CHAIRMAN.—It has been moved and seconded, that this Court do now adjourn; it is for the Court to decide if it will adjourn, and to what day.—(*Cries of No adjournment, and Question.*)

The CHAIRMAN.—In that case, if the Court at large is not disposed to adjourn, I have nothing else to do than to say we must divide. Those Gentlemen present who are not Proprietors will have the goodness to withdraw.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—Mr. Chairman, on the question of our adjournment, I beg leave to trouble the Court with a single word. As the individual who brought the subject forward which we are discussing, and whose conduct may in some sort be held responsible for its result, I am of course extremely anxious to omit no precaution which may tend to its success. It will be remembered by yourself, Sir, as well as by many Gentlemen near me, that, in the original address which I had the honour to make to the Court, I prefaced my motion with but few observations. I took that course with a view to the opportunity, which I looked for, of explaining myself fully in my reply; and, if the proposal of adjournment is opposed, the time for my entering into that explanation is now arrived. Now, Sir, although there can be no hour of the day or night, at which I should not be ready, and am not ready, to enter at full length into the merits of this question, yet I must own it does not seem to me that the present moment would be quite the most convenient for my doing so. That which I have to submit to the Court will necessarily occupy a considerable time. I shall be sorry to intrude upon your attention so long; but I have a duty to perform which will not admit of being neglected. Now, under such circumstances, I do confess that I should feel more confidence, in commencing this task at a future day, than if I have to go through it before an audience already jaded with a long and arduous debate. Under these circumstances, Sir, I shall support the motion for adjourning.

Mr. WEEDING.—Mr. Chairman, considering the great length of time which this debate has already occupied, I do certainly feel myself bound to oppose

of a just debt, what honest man would, on that account alone, object to its payment?

(x) Such a proposition was ill befitting a *reverend* mover, who must have forgotten the commandment, "Do unto others," &c.; and "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."—This is certainly not a very amiable trait in a messenger of peace and justice, which this reverend emissary might otherwise be presumed to have been.

any farther adjournment. It would be a great tax upon the time of Gentlemen who have been here so many days, to call upon them, unless in case of absolute necessity, to come down again to-morrow or on Thursday. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. D. Kinnaird) says that he is ready at any time to enter into the question; and my wish is, that he should do so now; if he will speak, he shall find me a patient and attentive hearer.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—My object is only, if I could, to address the Court when not already fatigued with a length of discussion.

Mr. WEDDING.—Why, Mr. Chairman, that object will not be forwarded at all by our adjourning. How does the hon. Gentleman know that, on the next day, he will get an earlier opportunity of reply than he has at present. He cannot secure beginning early, if we do adjourn. Twenty persons may come down and speak before him; he will have no claim to precedence. My wish is that we should go on.

The CHAIRMAN.—In that case, the Court will have to divide. All Gentlemen who are not Proprietors must withdraw.

Mr. FRESHFIELD.—Sir, I, personally, do not rise to oppose the motion for adjournment; and I think that there is not so much difference of opinion that we need go to a division.

The CHAIRMAN.—If the motion for adjournment is contested, I have no duty to perform but to divide the Court upon it; at the same time, if

any arrangement can be come to without that necessity, I shall be very happy. For myself, I have no power to act; but if I might be permitted to express an opinion, I do certainly think, considering the long debate we have had to-day already, that the case of the noble Lord would be most fairly settled if we have an adjournment.

After a short conversation among some of the Proprietors, the motion for adjournment was then agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN.—It will be necessary to fix the day to which the adjournment is to take place. The Directors, and myself, upon that point, are entirely at the command of the Proprietors. We shall be here to-morrow, and ready to go on, if it be desired; but the effect of going on to-morrow would be to stop other regular business, and would probably put a vast number of persons to inconvenience. Thursday, as it seems to me, would be, if it can be agreed upon, the more convenient day.

Thursday was accordingly agreed upon.

A PROPRIETOR suggested that, in order to ensure getting through on that day, the Court should meet at 11 o'clock instead of 12.

The CHAIRMAN said, that such an alteration, he feared, would lead to mistakes, as notice could hardly be given to all the Proprietors. The regular hour would be best.

The Court then adjourned to Thursday, the 3d of March.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.—SIXTH DAY.

On Thursday, March 3d, the Court met pursuant to adjournment.

The CHAIRMAN took his seat at 12 o'clock, and, as on former days, the motion and amendment were by his direction read by the Clerk.

Mr. DIXON.—It is not my intention to occupy the attention of the Court long. I have already delivered my sentiments on this question; but I hope I may be allowed to express my earnest wish—that I could say here—that the present discussion may not be carried further on either side without some communication taking place between the mover of the original motion and the mover of the amendment, because I am strongly impressed with a conviction, that if

the question be decided in either way, a considerable degree of uneasiness will be excited. (a) If some middle course could be taken, by which the Court could avoid being called upon to express an opinion with regard to either of the propositions before it, it would be highly satisfactory: for, let its decision be either one way or the other, it could not fail, at no great distance of time, to be productive of much evil to the Company. We ought cau-

(a) Is this a reason for not continuing a debate? In all cases where two parties are contending for what each deems a right, "a considerable degree of uneasiness" must be the result to the defeated party.

tiously to avoid giving the Legislature any ground for animadverting upon our acts. There are many persons who would be highly gratified in having an opportunity to overhaul the conduct of the East India Company in the House of Commons. (b) (*Hear, and Order.*)

A PROPRIETOR.—The hon. Member has already spoken on the question, and I conceive that he is out of order in submitting any proposition to the Court now.

MR. DIXON.—I did not move any thing. I merely hinted at what I know to be the wish of many Proprietors. (*Hear, hear.*)

General THORNTON.—I rise to second the motion. (*Cries of Order.*) I mean to second the recommendation of the hon. Member. (*Order.*)

THE CHAIRMAN.—I must appeal to the Court, and be allowed to express a hope that regularity will be observed. I beg leave to remind the Court of what passed on Tuesday, and the strong desire which was then expressed that the debate should close on that day; but if these desultory conversations be persisted in, and allowed to take up the time of the Court, I am sure the debate will never be concluded. If any Gentleman wishes to speak to the motion, I hope he will begin. Now that I am on my legs, I beg leave to repeat what I stated on a former day,—that the interests of the Company were materially affected by the continuance of this debate. Not only is the ordinary business of the Company interrupted, but that which is most important, viz. the Tea Sales, which take place in this room. The dealers have this morning expressed their anxious desire to me, through their Chairman, that they may not again be turned out of this room. They have been here this morning, and are now obliged to go into another room, which is not large enough for their accommodation. (c) They have ex-

(b) No doubt:—and when the time arrives for such animadversions, there will be no want of subject matter on which to exercise it, whatever pains Mr. Dixon may take to avert the threatening evil.

(c) This is as illustrative an example as could well be given of the hon. Chairman's class of intellect. What! a discussion on the important question, whether a country has been well or ill-governed—a debate on the ruin of an establishment in which millions were vested by their own servants, many of whom, besides the principals, will be

pressed a wish that if the debate be continued, it should be adjourned for a week or ten days. Really, Gentlemen, these proceedings will affect our dividend. (d) (*Hear.*) I suggest that the debate shall finish to-day. I will willingly sit here till midnight, if it be necessary; but I will not, so far as lies in my power, admit of any adjournment.

Sir HARFORD JONES.—I am aware how unwilling the Court must be to listen to any speaker after the long discussion which has already taken place on this subject; and I assure you that nothing but the great importance of the question would have prevailed upon me to present myself to your notice: and I likewise assure you, that I will endeavour to compress what I have to say into as few words as possible. No man in this Court entertains a higher opinion of the Marquis of Hastings's honour, integrity, and ability, than myself; and I wish I could bring my mind to the conclusion that, with respect to the transactions immediately under our consideration, his Lordship has acted with his usual political wisdom. It appears very necessary to me, in order to come to a just opinion, both with respect to the motion and amendment now before the Court, that we should never lose sight of what the Nizam really is. I have heard the Nizam called an independent Prince: if he be so, it is not by the grace of God, but by the permission of the East India Company. It is also necessary that we should consider, with the same case, the political relations in which he stands towards us, and we towards him. Our political relation towards him, is the relation of tutelage rather than that of alliance; and this being the case, I think that his

ruined in its fall—a discussion on such questions as these to take precedence, and interfere with the accommodation of the buyers and sellers of tea? Monstrous presumption! No, no,—let the tea-dealers buy their lots in comfort, and let the Governor-General of India, and all the service be set aside to make room for these lordly grocers.

(d) This is not even true in point of fact; for no rise in the prices of tea increases, any more than a diminution decreases, the rate of the dividend—this being fixed and unfluctuating. It would be well if it were otherwise. But supposing even that it would, is that a reason why justice should not be done to those who seek it?

interest must, on all occasions, be ours, and that his embarrassments we must, more or less, ever partake of. I will not make any allusion to the loan made to the Nizam by Messrs. Palmer and Co., further than to say, that it is *prima facie* evidence that his Government was in an embarrassed state. If this position be correct, as well as that which I before advanced, that we were affected by the embarrassments of the Nizam,—I say, then, that it was the duty of our Indian Government to take care that he was not further embarrassed by so disastrous a loan. The public transactions of the period proved that our Treasury was in a flourishing state. With these means, and with the powers which the Act of Parliament gave to the Governor-General to assist our ally, why, I ask, was he permitted to borrow money on such ruinous terms? (c) I told you, Sir, that I would compress what I had to say into a small compass. I do not know, if I talk till midnight, that I could say any thing more to the purpose, and therefore I shall conclude by stating, that, with the view I take of the question, I shall give my vote for the amendment. (Hear.)

SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE.—The character of the noble Lord to whom the present question relates, the high and the responsible situation he held in India, and the nature of the Papers which have been laid before us, are circumstances which render the present a question of considerable importance. It is of importance to the efficient administration of your affairs in India, that a Governor-General, who has repeatedly received the thanks of his country, should feel confident that whatever difference of opinion may have occurred between him and his Council in India, his character for integrity, at least, will be protected in this country. It is of equal importance

(c) It is extremely easy to compress a great deal into a short space, when a speaker is prepared to beg the whole question in dispute. To assume that the loan was a ruinous one, or that the transactions of Messrs. Palmer and Co. increased the embarrassments of the Nizam, is to assume what the opposite party deny. The terms of the loan were not merely moderate, but even *low* for Hyderabad; and the Nizam had his embarrassments lessened instead of increased by the aid in question. Sir Harford Jones has not ventured to give even one solitary reason for assuming the contrary.

to the commercial interests of India, and through them to the commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain, that a Governor-General, who has boldly protected a great commercial house established under the sanction of Government in the very centre of India, for the express purpose of promoting the liberal views of a commercial treaty, the general interests of trade, and the introduction of British manufactures amongst the natives of the country, should feel confident whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the policy of the measure, that his motives, at least, will be protected from secret and unfounded calumnies in this country. It is for these reasons that, although I have not had the honour of attending this Court on any former occasion, I have felt it my duty to attend it on the present; and—after having read every Paper which has been printed, and listened to every argument that has been urged on the occasion—to submit to you shortly the grounds upon which I feel myself bound, by every principle of justice and honour, to support the motion which has been brought forward by the hon. Proprietor, (Mr. Kinnaid.) (Hear, hear.)

The arguments which have been urged by the hon. Director within the bar, (Mr. Pattison,) by the hon. Proprietor on my right, (Mr. R. Jackson,) and by the hon. Member for Medhurst, (Mr. J. Smith,) are, in my opinion, conclusive against the adoption of the amendment; on that point, therefore, it is unnecessary for me to trouble the Court. The only question at present is, do the Hyderabad Papers contain any fact, with respect to the Marquis of Hastings's conduct in the Hyderabad transactions, which authorizes us to alter the high opinion which we have hitherto expressed, of the honour and integrity of the Marquis of Hastings. (Hear.)

In order to form a fair and impartial judgment from these Papers, of the whole conduct of the Marquis of Hastings in the Hyderabad transactions, it is necessary to consider them,—1st, With reference to the political objects which he had in view; 2dly, With reference to the line of conduct which he observed in collecting the information upon which he acted; and 3dly, With reference to that line of conduct which he observed in selecting the means by which his measures were to be carried into effect.

With respect to the first point, it is

established by the Hyderabad Papers, that the political objects which Lord Hastings had in view in the Hyderabad transactions, were to enable, by means of a loan, the Nizam's Government to render efficient, as allies to the British arms, a considerable body of his troops, which, for want of regular pay, were in a state of mutiny and insubordination; and also to enable, by means of a loan, the Nizam's Minister, a friend to the British Government, to introduce such a reform into his country, as would increase its prosperity and make it a permanently useful ally to the British interest in India. That these were wise and great political objects is proved by the report made at the time to Lord Hastings, by the then political Resident at Hyderabad, a gentleman who had been appointed to the situation, not by Lord Hastings, but by his predecessor, Lord Minto,—a gentleman who had been for twenty years intimately acquainted with the affairs of Hyderabad; who had been for fifteen out of those twenty years actually political Resident of that Court; whose talents and local information were universally acknowledged in India; and whose talents and local information must be acknowledged in this country, by every person who heard the able, manly, and luminous speech which he made in this Court some days ago. (*Hear, hear.*)

With respect to the second point, in collecting the necessary information to act, it was Lord Hastings's duty, as a statesman and as a faithful servant of the East India Company, to consult the Advocate-General of Bengal, as to the legality, and the political Resident of Hyderabad, as to the policy, of the measures which he was about to adopt; and after causing the measures to be finally discussed in Council, to carry into effect such of them as had been determined upon, either by the whole Council or by the majority of the Council; the opinion of each Member of Council being faithfully recorded at the time, for the information of the Court of Directors. It is established by the Hyderabad Papers, that Lord Hastings did, in as far as relates to the legality of these measures, act in strict conformity with the advice of the Advocate-General of Bengal; that in as far as relates to the policy of the measures, Lord Hastings did act, in strict conformity with the advice of the political Resident of Hyderabad; and that Lord Hastings, after having caused

the measures to be fully discussed in Council, carried into effect the principal one of them,—the license to the House of Palmer and Co., with the unanimous concurrence of every Member of this Council, and the others with the concurrence of the majority of the Council, the opinions of each Member of Council, both for and against the latter measures, being faithfully recorded, for the information of the Court of Directors. (*Hear, hear.*) And it is therefore established by these Papers, that the line of conduct which Lord Hastings observed in collecting the information upon which he acted, was precisely that which it was his duty to observe, as a statesman and as a faithful servant of the East India Company.

3dly. With respect to that line of conduct which Lord Hastings observed in selecting the means by which his measures were to be carried into effect, it was, again, Lord Hastings's duty, as a statesman and as a faithful servant of the East India Company, to take care that the means which he selected were such as were the most palatable to the Nizam's Government, through whose agency the measures were to be carried into effect; that they were such as had been advised by the political Resident at Hyderabad, upon whose co-operation the success of the measures depended; that they were such as were in strict conformity with the spirit and objects of the existing treaty of commerce between the Nizam's Government and the British Government; and, finally, that they were such as were, considering all the circumstances of the case, the most economical that could be adopted. It is established by the Hyderabad Papers, that the Nizam, partly from the services which he had received from Mr. Palmer himself before he was a Member of the House of Palmer and Co., and partly from the benefits he had derived from the House, reposed great confidence in the House; and himself proposed that the loan should be negotiated for him through the House.

It is also established by the Hyderabad Papers, that the political Resident at Hyderabad had officially pointed out to Lord Hastings the House of Palmer and Co., as the only House which, from the confidence it had obtained amongst the Schroffs, and other Native monied men of the country, could raise the loan for the Nizam's Government. It is further proved by the Papers, that the House of Palmer and Co. had been established at Hy-

derabad under the sanction of the British Government, for the express and avowed purpose of carrying into effect the views of the treaty of commerce which had been concluded between the Nizam's Government and the British Government; that it had expended a considerable capital in opening an inland navigation, of nearly 400 miles, for the conveyance by water instead of by land, of the cotton of Berar, and the teak-wood which grows near the Godavery; that it had made an expensive establishment near the mouth of the Godavery at Coringa; that it had actually built at that port a ship of the teak-wood, which it had brought thither by the inland navigation that has been mentioned; and that it had been the means of introducing into the Nizam's country two hundred thousand pounds worth of British manufactures, the use of which had become so general amongst the upper classes of society in that country, that the political Resident reports his having seen many Chiefs, at the Court of the Nizam, dressed in English shawls, muslins, and other descriptions of English manufacture. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

It further appears, from the report of the political Resident made at the time to Lord Hastings, and confirmed by what he stated to you in this Court a few days ago, that the terms upon which the loans to the Nizam's Government were negotiated by Palmer and Co. were fair and moderate, which is corroborated by the statement also made the other day in this Court by Sir Charles Forbes, one of the most distinguished and best-informed merchants who ever was in India, and who has proved to you, by the most unanswerable evidence, that those terms were not only moderate, but were such as a cautious House would have been unwilling to take; in support of which he has proved to you, that his own House at Bombay, under very similar circumstances, received from the Bombay Government ten or twelve per cent. more interest than Palmer and Co. had received from the Nizam, for money which they (the House of Forbes and Co.) had lent the Bombay Government,—not upon the precarious security upon which Palmer and Co. had lent their money to the Nizam's Government, but upon the direct and avowed security of the Bombay Government itself; and that even this loan had been reckoned so little desirable by the House of Forbes and Co., that, although it had the option

of lending the Bombay Government 100,000 rupees upon those terms, it only lent it 18,000. It is, therefore, established by these Papers, that Lord Hastings, in selecting the House of Palmer and Co. as the means by which his measures were to be carried into effect at Hyderabad, was justified by every principle of policy and duty which he was bound to observe as a statesman, and as a faithful servant of the East India Company. (*Hear.*)

The principal objection that has been urged, in the course of this debate, against Lord Hastings's conduct in the Hyderabad transactions, arises out of the construction which has been given to a private letter which was written by Lord Hastings to Sir Wm. Rumbold, in January 1815; from which it has been inferred that Lord Hastings was biassed, throughout the Hyderabad transactions, by a desire to serve Sir Wm. Rumbold. In the construction of this letter, we should consider the persons by whom, and to whom, it was written, and the time at which, and the object for which, it was written. (*Hear.*)

The person by whom it was written, was the trustee of Lady Rumbold's fortune; the person to whom it was written, was Lady Rumbold's husband; the time at which it was written, was when Lord Hastings was in camp, in the hurry of a campaign; the object for which it was written, was to explain to Sir Wm. Rumbold, in answer to a letter Sir Wm. Rumbold wrote Lord Hastings, asking his opinion upon the subject, the probable advantages which he (Sir Wm.) might fairly calculate upon in becoming a partner in the House of Palmer and Co. Lord Hastings, in his reply, in substance tells Sir Wm. Rumbold, that the countenance of the British Government had been given to Palmer and Co., at the request of the political Resident at Hyderabad, in consequence of the services which they had performed for the Nizam's Government; that the same countenance is not likely to be given to any other House—no other House having the same claim for obtaining it; that he (Sir William) may, therefore, in going into Palmer and Co.'s House, fairly calculate upon two advantages: the one, that the countenance given by the British Government to that House, will obtain for it the confidence of the people of the Nizam's country; and the other, that it is very improbable, for the reason above stated, the House of Palmer and

Co. will have any competitor at Hyderabad.

The above, I think, is the fair and gentlemanlike construction which a private letter, written under such circumstances by a man of Lord Hastings's high and gentlemanlike feelings, is entitled to receive. (*Hear.*) If, however, any doubt should occur from this letter, as to the conduct which Lord Hastings would adopt in any case in which Sir Wm. Rumbold's interest might be concerned, that doubt must be removed by a reference to the proceedings in Council of the 17th June 1820, by which it appears that Lord Hastings, although strongly impressed with the policy of the measures which he proposed, offered to retire from Council, and waive his right of voting upon the subject, least he might be supposed to be influenced in his opinion by the regard which he entertained for Sir Wm. Rumbold; and that the Members of Council who differed from him as to the policy of the measure under discussion, and who, from their situation as Members of Council, were the best possible judges of his conduct, recorded in the minutes of Council the high sense they entertained of his character, and the impossibility of their believing that his opinion could be biased on the occasion, by the regard which he entertained for Sir Wm. Rumbold.

Having now fully discussed the Hyderabad Papers, both as they refer to the political measures which Lord Hastings adopted in the Nizam's country, and as to the means by which he carried those measures into effect,—I feel myself bound to conclude that those Papers do not contain any fact which authorizes us to alter the high opinion which we have hitherto expressed, of the honour and integrity of the Marquis of Hastings; and I, therefore, feel myself bound, upon every principle of justice and honour, to give my vote in favour of the resolution which has been brought forward by the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Kinnaird). (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

Mr. CARRUTHERS.—I understood the hon. Gentleman, when he spoke of an unfair and gentlemanlike construction having been put on the Marquis of Hastings's letter, to look to this part of the Court. I do not know whether he intended to allude to me.

Sir ALEX. JOHNSTONE.—I did not intend to allude to the hon. Proprietor in particular.

Mr. DARBY.—I never, in the course

of my experience, heard a debate that reflected so little credit on the Proprietors, or the East India Company. (*Hear, hear.*) If you will let me be heard, I will thank you; but to cry "*Hear!*" is the very way to make me not be heard. The debate commenced by an attack on the Chairman, whom, I think, we are all bound to support. (*No, no.*) I must be allowed to go on. I say, the attack on the Chairman was most indecent. There is no person amongst those who pretend to have respect for his Lordship, that has a greater regard for him than myself; and, probably, I have had the honour to know him as long as any one. I have often heard that indiscreet friends are worse than open enemies; and I ask the Court whether the truth of this observation has not been established by the conduct of some of those Gentlemen who have undertaken his defence? (*Hear.*) But his Lordship needed no defence—he was charged with nothing—he was not criminated in any degree; for I declare most solemnly, that if it had been necessary to criminate him, such is the respect that I bear his Lordship, that I would have left the Court. No such object, however, has been contemplated; and I believe, as much as that I am speaking, that the last man in this House who would do any injury to the Marquis of Hastings, is our worthy Chairman. I cannot conceive why this debate has been carried on to defend a man who is not attacked. Is this the way to add to the noble Marquis's character; or does he want such a defence? Can it be supposed that his Lordship will thank any man for attempting to defend him by vilifying other people? One Gentleman has been charged with offering a factious opposition to his Lordship; from the odium of that charge, however, he had been partly relieved by the candid admission of the hon. Proprietor who spoke last. Is a man, because he differs in opinion with another, to be called a factious opponent? I ask, whether it is fair to treat such a man as Sir C. Metcalfe in the manner in which he has been treated in the course of this debate? I am sure that Gentlemen who have spoken of him in such harsh terms, will be sorry for it hereafter. There is another thing I am a very old fellow, and, perhaps, I may be allowed to express a hope that those who make speeches will not make them so long. When one considers, that though this debate has continued for many days, and very few

Members have spoken, and that most of the speeches have been made to defend a man who is not charged with any thing, it is really a shocking waste of time. The Chairman, it should be remembered, has something else to do besides sitting here and hearing us talk. With many speakers the object seemed to be, not so much the excellence as the length of their harangues—*non quam bene sed quam diu*. If the amendment went to accuse the Marquis of Hastings, I would have voted against it; but believing, most firmly, that it does no such thing, I will give my vote for it. No man in this room respects the Marquis of Hastings more than I do. If his Lordship were here—if I have any knowledge of his character, I am sure no man would hold the original motion in greater disrespect than himself. He would not thank his own zealous and prejudiced friends for what they have done. His Lordship himself would be the first to reprove those persons who wished to make him out a person that never committed even the most trifling error. His Lordship would say: "I never did any thing wrong intentionally; and if I had had more time to consider, I might have done this and that." But this would not satisfy his indiscreet friends. I remember one of my copies, when a child, was this:

'Whoever thinks a faultless piece to see,
Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er
shall be.'

On my honour I believe that, if his Lordship had it in his power, he would put an extinguisher on his would-be friends' proceedings—he would withdraw the motion; the amendment would then go to the wall, and we should all meet in good humour again. (*Hear.*)

Mr. TUBBY.—If it were possible that both the amendment and the original question could be withdrawn, and the Court adjourn *sine die*, I think it would be the best thing that could happen. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) If I had any hopes of prevailing with those who have submitted the propositions to the Court, to withdraw them, I would not spare my exertions to bring about that result. (*Cries of No.*) If I could see any inclination on the opposite side of the Court to withdraw the motion, I would sit down. [The hon. Gentleman paused for a moment, but no disposition was evinced to adopt his suggestion.] I agree with the last speaker, that it is a great evil when speeches are lengthened beyond what the ne-

cessity of the case requires, on this or any other subject; but I am much afraid that, on the present occasion, I cannot comply with the wishes of the hon. Proprietor, in putting what I have to say into a nutshell. When I look at this great book, which I have read through, and consider how many persons have addressed the Court, and at what length they have done so, I feel it impossible to be very short myself. I think I am entitled to the same indulgence as they have received. In rising to speak on this important question—not less important to the Marquis of Hastings than to the East India Company and the good government of India—that I may not be misunderstood in any thing which I shall say, I beg leave, most distinctly, to declare, that I concur fully in what seems to be the universal opinion, that there is nothing in these Papers which can attach corrupt motives to the Marquis of Hastings. (*Hear, hear.*) I go further—I really, and in my conscience believe, that in the whole course of the Hyderabad transactions, the idea of private advantage never entered his Lordship's mind; and I hope it will afford consolation to his Lordship, amidst the great trouble and vexation which he has been subjected to in this business, to know, that not only his personal friends, but those who had no knowledge of him except as a public man, concur in that opinion. All are agreed upon this point, that whatever blame has been, or may be, attached to his Lordship's conduct with respect to these transactions, he must be acquitted of any mean or base motives. (*Hear.*) Having gone so far, I am sorry that I cannot go any further.

The question originally submitted to the Court has been, by the two or three last speakers on the other side of the Court, quite misrepresented. It has been said, that it is merely a question regarding the personal honour and integrity of the Marquis of Hastings. If that had been the whole of the question, I would have voted for it. But the question I conceive to be this: "Is there any thing in these Papers that in the slightest degree affects the personal character of the Marquis of Hastings?" "Personal character" is an extensive phrase. Personal character is the part which a man plays in life—it comprehends all his acts, public and private. If it be meant, that the share which the Marquis of Hastings has taken in these transactions, is not blameable; or, if it be meant to say, that it has not

deserved the censures which have been unanimously passed upon it by two Courts of Directors and two Boards of Control, and a very large majority of a third Court of Directors, with the unambiguous assent of a third Board of Control,—then I cannot assent to that proposition. I will not vote for the original motion, and must vote for the amendment, which, however, be it recollected, declares that no corrupt motives can be attributed to the noble Lord. (*Hear.*)

I wish, on the first day of this debate, I had possessed influence enough with the Court to have encouraged me in persisting more pertinaciously in attempting to stop this discussion, by inducing the Court to come to a vote, acquitting his Lordship of corrupt motives, and, at the same time, approving of the despatches of the Court of Directors. I lament this discussion. I think that the Marquis of Hastings has been placed in the most cruel situation that any great man was ever placed in. Is it his enemies that have done this? Where are his enemies? That the Court of Directors never could have wished that the subject should be brought forward is most clear, because, with a full knowledge of all these transactions before them, when they heard that the Marquis of Hastings was about to resign the Indian Government, they passed a resolution, eulogizing him highly, and expressing their regret that he intended to quit the service. (*Hear.*) What does this prove? Why, that the Court of Directors felt that his Lordship had performed great services to his country, and, on that account, though they were fully acquainted with these transactions, they thought that they were bound to forget them. (*Hear.*) What the noble Marquis has to complain of is, that his friends, with a full knowledge of this blot, and well aware of the opposition which a proposition for further remuneration would experience, did, nevertheless, bring such a proposition forward. It was rejected; and, no doubt, his Lordship's friends felt considerably annoyed at that. What happened next? His Lordship was falsely libelled in the public papers. The newspapers are in the habit of libelling men of all descriptions every day. (*f*)

(*f*) That the IMPEYS should be hostile to newspapers and public announcements on public conduct, whether in this hemisphere or another, can excite little wonder in those, who remember with what events that name is associated.

The friends of his Lordship, however, imprudently enough, call upon the Court of Directors to come forward, and contradict the anonymous libel. They refuse to do so. They come to a resolution, that it is not fit to interfere in the subject. The friends of the noble Marquis then come into this Court, and put a question to the Chairman. How could he, sitting here as Chairman, with propriety, give any information as to what the Court of Directors had done? Many Gentlemen will remember the scene which ensued upon that occasion. Such a scene of violence—I had almost said of outrage—I never before witnessed in this Court. What was the consequence? These Papers now before us were called for, which otherwise would never have seen the light. I say, therefore, that it is to his friends that his Lordship is indebted for this cruel debate. At this moment, his friends on the other side of the Court are not content with clearing his character, unless they can blacken the characters of his adversaries.

I observe that my hon. friend (Mr. Patison) shakes his head. Did not one of the first speakers in support of the motion tell us that he would impeach Mr. Adam? (*Hear.*) Has not the hon. Gent. near me (Mr. Stuart) been charged with factious opposition? Has not Sir C. Metcalfe's conduct been commented on in the severest manner? I do not mean to say that this has been done by the hon. Director whom I am happy to be able to call my friend. I did not expect strong language to proceed from him; but it has been done by the hon. Gentlemen opposite. If a man strike a blow at his opponent, should he not expect to have it returned? (*g*) and if the friends of the Marquis of Hastings will drag him into the middle of a set of able combatants, can they expect that he will go away unhurt? There are many Gentlemen in this Court who have distinctly avowed themselves the friends of the Marquis of Hastings—many others have been obliged to him in the course of public life. It is very natural for them to come forward in support of his Lordship's character. I do not find fault with them for doing so. Let them support his Lordship's character with all the zeal they can, with this provision only, that in doing justice to him they

(*g*) Not if he were the Christian which the speaker pretends to be. His creed would teach him a very different lesson.

do no injustice to others. (*Hear.*) As far as regards myself, I have no feeling of friendship or hostility towards the noble Marquis. I joined in the vote of the Court, which bestowed a munificent reward on the Marquis of Hastings for his public services. If I am compelled to blame him for the share which he has had in the Hyderabad transactions, I trust that no word will fall from me which can be fairly objected to by him or by his friends.

I have read these Hyderabad Papers with great pain. It must be considered a stain upon the honour of the British name, that a Prince, our ally, a man, not only under our protection, but, as has been well observed, under our tutelage, has been stripped of a perpetual revenue of 7 lacs of rupees by the act—I will not say of his own Minister, for Chundoo Loll is not his own Minister—but of a man set up to act for him by the British Government, and by the operations of a British house of commerce. These acts have, in the face, if not of the law, at least of the policy of the country, been permitted and sanctioned by the Governor-General, and for that conduct he has received the unanimous censure of the home Government.

I will now endeavour to show how this conduct affects, not the honour and integrity, but the personal character of the noble Marquis. The first question which arises is—has or has not the Marquis of Hastings been influenced

to favour the House of Palmer and Co. by reason of Sir Wm. Rumbold being one of the firm? It is not to be expected that many Proprietors have had leisure to wade through this immense mass of Papers. I think it the duty of every man who purposes to address the Court to have done so; but it cannot be expected that many Proprietors who have different important avocations to attend to, should read through this large volume. The book contains documents referring to various subjects; but I will endeavour, as far as possible, to steer clear of every thing which does not bear upon the question before us. I will likewise refrain from attacking the characters of other men. It is necessary to state their acts; and if their character may be affected by their acts, I cannot help it. I will endeavour to bring before the Court what appear to be facts. Before, however, I enter on this task, I must say a few words with regard to the general policy of the British Government in India. It is very important that the attention of the Court should be directed to this point. When this nation had acquired considerable territories in India, the Legislature passed a wise and virtuous Act of Parliament to protect, as far as lay in its power, the natives of India, both princes and subjects, from oppression. The kind of oppression which it was the object of the Legislature chiefly to guard against, was that which resulted from pecuniary transactions with the Nizam. (i) Before the passing

(h) Mr. Impey's sensibilities are keenly touched by the notion of seven lacs being taken from a Native Prince, by a commercial house, though the assumption is not founded in fact: but he has no such compunction at seven kingdoms, with all their wealth, both now and for ever, being taken from Native Princes by the greater Commercial House in Leadenhall Street, of which he is one of the paid servants. From whence do the revenues of all India come, but from property that once belonged to Native Princes? and how has it passed out of their possession into that of the East India Company, by fraud or force? Verily, this is staining at a gut and swallowing a camel. The people of Cuttack, of whom Mr. Impey must know something, could tell how much was taken from them by one of Mr. Impey's own names; and we may, perhaps, ourselves one day lay open some of the oppressions and iniquities, which led to the rebellion of the people on that account, in that cruelly-treated district of our "mild and amiable" Government.

(i) The wisdom and virtue of Parliament is of not much higher a standard than that of the India House, otherwise they would not have considered it an evil to admit of the relationship between debtor and creditor. If it be a political evil for British subjects to lend money to Native Princes at any rate, because of the influence they might thus obtain over their debtors, it must be a greater political evil for the British rulers in India to do the same thing. But is *this* prohibited? No! It is one of the very accusations against the Marquis of Hastings, that he did not lend the money wanted by the Nizam out of the Company's treasury, though this has been often the first step by which we have inveigled independent Princes into our snare, and afterwards made them our prey. This is a fair specimen of the wisdom and virtue of Parliament, and the excellence of the laws which they create. In then pretended anxiety to protect the natives of India from oppression, they should have thought of some better security than merely pre-

of the Act of Parliament, the profit which was expected to be derived from pecuniary transactions with the Native Princes was one of the great inducements to persons to enter the Company's service. The Nabob of Arcot's affair was the first circumstance which attracted the attention of the chief men in this country to the subject, and, from consideration of that business, this country was made acquainted with the nature of those pecuniary transactions. It appeared then, that persons who were in the habit of lending money to Native Princes at an exorbitant—I will not say an usurious—interest, soon succeeded in obtaining such an influence over the Princes, that they reduced them and their dependants to the greatest distress and misery. This was the case with the Rajah of Tanjore, and the King of Oude. To put a stop to such proceedings, the Parliament, by a wise enactment, prohibited British subjects from having any pecuniary transactions with the Natives of India; reserving to the Court of Directors, and the Governor-General, the privilege of making special exceptions to the provisions of the Act, when they should think proper.

It is evident that occasions might arise, such as the invasion of our territories by a hostile force, when it might be advisable to resort to a proceeding, which at another time would be highly blameworthy, and therefore it was that the Legislature made the exceptions I have mentioned. I do not mention this for the purpose of making it a matter of accusation against the Marquis of Hastings, that he did not look upon these legislative measures in the same light in which they are viewed by the authorities at home; but to bring to the recollection of the Court, that the general policy of this country is to protect the Natives of India from oppression, arising out of pecuniary transactions with British subjects. (k)

venting Englishmen from lending their money. The hollowness of such a pretended care of men's rights, when nothing essential is done to secure them, must be perceptible at a glance.

(k) If British subjects could, by lending money to Native Princes, get them completely in their power, the same loans from the Company's Government would effect the prostration of all independence in the borrower with much more speed and certainty; because, to the ordinary influence of a creditor over a debtor, would be added the political influence of a powerful armed state.

The Marquis of Hastings must have known that it was his duty, as Governor-General of that country, to pursue that course of policy; from which, however, he unfortunately widely departed. What has been the consequence? Precisely the same effects which resulted to the Nabob of Arcot, from the conduct pursued towards him by his creditors, have happened to the Nizam and to us. Enormous debts have been incurred to the amount of more than a crore of rupees. Who is to pay this? It must come out of the East India Company's coffers. (l)

The rate of interest would neither increase nor diminish this power.

(l) It never can be too often repeated that this is not true. In the first place, the Arcot debts were most of them purely fictitious, consisting of bonds and engagements for large sums to individuals, from whom no value had ever been received. In the case of the Hyderabad debts, the claims are for monies actually advanced, for goods actually supplied, and for interest actually incurred at the most moderate rate known in that city on sums so due. When the Company took the territories of Arcot into their holy keeping, they took on themselves the responsibility of all its debts, and it was, therefore, in the ordinary course of things, that the creditors should apply to them for payment. But Messrs W. Palmer and Co. ask no such thing. They regard the Hyderabad State as independent, and look only to its Sovereign and his Minister for repayment. The East India Company interdict this payment under pain of their "severe displeasure," and boldly tell the Nizam and his Minister, that they will support them in their fraudulent evasion of a just debt. All that Palmer and Co. ask is, that the India Company should withdraw this interdict, and use their influence for the purpose of strict justice. If they would do this, the House would have nothing further to ask of them. If they will not do this, they ought to be made to pay the whole amount themselves. If it should, therefore, in the end come out of the Company's coffers as Mr. Impey supposes, it will be entirely the fault of the Company itself, who might, even now, permit it to be paid out of the Nizam's. But, supposing even the reverse, is it any answer to a just claim for any party to say, "We cannot admit its justice, because if we do, some portion of its payment must come out of our own pocket." A more dishonest course than this could not be pursued by the most fraudulent bankrupt that ever existed. Yet this is the course which Mr. Impey recommends to the Court to

But this is not all. Not only do the interests of the East India Company suffer, but the Nizam and his successors, if he ever have any, have been stripped of an annual revenue of 75,000*l.* (m)

It is necessary to inquire how these unfortunate results have been produced. His Lordship was appointed Governor-General of India, and proceeded early in the year 1813 to assume the duties of that office. He took out with him, as part of his establishment, a Gentleman of the name of Rumbold, who had married his Lordship's ward, and went to seek his fortune in India. I will not now blame the noble Marquis for carrying out that Gentleman with him, he not being a servant of the Company and having no fixed situation; indeed, it might be said, that he was going to pursue fortune wherever she might direct her course. I think it was an unfortunate event, that his Lordship did take this Gentleman out with him, and I hope what has passed will be a warning to future Governor-Generals not to carry out with them persons who have no other object in view than to obtain their fortune, God knows how! (n) At Hyderabad was established the House of William Palmer and Co. It has been truly stated that Mr. W. Palmer is the son of a most distinguished officer. I believe a better servant was never in the Company's service. Mr. W. Palmer first entered into the military service of the Nizam, and then engaged in partnership with other Gentlemen to carry on commercial transactions; but, before the Marquis of Hastings arrived in India, these Gentlemen had, in the face of the law, engaged in pecuniary transactions

with the Nizam. This was the first blot in the conduct of the House. (o) In 1814 Mr. W. Palmer set up an establishment at Hyderabad, under the name of W. Palmer and Co.; and early in that year a proposition was made to Sir W. Rumbold, who had gone out in the family of the Governor-General, to become a partner. On meeting with this circumstance, it very naturally occurs to one to inquire why the House should have asked Sir W. Rumbold to become a partner? First of all, he had no money except what he got by his marriage with his Lordship's ward. Secondly, he had no commercial knowledge or experience. And, thirdly, he could not even reside at Hyderabad, because he had to execute the duties of an office at Calcutta. Let us then see how the matter was understood in India. (p) First of all, we

(o) It is contrary to the law of England for any man to make more than five per cent. interest or profit by his money. Every house of business in the kingdom makes as much more than this as it can; yet who but men of Mr. Impey's stamp would call it a blot in the character of a British merchant to make a fortune by loans, which yielded a larger interest than that fixed by the law?

(p) These objections only betray Mr. Impey's ignorance of India. 1st. If he had no money he could borrow it, as all other men in India do, on personal security; almost every member of the Civil and Military Service under forty years of age being largely in debt to their agents, and these agents themselves trading on borrowed capital lent them by others. 2dly. If he had no commercial knowledge or experience, it might not have been necessary, since civil, military, and medical servants of the Company are perpetually added to houses of business in India for the sake of the influence brought by them into such houses, by their high character and connexions,—the mercantile knowledge being supplied by others: And 3dly. Though he might reside, and hold an office, at Calcutta, (which, however, he did not continue to do,) this would no more prevent his being an useful partner of a house at Hyderabad, than a man residing in London would prevent his being an useful partner of a house in Calcutta, which we know is not the case. But, after all, the example set by the India Directors, civil, military, medical, and marine, who, without any commercial knowledge whatever, and residing in England, undertake to regulate the commercial affairs of a large and distant kingdom, might have taught

follow: and, like Mr Peter Moore, advises them not to listen to the claims, because if they are admitted, some portion of the cost must be paid by themselves! This is the sort of honesty which the atmosphere of the India House produces.

(m) And the rest of the once independent Princes of India have been stripped of as many millions, by Mr. Impey's honourable masters, who have stripped them of their dignities and liberties, as well as of their wealth!

(n) What other object than fortune has every man who goes to India, from the Governor-General down to the lowest Cadet? None. The family of the Impeys have shown their devotion to this pursuit as openly as any other that can be named; whether as honourable or not, future historians of India will perhaps discover.

have that famous letter of his Lordship, a letter made famous by the mode in which it had been applied. How gross has been the imprudence of the noble Marquis's friends to force this question forward, when they knew that such a letter was upon the records of this House! His Lordship says in that letter, that the Gentlemen who compose the Firm of Messrs. Palmer and Co., speculated on interesting him in favour of the House, in consequence of Sir W. Rumbold's becoming a partner. Now, I ask the Court, what is the meaning of this? Does it mean that his Lordship was to be interested in favour of the House on account of their public services? Such as the introduction of British manufactures into India, and establishing a more regular discipline amongst the Nizam's troops. Was it on account of these services that his Lordship was to be interested in favour of the House? I say no. It was from a private motive, because Sir W. Rumbold was to become a partner in the House. (*Hear, hear.*) I am sorry not to see the late Resident at Hyderabad (Mr. Russell) in his place.

MR. D. KINNAIRD.—I will explain the reasons.

MR. IMPEY.—I do not wish it.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Let the hon. Proprietor state the reason.

MR. D. KINNAIRD.—The reason is, that a very melancholy accident has occurred in his family.

MR. IMPEY.—I am very sorry to hear what the hon. Proprietor states. I was about to allude to what the late Resident had said. He stated, that Mr. Palmer and himself were not on good terms. These are his words.

‘It has been asserted that a secret understanding exists between me and the House. I appeal to the Members of the House, who are the most competent judges of my proceedings, whether, so far from considering me friendly towards

Mr. Impey that this was a point on which he might expose his masters and himself to ridicule, to say nothing of the tarce of reverend and learned Proprietors, Clergymen, Lawyers, Doctors, Apothecaries, Rope-Makers, Tea-dealers, Biscuit-Bakers, Cheese-mongers, old women and infants, all taking part in deliberations or votes on intricate questions of state policy, the details of which few of them have leisure to examine, and still fewer capacity to understand. These are, indeed, absurdities which require only to be named to incur deserved reprobation and ridicule.

them, they did not look upon me as absolutely hostile; and I believe that Mr. W. Rumbold formed the connexion with Sir W. Rumbold for the express purpose of resisting the opposition which he expected to receive from me.’

Here is the opinion of the Resident at Hyderabad with respect to Sir W. Rumbold. He declares that a commercial House, at the Court of the Nizam, introduced that Gentleman into the Firm,—for the purpose of what? Of counteracting the efforts of the representative of Government. I say, that so far as the question of motive goes, nothing can be clearer. (q)

I admit that it was with considerable reluctance that he allowed his ward-in-law or son-in-law to enter the House. It appears that there was a long discussion on the subject, and it was not until after Sir W. Rumbold had consulted the Advocate-General, that his Lordship reluctantly consented to the proposed partnership. In 1815, Sir W. Rumbold went to Hyderabad, and signed the deed of partnership. I beg the attention of the Court to the names of the partners. They were: Mr. William Palmer, Mr. Hastings Palmer, a native called Bunketty Doss, Mr. George Currie, and Mr. Hans Sotheby. Sir W. Rumbold, in entering into this Firm, was placed in this difficulty: It is well known that all servants of the Company are obliged to pledge themselves not to enter into pecuniary transactions with Natives. I do not know whether this is done by oath or not, but some pledge is required. One thing is clear, therefore, that there were two servants of the Company connected with this House, whose names must be concealed. Their names would not be let out, for if they were, there was an end of the House, and all favour and sanction of the Government. These Gentlemen, having got Sir W. Rumbold for their partner, begin to carry on those operations which have been so strongly condemned by the Court of Directors; but, before I state them, I must bring to the recollection of the Court what was the state of Hyderabad.

First, with respect to the Nizam, it has been argued by the friends of his

(q) And the motive was a fair and just one, as much so as if a house of business in London, expecting opposition in their endeavours to procure Government contracts from Mr. Canning, were to get a relative of Lord Liverpool into their Firm to counteract such opposition.

Lordship, that he was an independent Prince; that he had a right to enter into what contracts he pleased; and that we were not justified in interfering with him. There never was any proposition more directly contrary to fact and every tittle of evidence than this. The Nizam, long before the Marquis of Hastings went to India, had renounced all concern with the government of his dominions, and was no more at the head of the State than I or any other Member of this Court. But, further, before the Marquis of Hastings went to India, the Minister who had carried on the affairs of the Nizam died. The Minister appointed Meer ool Molk to be his successor. The Company, however, compelled the Nizam to enter into a treaty, by which he agreed that this Minister should have no concern in the Government. This is an independent Prince! (r) Then came Chundoo Loll, who has been ever since that period, now sixteen years ago, the absolute Governor of that country, with no other check than that of the British Government. The fact is, that he has been *our* Minister in every sense of the word. With respect to Chundoo Loll, I shall be sorry, as he is in a distant place, to bear hard upon him, and treat him as Sir C. Metcalfe and others have been treated. He has been spoken of very differently by Mr. Russell and Sir C. Metcalfe. By one, he has been described as the only man of ability in the country, and as being entirely devoted to the English interests. By the other, he is stated to be extremely ignorant, very jealous of any intrigues which were likely to deprive him of his power, and ready to make any sacrifice to maintain it. I call upon the Court to say, whether it was not likely that such a man would be influenced in favour of the House of Palmer and Co., having amongst them a member known to be nearly connected with his Lordship, and being able to produce letters addressed to them in the handwriting of the Marquis of Hastings, on the subject of the transactions in which they were engaged. (*Hear, hear.*)

(r) And yet, with all this real slavery, brought on him by the East India Company, they themselves sanction treaties with him, acknowledging his independence, and yielding to him the entire right of choosing his own Ministers and servants of state. But such double dealing and hypocrisy is quite characteristic of the whole system of Indian diplomacy.

I now come to Mr. Russell.—Far be it from me ever to mention his name in this Court except with the highest respect. Mr. Russell is acknowledgedly an able and useful servant of the Company. He has performed great services; so has the Marquis of Hastings; but still we must consider his conduct as well as that of the noble Marquis. It appears, that although he was on bad terms with Mr. W. Palmer, he never attempted to oppose his projects, and those of Chundoo Loll, but in one instance, which I will mention by and bye, and then his efforts were counteracted by the influence of Sir W. Rumbold. The three acts of the House, for his connexion with which the Marquis of Hastings has been censured, are, first, the license exempting the House from the penalties of the Act of 1797; second, the Aurungabad transaction; and, third, the sixty-lac loan. First, with respect to the license: Mr. W. Palmer had entered into illegal transactions, and wishing to enter into further transactions of a like nature, he thought it expedient to apply for a license to exempt him from the penalties of the Act of 1797. He, therefore, applied to Mr. Russell, the Resident, who transmitted the proposition to the Government, with a letter from Mr. W. Palmer, in which he stated:

‘We believe that the penalties we allude to were imposed by Act of Parliament, with a view to prevent European subjects from acquiring, privately, too much influence at Native Courts, and from taking advantage of the necessities of Native Governments, to extort exorbitant interest from them. We feel confident that our transactions cannot lead to either of these objects, and that their immediate operation has no taint of that quality; so that we are precisely in the situation which the Act contemplated, in giving power to the Governor-General in Council to exempt from the penalties. Our transactions have always been open and public, and whenever we have considered them as connected with the Government, they have been transacted directly with the Minister who possesses the confidence and support of the British Government.’

So that at the time application was made for this license it was admitted that the House had had pecuniary transactions with the Nizam. The license was granted.

Three questions arise out of this: first, with respect to the policy of the measure, it has been said, that it never was the intention of the Legislature

that a license should be granted for private purposes, but only on special and great occasions, by which the interests of the Company were deeply affected. This, I think, is a fair interpretation of the law, but it is possible that his Lordship was misled. The second point, is the fact of granting the license without the names of the partners being inserted. I have great doubts whether such an instrument would be of the least avail in a court of justice. The third question is, did Mr. Russell and the Marquis of Hastings know the names of the partners? I have looked carefully through this book, to satisfy myself on this point. I find a fact which I call on every friend of his Lordship to answer me if they can.—The Marquis of Hastings knew that Mr. Hans Sotheby was a partner in the House, and he concealed that knowledge from his Council; (*Hear, hear,*) and more, he appointed that Gentleman to a confidential situation at Moorshebad. (s)

Great anxiety has been shown, on the part of the House, although they professed that their transactions should be so open and public, to conceal their proceedings from the Government at Calcutta; or if they could not do that, from the authorities at home. The license was granted in 1816. The first mention of it in the records of the Bengal Government is in June 1817; and the despatch, by which the Court of Directors were informed of it, never reached this country till May 1818. This delay might have been accidental, but taken in connexion with other circumstances, it is a strong imputa-

tion on his Lordship, and calls for a clear and distinct answer. When the account of the granting of the license reached England, at the distant period which I have mentioned, a Gentleman in the Direction, who had long resided in India, and was intimately acquainted with every circumstance connected with the Carnatic debts, said, "I shall have the same story over again the same scenes will occur at Hyderabad that have taken place at the places, and have been productive of such melancholy results." Alarm and apprehension pervaded the Court of Directors; and, without any dissent being expressed, the Court unanimously directed a despatch to be sent to India revoking the license, and putting an end to the transaction. The language of the Court of Directors, with respect to the license, was this:

'We have to observe, in the first place, that the power which you have thus thought fit to exercise, could not have been granted by the Legislature, in contemplation of such an use as you have made of it. It was obviously intended for the purpose of meeting extraordinary exigencies, not of generally licensing an illegal traffic; and we have great doubts whether such a license as you have given (a general license, without a special case of necessity, and without limit) would be held to be legal, and would be found effectual for the protection of Messrs. Palmer and Co. against any prosecution under the Act. But, waiving this discussion, we desire to be informed, whether the Resident has availed himself of the power reserved to him, by acquainting himself constantly and thoroughly with the nature of the pecuniary transactions of that House with the Nizam's Government; and in the next place, whether he has reported to you respecting them.' In the event of his having done so, you will not fail to transmit the report for our information. After the experience which we have had both in the Oude, and in the Carnatic, of the dreadful abuses which resulted from the pecuniary dealings of British subjects with Native Princes, and the jealousy manifested by the Legislature of all such transactions, we can by no means approve of the indulgence which you have extended to Messrs. Palmer and Co., and we positively direct, that the instrument by which that indulgence was conveyed, may be, immediately upon the receipt of this despatch, revoked and cancelled; and that the countenance of our Governments may be strictly confined to those objects of a commercial nature, which they professed originally to have in view.'

(s) If this were true, it would be a subject of just censure on the Marquis, because such concealment was uncandid in the extreme; but we do not know the evidence on which Mr. Impey presumes to assert the fact. This appointment to Moorshebad, however, would not even then be reprehensible; because, though contrary to the regulations of the service, it is no moral crime for a civil servant to engage in commerce. All the Company's own residents, as commercial residents, are permitted to trade on their own account: and, indeed, what the masters profess to live by, (for what are they themselves but a trading company?) it can be no great crime for their servants to follow. As to departing from the letter of the statute, and from local regulations, it is what the Company themselves and every one of their servants do, more or less every day of their lives.

This is one of the despatches which the Court is called upon to sanction. The despatch passed in the Court of Directors, without a dissentient voice being heard, and it was sent to the Board of Control, of which Mr. Canning was then the President. I can undertake to say, that at that time, the strictest attention was paid to all despatches for the Indian Government, and it is not likely that an exception from the general practice would take place with regard to a despatch which censured the conduct of the Governor-General, and yet the despatch was approved by the Board, and forwarded to India. (*Hear.*)

The next transaction is the Aurungabad arrangement. This was a contract entered into between Chundoo Loll and the House of Palmer and Co., by which the latter undertook to advance two lacs of rupees monthly, for the pay of a certain portion of the Nizam's troops, for which they were to receive from the Nizam assignments to the amount of thirty lacs, to pay off the whole debt. I do not care whether this arrangement was good or bad, fair or unfair, for the advantage or disadvantage of the Nizam—that signifies nothing in my argument (*t*). This contract goes to Calcutta, with the opinion of the Resident in its favour, for the sanction of Government. I must say a word here with respect to this sanction. It has been contended by the friends of the Marquis of Hastings, that the guarantee of Government was never given to any of the transactions in which the House of Palmer and Co. was engaged. Here is a proposition coming from the Resident to the Council for its sanction, which is ultimately granted. My hon. Friend on my right, (Mr. Stuart,) says, that there is a difference between a sanction and a guarantee—I will not enter into any argument on that point now, I only felt it necessary to allude to it, as this is the first time I have come to the word “sanction.” Having alluded to my hon. Friend on my right—though I do not stand here to lavish praises on individuals—as I have declared Mr.

Russell to have been a meritorious servant of the Company, I shall also state, that I know my hon. Friend to be a most useful and able man, who has succeeded, by his services, in forcing himself into a seat in the Council, which I hope he will long continue to hold. (*u*) (*Hear.*) It was my hon. Friend who first objected to the Aurungabad contract. When it was brought under the consideration of the Council, he said, “I know nothing about the transaction. I must be informed of the rate of interest which is to be taken, the difference of exchange, &c., before I can give my consent to the arrangement.” Nothing could be more reasonable than this, and so it was felt by the Council, for they yielded to his reasoning, and sent a despatch to Hyderabad, desiring that Messrs. Palmer and Co. should send them their accounts.

Now, Sir W. Rumbold's Interest comes into use. This Gentleman cannot fairly be said to have been a sleeping partner in the concern, for, on this occasion, he proved himself most active and useful. Sir W. Rumbold having come from Hyderabad to Calcutta, writes to the Secretary of Government, deprecating the production of the accounts—and on what grounds? First of all, he says, that the Nizam is an independent Prince; and that, therefore, the Government had no right to interfere with respect to any contracts into which he might enter; and, secondly, that it was extremely hard to call on a mercantile house to exhibit copies of accounts of its transactions with customers. The Nizam was not the customer of the House—but we will let that pass. I say, that it was imposing no hardship on the House to make them produce their accounts. It is what commercial houses in this country are obliged to do; and not only copies, but the original books. (*x*) Is it, I ask, pos-

(*u*) This must allude to Mr. Stuart's getting into Parliament, the only council in which he now holds a seat; and the services by which he forced himself into this seat, were detailed in a slavish and degrading address made by him to the electors of Huntingdon, in which he stated his reverence for the name and virtues of the late Lord Castlereagh, and his connexion with the house of Hinchinbrook! These are valuable services, truly!

(*x*) This is not true.—No house in London would produce its books to the Minister of England, on an order from

(*t*) It ought, however, to signify every thing: because, if it were productive of positive good to the Nizam and to the British interests also, (as was actually the case,) no law or regulation could make it bad: and if a law exists which prevents such good, it ought at once to be abolished.

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able that the Marquis of Hastings, unless some influence exerted itself on his mind, could have allowed such flimsy pretexts to have prevailed with him? But so it was. Presently, however, the accounts, such as they were, arrive at the Council, and they are laid on the table, but must not be recorded. Why? Because they would come under the watchful eyes of people in England.^(y) That is the reason given by Sir W. Rumbold himself. The accounts were handed to Mr. Stuart, but he, finding that they did not contain any of the information which the Government had desired to have laid before it, refused to have any thing to do with them. The measure then was carried in Council, although no information was given as to the interest to be taken, or the profit which would accrue from the rate of exchange; and the sanction of the Governor-General was given to the contract. That act did involve the guarantee of Government, as the result has proved, for we have paid the money since. The late respectable Resident at Hyderabad says, that the House have not acted improperly, and that we are mistaken in supposing that they have. If it should turn out to be all a mistake, it will be rectified by the Bengal Government, or such

the Treasury so to do. No English merchant would tolerate an inquisition into his affairs by a Government Secretary. It is only to the creditors of a House, (which the Bengal Government had no right to consider themselves as being to the House of Hyderabad) or to Courts of Law, Trustees, and Commissioners of Bankruptcy, that any books are, or would be, shown in England; and the Government of India has no right whatever to ask it of any house of business in that country: nor would a house in Calcutta submit to it, unless overawed by the fear of banishment, which, in the event of refusal, might await all its partners! This is an engine of terror which may frighten men into any thing.

(y) Mr. Impey and his friends for the same reason oppose all freedom of publication in India. They will not suffer *their* books of accounts, political as well as commercial, to be examined on the spot, and commented on freely, because they wish to avoid the censure of the people of England. If *they* are so fearless themselves, why do they gag the Press of India, and fetter it in degrading silence?

courts of justice as the House may think proper to apply to.^(z)

I now come to the sixty-lac loan. It appears from the accounts in these Papers, that at the time this transaction took place, the debts due from the Nizam's Government to the House of Palmer and Co. amounted to about sixty lacs. The balances arose out of four accounts. The late Resident has told us that all these balances have been sanctioned by Government; that I deny. I say that nothing was sanctioned by the Government but the Aurungabad account. But even if the sanction of Government had been given to the other accounts, it was given at a time when the names of the partners in the House were not known, when they were carefully concealed; and, therefore, I say such a sanction would be of no avail. If the names of the partners had been known, none of these balances would have been sanctioned; and, therefore, I contend, that I am entitled to consider them as unsanctioned balances. It was of material advantage to the House to get all these balances sanctioned by putting them into a new account. Chundoo Loll and Mr. W. Palmer, having talked over the matter, came to an agreement that there should be a sixty-lac loan—that is, that Messrs. Palmer and Co. were to advance 600,000*l.*, for which they were to receive assignments from the Nizam to pay off the whole debt at eight months. They agree upon the plan, and carry it to the Resident (Mr. Russell). What does he say? That it was impossible that the Government could ever sanction such a plan, and he refused to forward it. The plan was then sent privately to the Governor-General, and shown to the Members of Council. The Governor-General then wrote a letter to Mr. W. Palmer and Sir W. Rumbold, in which he expressed his surprise that the Resident should hesitate to forward such a plan to the Government. This letter was shown to the Resident. What does this amount to? Why, to this—that the Resident having determined upon a measure, it was superseded by the private influence of Sir

(z) This is a truly lawyer-like piece of advice: when a man is robbed of every shilling he possesses, then to advise him to go to a Court of Justice, where he cannot take a single step, without paying guineas for fees, and charges without end!

W. Rumbold. (*Hear.*) I do not blame Mr. Russell for the course which he pursued after seeing the Governor-General's letter. He did not choose to set himself in opposition to such powerful interest. We see how by pursuing an opposite course, Sir C. Metcalfe has got himself into hot water; but he has succeeded in overturning a ruinous system, and done a high service to the Company. Mr. Russell then sends the plan with his recommendation to Calcutta, to obtain the sanction of Government. When the plan was produced at the Council Board, it was still subject to the same objection as the former contract. Mr. Stuart was at his post. He objected to it on the ground that no particulars were given. He drew up a minute, which I will not read, but in which he stated that he saw no advantage that could result from the transaction to the Nizam, whose interests it was our duty to protect. I will not read his Lordship's answer. His Lordship, however, stated, that he felt it was a question in which he was interested—that it was possible his judgment might be biased without his perceiving it, and, therefore, he would take no part in the discussion. Now, I ask the whole Court—the friends and the enemies of the noble Marquis—Was not that a most honourable line of conduct which the Governor-General proposed to himself? (*Hear.*) The question was debated in Council, and a majority agreed with my hon. Friend (Mr. Stuart) that it was the duty of the Government to protect the Nizam, and that its sanction ought not to be given to the plan before particulars should be furnished. If the matter had stopped there the plan would have been blown into the air. Where Sir W. Rumbold then was, or what he did, I do not know, but the fact—the melancholy fact is, that the Marquis of Hastings revoked his resolution of not taking any part in the question, and gave his sanction to the plan on his own responsibility.

Mr. STUART.—I think it material that the hon. Gentleman and the Court should be informed how the fact really stands. When the proposition of the sixty-lac loan was offered in Council, I certainly did oppose it, and so did Mr. Adam. The Marquis of Hastings then expressed his intention of not taking a part in the discussion, on account of the interest which he felt for Sir W. Rumbold. Mr. Fendall, in his minute, in which he approved of

the plan, expressed his regret that his Lordship should have withdrawn himself from the Council. The noble Marquis then revoked his resolution, of not taking any part in the proceedings, and did not oppose the majority of the Council, but voted with Mr. Fendall, and by his casting vote carried the question.

Mr. IMPEY.—I must have expressed myself indistinctly, or my hon. Friend has not understood what I said. I stated, or meant to state, that in the first instance, the noble Marquis declared his intention to take no part in the proceedings; next, that a majority of the Council was opposed to it; and that finally, his Lordship carried the question by giving the casting vote in its favour. It is very true, that in the course of this debate, two minutes, very complimentary to his Lordship, have been read, expressing the reliance of the writers on the honour of his Lordship, and stating that there was no necessity for him to withdraw himself from Council. But the noble Marquis had already declared that there was a bias on his mind which might affect his judgment. (*Cries of No, and Read.*) I am very unwilling to weary the Court by reading from the Papers. [*A Proprietor exclaimed, The words are, "there might be a bias."*] Well, it is not very material, whether his Lordship said that there was, or there might be, a bias which might affect his judgment. (a) I ask, Whether, as an honest man, at the head of the Government, it was not becoming in him to adhere to the resolution which he had formed, of not taking any part in the question? (*Hear.*) It is needless to add that the plan was sanctioned.

(a) But it is very material indeed.—Lord Hastings might have truly said, "I am not conscious of any bias." For who indeed is, even when most influenced by it?—"but the present is a case in which I might easily be supposed to have a bias: and I will not even risk that supposition." It was a piece of romantic virtue, quite characteristic of the best moments of his life. But, was it to be wondered at, when one Member of Council regretted his withdrawal on that account, and all concurred in the opinion, that no one who knew him could entertain the supposition adverted to; was it to be wondered at, that he yielded to this testimony, and voted on the question as his conscience dictated? If he had not, he might have been fairly reproached with sacrificing his duty to a piece of false and fastidious delicacy.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached the Court of Directors, an universal spirit of indignation seized them. There was no exception to this feeling, not even in the person of my hon. Friend on my left (Mr. Pattison), who was then in the Direction. Sir Thomas Reid, who was then in the Chair, drew up a despatch condemning the whole proceedings in the severest terms. My hon. Friend (Mr. Pattison) has told you, that he scratched out of that despatch one or two expressions, which he thought too severe. It was a strong and severe despatch, but the occasion called for it. (*Hear.*) Never was there an occasion when it had been more necessary to condemn the conduct of a Governor-General. This is the second despatch which you are called upon to approve. What did the Marquis of Hastings do upon receiving that despatch? He did not answer the despatch as a Governor-General in Council, but he sent a private letter to the Chairman of the Company. (*No.*) I say, that his Lordship did not send his letter to the Court, but to the Chairman. In that letter he assumes, without having the slightest foundation for doing so, that the despatch was not the despatch of the Court of Directors, but one which had been foisted upon them, and which they had signed without knowing what it was. (*b*) On this supposition of his Lordship, which he had taken up, God knows why—it appears more like an eastern tale than any thing else—he goes on to state that it is full of false statements; I think those are his words, but I will read the passage to which I allude. It is to be found in page 124:—

‘It may be thought, that I cannot but be astonished at so strange a perversion of circumstances. I am not, however, surprised. I should have been so, could I ascribe the tenor of the letter to the real judgment of the hon. Court: but I repeat, with every solemnity of profession, my being certain, that what the hon. Court subscribed, was palmed insidiously on its unsuspecting candour.’ (*Hear, from Mr. Kimbaird.*)

I wish the hon. Member to hear, and, if possible, to answer me.

Now, Sir, in order to conclude this part of the subject, I shall read to you the political letter of the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government, in answer to his Lordship’s letter, addressed to the Chairman of the Court, the 20th of October 1821. It is a despatch conceived in these terms:—

‘Our late Chairman, has communicated to us a letter, addressed to him by the Marquis of Hastings on the 20th of October last, in reply to the letter addressed to us by the Governor-General in Council on the 22nd November 1821. This letter, according to the intimation which has been repeatedly conveyed to you, is, properly, only a private letter. It is addressed to the Chairman, and not to the Court, as it ought to have been, if it was meant to have been a public document; and it bears the signature of the Governor-General, singly, instead of being subscribed by all the Members of the Government. Nevertheless, as the letter contains matter which we cannot in justice to ourselves suffer to pass unnoticed, we herewith transmit a copy of it for your information.’ It is not our present intention to enter on the subject treated of in this irregular communication; but it is necessary that we should pronounce, entirely void of foundation, the belief professed by his Lordship in that letter, that our political despatch of the 28th of November 1821 did not faithfully and truly express our sentiments on the transactions of which it treated. “I repeat,” says his Lordship, towards the conclusion of his letter, “with every solemnity of profession, my being certain, that what the hon. Court subscribed was palmed insidiously on its unsuspecting candour.” A declaration, more offensive to the constituted authorities at home, could not well have escaped from his Lordship, and one more at variance with fact (*d*) never was hazarded by any one. We should be wholly unfit for the situations in which we are placed, if, on any occasion, we could voluntarily subscribe our names to a despatch, the contents of which were not the result of our deliberate convictions; and the particular despatch in question was, in fact, the result of much investigation, and more than ordinary deliberation. Having, from the peculiar circumstances of Lord Hastings’s letter, been led to notice it, contrary to our ge-

(c) Nothing can be more hypocritical than all this. Mr. Pattison proved that the Governor-General had *always* been encouraged to keep up this semi-official correspondence for public convenience, and by no Chairman more than himself and Mr. Bebb.

(d) This is more easily assumed than proved. We believe it to be true, and could perhaps prove that nothing is more common than for some of these Directors to sign despatches without reading them through.

neral intention in regard to private papers, we have to apologise you that, in future, by regular communications of this nature, will be disregarded in our official correspondence.

It appears then, Sir, that up to this point, every step taken by the Marquis of Hastings in the Hyderabad transactions, had been distinctly and unambiguously approved by two Courts of Directors; and two Boards of Control; there was no difference of opinion between them. Up to this period, all is unanimous at home on the subject of these proceedings. Subsequently to the time of which I am now speaking, a great many other transactions occurred, which are recorded in this Court. If I were, Sir, to attempt to meddle with those transactions—if I were to treat them so as to do them justice—not only the sun, but the moon and stars, must go down before I had concluded my task, and therefore I will not enter into length of observation on these points. It does appear to me, that those transactions were only a corollary of that which had preceded them. It seems, that about 20 Directors held that the noble Marquis was wrong in these measures; but my hon. Friend (Mr. Pattison) did not censure the noble Lord, but protested against the proceedings of his colleagues. The Board of Control, however, agreed with the majority of the Court of Directors. With respect to my hon. Friend, I never did, and never will speak of him, in public or in private, without stating the esteem in which I hold him: He is a man, of whose talents I have a very high opinion, and whose integrity is not to be shaken. (e) Had this been a question, which I had not narrowly examined, I should be inclined to think the opinion of my hon. Friend correct, and I would most probably be guided by it. But I am compelled to differ from him in the present instance. My hon. Friend has stated, that he was satisfied with the answers given by the Marquis of Hastings, and that his original opinions had been altered in consequence. I give him credit for his sincerity—I would not charge him with inconsistency, because he has changed his opinions. He had a right to do so, if his mind were satisfied,—and, having altered his opinions, he took a manly course in avow-

(e) Mr. Impney cannot say this, even of himself. How can he possibly say so of another? These indecent, and really quite contemptible,

ing them. But, Sir, we cannot go on trust; we cannot adopt the sentiments of my hon. Friend, without examining them. (f) We cannot state our approval of the despatches; or of the protest, without weighing the contents of both. Of course, Sir, those who, after due consideration, approve of the despatches, will vote for the amendment; and those, on the other hand, who are in favour of the protest, will support the original motion.

I now came to the history of the two last years of the Marquis of Hastings's administration, during which time he carried all his measures against the opinion of his Council, by the force of that despotic authority, which was placed in his hands for good and useful purposes. (g) Sir Charles Metcalfe was called on to execute the orders of the Company for putting a stop to all transactions between the Nizam and Palmer and Co., and to wind up the accounts of that House. Sir Charles Metcalfe declared the sixty-lac loan to be a mere fallacy. According to his directions, he asked of the Minister what effects had been produced by that loan? Chundoo Loll answered, that it had produced great effects; but Sir Charles Metcalfe perceived that the account given by Chundoo Loll was a most fallacious one; and he stated, that so far as he had an opportunity of judging, no good had been effected by the loan. An order was given, directing that the accounts of Palmer and Co. should be laid before the Government. They were furnished; and, on being examined, the Government were of opinion that the sixty-lac loan was a fictitious proceeding; for, notwithstanding what Chundoo Loll had said, it did not appear that a single rupee had been advanced towards that loan; but, on the contrary, that it had been merely got up for the purpose of procuring a sanction for the old balances. (h) The Marquis of

(f) Yet Mr. Impney would have men banished from India for the same conduct which he here thinks indispensable; namely, refusing to adopt the opinions of any man without examination.

(g) Since this Despotism Authority can be so perverted, would it not be a safer and wiser course not to permit its existence at all? Mr. Impney is the great eulogist and defender of Eastern despotism; but then it must be used as he wishes it.

(h) All this is utterly void of foundation, as has been shown a hundred times already: but though Mr. Impney may not be blind to this himself, he is extremely desirous of blinding others.

Hastings was still at the head of the Government, and he heard of this, as every honourable man would do, with the greatest indignation. The transactions between Chundoo Loll and the House of Palmer and Co. were now dissolved; and the Marquis of Hastings, who originally refused to make any advances of money from the Company's treasury to the Nizam, immediately expressed his readiness (i) to pay a million out of the treasury, to liquidate the debt due to Palmer and Co.

With respect to these gentlemen, I shall say very little. They are not before the Court, and whether they will ever stand before it, is, I think, a matter of very improbable supposition. It is, Sir, exceedingly good policy in the friends of Messrs. Palmer and Co. to mix up their case as far as they can with the case of the Marquis of Hastings. He will be an useful ally to them. But to think that the Marquis of Hastings would join his case with theirs, is entirely beyond the bounds of probability. (*Cheers from the other side.*) No true friend of the noble Marquis would connect him with transactions which are coupled with doubts; and I believe, if ever those doubts be removed, that the transactions with the Nizam's Government will appear very different from what they have been described to be. The late Resident at Hyderabad (Mr. Russell) has made a speech to this Court, which was deservedly applauded for its great acuteness and ability. Sir, we need not look to that hon. Proprietor's speeches for his merits; because, as a zealous servant of the Company, his talents and abilities (k) are already well known. The whole business of his speech, however, appears to have been, to bring the Marquis of Hastings before the Court, in conjunction with the House of Messrs. Palmer and Co. I ask, Gentlemen, whether this was friendly towards the Marquis of Hastings? If a poor man were charged with any offence, his actions would not be mixed up with the conduct of others who appeared to have acted improperly, and I think, in common fairness, the same sort of reserve ought to be indulged in, with reference to the noble Marquis. The hon. Proprietor (Mr.

Russell) has called on you, if you have any sense of justice, not to anticipate the case of Messrs. Palmer and Co., not to condemn those individuals unheard. Now, Sir, I should be glad to know what is to hinder those Gentlemen from bringing their case in any way they please before the public. It is said they have suffered a loss of 500,000*l.* by the proceedings of the Government of India. But, Sir, if they have so suffered by the servants of the Company, or by the acts of the Company itself in England or in India, they cannot be heard here. We are not a court of justice. We cannot look into these accounts. Let them, therefore, institute legal proceedings. Let them go into Chancery. (l) (*Hear, hear, and a laugh.*) Sir, I can tell the Court that proceedings there might be more summary than Gentlemen imagine. At all events, the accounts in that case must be produced, which it will be admitted, would be a very desirable thing. If these parties have grievances to complain of, the courts of justice are open to them, (m) and there they are sure to receive a full remuneration for any injury they may have experienced. (n) Notwithstanding all the ability which the hon. Ex-Resident displayed, and certainly his comments were very acute, I am far from thinking that his was a wise speech. (o) I confess, to him, that I am

(l) A suggestion worthy of an advocate.

(m) "So is the London Tavern," said Horne Tookie.

(n) The practice of uttering professional falsehoods with the same ease as truths, when any purpose is to be answered thereby, is sure in the end so to sear and harden the consciences of legal men, that it at last becomes a matter of indifference to them what they say, provided it is likely to serve the interests of those who pay them their fees. Mr. Inupty partakes in this inevitable consequence of his profession and his dependant situation. This is the only solution, of the otherwise inexplicable obstinacy which he displays, in repeating again and again, the solemn mockery of recommending men who are ruined, and bankrupt in fortune, to go to a Court of Law or Chancery, where even those who have fortunes are often ruined before they get out again, and where those who are already beggars can never enter.

(o) In order to pronounce whether a speech be wise or not, the person pretending to judge, must himself be still wiser than he whose speech he condemns. Has this self-sufficient quibbling advocate the folly to think, that the world will take

(i) Under the express orders of the Court; a circumstance concealed by this advocate.

(k) But if Palmer and Co. were rogues, as intimated, could Mr. Russell be honest?

not persuaded by any part of his address; even that which related to Palmer and Co.; and I think it was an extremely injudicious thing in him to mix up his character with the character of Palmer and Co. It had been reported that he was concerned in some of the improper transactions of the House of Palmer and Co. I am, however, very far from believing that the hon. Proprietor's conduct was in any respect unfair; or that he was in any way connected with those transactions. (p) The proceedings of Palmer and Co. are, however, under consideration, and till their conduct is cleared up it was not wise of the hon. Proprietor to mix up his character with theirs. I will tell the Court why I think so. It is because the defence of Messrs. Palmer and Co., which has been laid before the Court by the hon. Proprietor, is entirely founded on the published statement of Sir W. Rumbold. The hon. Proprietor took that book for his text, and on the statements which it contained, he made his comments.

Now, Sir, I cannot rely on the statements of Sir William Rumbold. My first reason is, that which is laid down by the Attorney-General and by our own law-officer, namely, that the account of Sir William Rumbold does not agree with the account of W. Palmer and Co. They are quite inconsistent with, and cannot (q) be reconciled to, each other. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, with respect to the investigation of accounts, this Company possess, both in England and in India, as efficient an apparatus as any that could be employed for such a purpose. These accounts have been examined in India; they have also been sent to this House for examination; and the opinion of the Indian Government is, that the sixty-lac loan was a fictitious transaction; that in fact, nothing had been advanced to-

his word as sufficient evidence, whether there be wisdom or not in the words of others?

(p) Oh, no! I would not for the world insinuate that I think Mr. Russell a knave! Here is Mr. Candour, in the School for Scandal, with a vengeance. No, Mr. Russell was *not present* when Mr. Impey said all these pleasant things. His house had been burnt down, and he could not attend.

(q) Perfectly groundless charge! It is these wise men that cannot understand accounts which any clerk in Bengal would explain to them.

wards it. There is one point in these accounts which certainly appears to me very strong, and on which I formed my supposition that the sixty-lac loan was a mere fictitious transaction.—By order of the Government, Sir Charles Metcalfe calls on Palmer and Co. for an account of what was advanced on that loan. Now, if Gentlemen will turn to page 661 of the Hyderabad Papers, they will find, under the head of "Account C., folio 1, Rajah Chundoo Loll's new account in account current with Messrs. W. Palmer and Co.," the following item:—

"To Rajah Chundoo Loll's transfer account at his credit, rupees 52,00,000. Compensation on loan, and premium on interest reduced, rupees 8,00,000."

Thus, Sir, stands the account. Be it right or be it wrong, it professes to be an account of what was advanced by Palmer and Co. to Chundoo Loll, on the sixty-lac loan. It appears to consist of transfer accounts, at the Minister's credit, fifty-two lacs, and *bonus* eight lacs. This makes up sixty lacs, and such appears to have been the celebrated sixty-lac loan. If I were called upon as a judge or arbitrator in this case, it would appear to me, looking at this account, that no part of this loan had been advanced. (r) There may be some error in the account, but, as it stands at present, the loan appears to have been fictitious. As this account differs from that of Sir W. Rumbold, I cannot pay any attention to the statements of that individual. (s)

There is, Sir, another circumstance in the conduct of Sir W. Rumbold, which prevents me from attending to his assertions, unless they are corroborated by other evidence. It will be recollected that he was attacked in the public journals, for having exacted twenty-four per cent. interest. Sir

(r) How has this been proved by any thing which this Proprietor has now said?

(s) It has been shown, in the clearest manner, from other evidence than that of Sir William Rumbold, that the loan was *not* fictitious, but real in all respects. But the notion that the accusers of the House of Palmer and Co. are to be heard, and *their* statements believed, while the defender of the House, Sir William Rumbold himself, one of the partners, is not to be heard, nor *his* statements attended to, is quite worthy of such a man as Mr. Impey, who has no other standard of justice than the interest of himself and his *honourable* employers.

William, in consequence, called on the Attorney-General to move the Court of King's Bench for an information for libel. The Attorney-General made that application, and the judges asked, "Have you denied this transaction?" At that time, Sir W. Rumbold had not done so; but he did afterwards deny it; and there is, Sir, at this time, on the files of the Court, an affidavit which sets forth that he has never taken twenty-four per cent. interest. (*Hear, hear.*) If this be true, of which I have not the least doubt, what becomes of the statement of the late Resident? (*Hear, hear.*) And what faith can I or any other Gentleman place in the assertions of Sir W. Rumbold? (*t*)

I feel, Sir, that I have gone at very great length into this subject; but I can assure you that nothing, save the extreme importance of the case, could induce me to occupy so much time. Some hon. Proprietors have complained of the hon. Chairman for the part he has taken on this occasion; but are we to be told, that because he sits in that chair that he is not to exercise his right of acting as a Proprietor? Has not the hon. Chairman a right to raise his voice on this occasion, when we see that the weight and influence of the noble Marquis has brought down a great number of his friends to support his cause? (*u*) You are called on in this case to give a verdict on the character of the Marquis of Hastings. The question is not

whether there is anything that reflects on his integrity, but whether there is any thing in this book that reflects, in the least degree, on his personal character? You are called on to state, by your verdict, whether you approve of the conduct of the Court of Directors, or whether you will censure it. Who has called for this decision? Not the Court of Directors, but the friends of the noble Marquis. As you are called on for a verdict, let us inquire, what is a verdict? It is a true judgment. Here, on one side, are all the despatches of the Court of Directors; and, on the other, here are all the answers of the noble Marquis. You are to read both, and to give your unprejudiced decision, when you have balanced the evidence on each side. (*x*)

Having already stated various reasons why you ought not to agree with the original motion, I shall now state the grounds on which I call upon you to support the amendment. And I must broadly say, that you will not do justice to the Government in India, nor to the Directors at home, if you do not support it. (*Hear.*) A speech was made, early in the debate, by an hon. Proprietor, who is also a Member of the Legislature, (Mr. Hume,) which surprised me extremely. We were all struck with the conciliatory manner in which the hon. Mover introduced this question. But the speech to which I now allude was as different as possible from that delivered by the hon. Mover. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hume) made use of terms as irritating and offensive as could be conceived. He is not present, and I regret it. Public business, I suppose, has occasioned his absence. He is a great reformer, and a sworn enemy to all jobs. Is it not then extraordinary, that he comes down to this Court and supports one of the grossest jobs that ever took place. Sir, he did this, and yet he thinks, that, in the eye of the public,

(*t*) The assertion made in the libel, was, that Sir William had received twenty-five per cent. interest; and the denial on affidavit went to this extent—that he had never received twenty-five per cent. interest. Mr. Incey, however, perverted this fact, and would make it appear that in the affidavit he had denied ever having received twenty-four per cent. while, in his letter, he had admitted the House, of which he was a partner, to have received on some transactions, interest to that amount. Of the two parties, therefore, Mr. Incey is much less worthy of belief than the individual whose testimony he would thus impeach.

(*u*) One great feature of the question in dispute was, whether the conduct of the Chairman and Directors, in censuring these transactions, was right or wrong. These individuals ought not, therefore, to vote at all upon such a question. In Parliament, the Speaker does not interpose his opinion, although a Member of the House (except on points of order); and the Chairman of the Court of Proprietors should sit as a judge rather

than a juror. It is, indeed, a mockery to see the whole Executive portion of any Body sitting in judgment on its own acts, and voting in its own praise. In strictness, the Court of Proprietors should be held without the presence of Directors at all, unless they chose to mingle in the crowd, and become simple Proprietors, and nothing more.

(*x*) Only a few pages before, Mr. Incey would not admit the statement on one side,—that of Sir William Rumbold,—as worthy of being attended to at all,

he preserves his consistency. (y) (Hear.) What, Madam, were the arguments by which he exposed the amendment? He first said, that the Court was taken by surprise; and then he asserted that a trick had been resorted to by the hon. Chairman, who, he observed, had shown the cloven foot. Sir, there was, there could be, no surprise in the case. The Hyderabad Papers had been before us for months, and that, too, after four or five debates relative to the production of different documents. Under these circumstances it was that the hon. Proprietor had made use of those offensive expressions; that he had accused the hon. Chairman with having shown the cloven foot. Could any thing be more offensive or disgusting than the language which the hon. Proprietor made use of towards my hon. Friend who fills the Chair? (z) (Hear.) Where is the cloven foot? The Papers were not concealed from the Proprietors; they have been long since in our possession; nothing has been done secretly or covertly. (Hear.) Why should the vote on this occasion be confined to the Marquis of Hastings? Are not the Court of Directors and the Government of India also before the Court? The hon. Mover and his friends call on you to acquit the noble Marquis; but justice equally calls on you to look to the colleagues of the noble Marquis in the Bengal Government, and also to the Court of Directors. (Hear.) There were many points of the speech of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hume) which appear to me to afford very cogent arguments in favour of the amendment. The hon. Gentleman said, he would impeach Mr. Adam. Here, I think, he himself shows the cloven

foot; here he resorts to trick. He wishes, it seems, to get a vote in favour of the noble Marquis, and, having done so, he will turn round on the colleagues of the noble Marquis and attack them. (Hear.) Now, Sir, is it fair, is it ingenious, to procure a vote in favour of the Marquis of Hastings, and then to turn round to distress and persecute others? (Hear, hear.) The character of Mr. Adam has been spoken of in this Court as it deserves to be spoken of. That individual has been described as being, in every respect, an estimable and honourable man. (a) (Hear.) He is afraid, I am sure, of no impeachment; (b) and I will venture to say, that, if the hon. Proprietor chooses to attack Mr. Adam for having performed his duty, he will find able and effectual defenders in this Court and elsewhere. (Hear, hear.) The hon. Proprietor has already been defeated in an attack on Mr. Adam, by my learned Friend (Mr. Jackson); (c) and, if he renew his attack, he will only find a renewal of his own defeat and disgrace. (Hear, hear.) The hon. Proprietor is a great friend to the House of Palmer and Co., for the whole tenor of his speech was a defence of them, and not of the Marquis of Hastings. How does the hon. Proprietor shape his course? First of all, he treats us with the old fallacy, that the Nizam is an independent Prince; (d) and, secondly, that these transactions were intended, and were calculated,

(a) Mr. Adam has also been spoken of in the East India Court as a man made drunk by the infatuation of arbitrary power, and exhibiting a more lamentable compound of imbecility and wickedness than any man that ever preceded him as Governor-General of India. Did he *deserve* to be spoken of in *these* terms also?

(b) How can Mr. Impney possibly know what Mr. Adam fears and what he does not? Does he add omiscience to his other eminent qualifications? or means he, that Mr. Adam's friends and influence, with all political parties in turn, secure him and his family impunity?

(c) Worthy of each other, and each other's cause and learning.

(d) On all other occasions, "old fallacies" are dearer to Mr. Impney than new ones. To us they are equally detestable. But if it be an old fallacy to consider Native Princes independent, it is an old hypocrisy on the part of the Company to call them so in these very despatches. That they are *not* independent, is to be attributed to the arts of the Company alone.

(y) If Mr. Hume thought as Mr. Impney pretends to do, that it *was* a job, it would be inconsistent to defend it, but not else. Mr. Impney's logic is this: Mr. Hume is an enemy to all jobs: this, in his opinion, is *not* a job; therefore, he ought to be an enemy to it! Such a fine illustration of the *non sequitur* is worthy of its impartial and candid author. Mr. Hume has, in his place, defended the whole transaction, as not at all partaking of the character given to it by Mr. Impney; and he is therefore honest and consistent in supporting it.

(z) Perhaps the malignant insinuations of Mr. Beeb and Mr. Impney may be thought by some honest and impartial men to be at least as offensive as Mr. Hume's straight-forward exposure of a flagrant trick.

for the benefit of the Nizam's Government. Now, Sir, I have examined this book, and I see nothing in it to lead me to suppose that the Nizam's subjects were, in any material degree, benefited by these transactions. This, however, is nothing to the purpose. The manner in which the money was applied by Chundoo Loll has nothing to do with the propriety or impropriety of the original transaction. The hon. Proprietor argues that the *bonus* was perfectly fair, because *bonuses* are recognized in England. As the English Government admits of a *bonus*, the hon. Proprietor contended, that the Indian Government ought to do the same thing. But, Sir, what has this to do with the question? In the first place, the *bonus* was concealed, which would have the effect of invalidating it; and in the next place, there was no appearance of any consideration having been advanced. (c) It seems that the interest was to be lowered from 24 to 18 per cent. But what comes at last? Why, this *bonus* is paid on account of the reduction of interest. Was there ever a more fallacious proceeding? (f) The hon. Proprietor next tells us, that the military allowances made to Palmer and Co. were all fairly earned. Mr. W. Palmer must be a very great soldier, if this be the fact. He must have performed most important services. The Nizam, being an independent, as well as a liberal Prince, had rewarded him and his children, his brother, his moonshoes, his servants, and his dependants of all descriptions, to the amount of 150,000*l.* a-year. (Hear.) Why, Sir, what are the services of the Marquis of Hastings, compared with those of Mr. W. Palmer, if he had earned this reward? The Marquis of Hastings received a grant of 60,000*l.* for very great services; but Mr. W. Palmer and his friends are rewarded with 150,000*l.* annually. (g) (Hear.) Sir,

(e) The *bonus* was never meant to be paid till the end of the term fixed by the loan, and in point of fact has never been paid at all. The consideration for which it was granted was the immediate advance of money at 18 per cent. interest, which could only be raised for that purpose at 26 and 24.

(f) It has not been paid up to this hour, and now never will be.

(g) This is another monstrous and scandalous exaggeration; and if not intended, is at least calculated, to deceive. The truth is, that the whole of the pensions of the Palmer family did not

if he deserved this, he must have performed services greater than those that were ever achieved in India; since the days of Alexander the Great. (Hear.) These rewards would never have been heard of at all in India or in this country, but for the discovery of these transactions. (Hear.) With respect to these military allowances, I believe the opinion of the Bengal Government would be sufficient to induce many Proprietors to condemn them; others may be inclined to take the same course on referring to the opinions of the Attorney-General and our own law officer; but, for the satisfaction of every man in this Court, I will give you the opinion of Lord Hastings himself; and, having done so, I think, for the present, you have a right to vote against Palmer and Co. In page 286 of these Papers, you will find a letter from the Secretary of Government to the Resident at Hyderabad, dated November 19, 1823, containing the following passage:—

‘The point in question has reference to Mr. W. Palmer’s statement, in explanation of the large monthly allowances held by him and his brother, Mr. H. Palmer, and the *stipends* to the children of the former, from the Government of his Highness the Nizam. On the subject of the allowance to Mr. H. Palmer, the statement of Mr. W. Palmer is entirely silent; it will be necessary to ascertain, therefore, whether the omission be accidental, or whether the House do not desire to offer any further observations in reply to the reference already made to them on that subject. With regard to Mr. W. Palmer’s explanation of his own and his children’s *stipends*,—[his services being here left out of the question]—‘it is sufficient to remark, that it is extremely unsatisfactory; and that, although the right of the Nizam to confer what allowances he pleases on those who are now, or have been in his service, or on their families, be unquestioned, it cannot be expected by his Highness that the British Government should come forward to advance a large sum of money for the liquidation of heavy arrears on such an account.’ [This alludes to the probability of the Company being called on to pay this account.] ‘In the special instance, under consideration, these arrears appear to have been accumulating, in common with the other debts of the state, at an exorbitant rate

amount to one-tenth of the sum, annually, which Mr. Impey here states, of which any one may satisfy himself who will take the trouble to refer to the original Papers on this head.

of interest.' [This, Sir, is the opinion of the Marquis of Hastings. *Hear, Hear.*] 'If the above observations hold good in regard to penalties actually conferred by the Nizam himself in the free exercise of his independent authority, they must apply with still greater force to the acts of a Minister, supposing the Nizam not to have been consulted in the appropriation of so large a sum of the revenues of the country in their present deteriorated state. Such an assumption of power on the part of Chundoo Loll, while engaged with us, and enjoying our support, for the purpose of reducing establishments and expenses which the State was unable to bear, could never receive the sanction of this Government; and cannot, indeed, be regarded otherwise than as standing wholly at the pleasure of the Nizam. Such changes cannot be acknowledged by this Government.'

I shall now, Sir, read two other short extracts from the public despatch of the Marquis of Hastings to the Resident at Hyderabad, of the 13th of Sept. 1822. The first of these passages contains his Lordship's opinion of the bonus, and is as follows:—

'The conduct of the House of Palmer and Co. with respect to the *bonus*, is considered by the Governor-General in Council, to be in the highest degree reprehensible; and the concealment, both by the House and by the Minister, of the real conditions of the loan, while they were seeking the sanction of the British Government to the arrangement, and professing to put it in possession of the details of the transaction, admits of no excuse or palliation, and justifies the inference of a culpable collusion between those parties.' (*Hear, hear.*)

Now, Sir, without meaning to cast any reflection on the character of Mr. Russell, of whom I wish to speak in terms of high respect, I must read what the Governor-General says of him in the same page. His Lordship thus expresses himself:—

'The Governor-General in Council concludes, that the affair of the *bonus* was not made known to the late Resident; but his Lordship in Council cannot acquit Mr. Russell of very blameable neglect of duty, in not satisfying himself that the amount of the loan was properly appropriated; or, at least, in not reporting the mis-application to Government, as soon as he became apprized of it, as, with ordinary vigilance, he must have been.' (*h*) (*Hear.*)

(*h*) All that need be said on these opinions of Lord Hastings is this: that the documents now for the first time published, including Mr. Russell's and Sir

Sir, I am already conscious that I have too long occupied the attention of the Court; but the very great magnitude and importance of the subject to the Company and to India is my reason for having stated my opinions at such length. I will not shortly point out to the Court the situation in which it is placed, and I call upon the hon. Proprietors to pause before they come to a decision. We have here the Marquis of Hastings, a man of high birth and of great talent—a man of exalted connexions in this country—who, for nine years, has been intrusted with the despotic power of Governor-General in India. (i) He performed, in the course of that time, eminent services for the Company, and he received a very high reward in consequence of those services. He had the distribution of patronage in the Bengal provinces, by which he might have increased his friends and connexions. Placed upon that high pedestal of honour, adorned with splendour, and armed with power, it appears, that, in one particular instance, he has perhaps been inveigled or led astray into conduct of which the Court of Directors cannot approve. They admit that the noble Marquis did not act from any corrupt motive, and that his conduct was not guided by any view to personal advantage. (*Hear, hear.*)

I am perfectly willing to give full weight to the motives assigned by the Gentlemen who have taken up the cause of the noble Marquis, and to ascribe his conduct to good nature, to weakness, and to the too great anxiety to make friends. But the Bengal Government, and the Court of Directors, had their painful, but bounden duty to perform. That duty was, to resist, to

W. Rumbold's letter to the Court of Directors, show, that though Lord Hastings might have felt himself justified in giving such opinions then, yet the subsequent evidence proves these opinions to be unwarranted now.

(i) Mr. Incey is so enamoured of the notion of the Government of India being a pure despotism, that he indulges it on all occasions. But "despotic power" is irresponsible. If, then, the Governor-General were really armed with this by those who sent him to India, how dare the Court of Directors arraign him afterwards for any use he may choose to make of it? Perhaps Mr. Incey adopts Capt. Seeley's definition of an "absolute despotism, regulated by laws."—The idea is worthy the source from whence it emanates.

control, and to mark with their censure, those improper transactions. (*Hear.*) You, Proprietors of East India Stock, are now called upon to approve of that control and that censure; and, it is my opinion, that you are bound, by your approval, to support your servants, both at home and abroad. (k) If the amendment be negatived, what encouragement do you hold out to the Indian Government to perform their duty? What encouragement do you afford to the Directors to exert themselves for the protection of your interests, and of the interests of India? (*Hear, hear.*) I think, Mr. Chairman, I have said enough to convince every impartial person in this Court, that he ought to vote for the amendment; but let the result be what it may, I sit down satisfied that I have discharged an imperative duty. (*Hear, hear.*)

MR. EDMONSTONE.—Sir, in the very able and luminous speech which has just been delivered, I must, consistently with my own knowledge, having had the honour of being a Member of the Bengal Government, during a part of the period alluded to, point out some errors into which the learned Gentleman has fallen. I believe I am correct in stating, that the learned Gent. said, "that, when the House of W. Palmer and Co. obtained the sanction or countenance of Government in 1814, it was then known, that they had engaged in pecuniary transactions with the Nizam's Government." I beg, Sir, to state, that such was not the case. I am quite certain that the Bengal Government did not know it; and there is nothing in the Papers that can bear out the assertion. (*Hear.*) Palmer and Co. applied for the countenance of Government to their House, as a house of agency, and a banking and commercial concern; and in that character the establishment of the Firm was approved of by the Court of Directors. But, if the Government had supposed that the House of Palmer and Co. had, or would have engaged with such transactions with the Nizam, as had since appeared, they would not have acceded to the request. (*Hear.*) The establishment of that concern, as a house of agency, was believed, at the time, to be a very great benefit to the Nizam's Government; and, from the Company's connexion with that Government, it was supposed that it would be useful to our

own. A commercial treaty had been entered into with the Nizam, and it was thought that the House would be enabled to give greater effect to the provisions of that treaty. The countenance of the Government was granted, in consequence of the information which had been given, that those beneficial results, which were expected from the establishment of the House, had been effected; and the conviction which prevailed on this point was one principal cause for granting the license of 1816. Is it possible, then, under these circumstances, to impute improper motives to the Marquis of Hastings, for having granted to the House the sanction of Government? (*Hear, hear.*)

The learned Proprietor has questioned the legality of this license, in a manner that may have impressed the minds of his hearers with the idea, that the pecuniary transactions with the Nizam were known at the time the license was conceded; and the circumstance was adverted to by the hon. Proprietor (Mr. Poynder) who spoke on the first day. This license was granted by the Government to exempt Palmer and Co. from the operation of the 37th of the King, which prevented pecuniary dealings between Europeans and the Native Princes, without a special permission. Now, Sir, to me the legality of that license is very clear. The license was granted in concurrence with the opinion of the Advocate-General, who was consulted by the Government. He stated, that the license was sufficient for every purpose. Therefore, Sir, as far as this point goes, the Government acted legally in acceding to the request. Having had the honour of being a Member of the Government at the time myself, I must, of necessity, take my share of the responsibility which attaches to the act. But, with the information which I now have of the magnitude of the transactions of that House, and the debts that were due to it by the Nizam, I acknowledge that I do think it was an indiscreet act; and I really believe that the Marquis of Hastings himself would, at this time, make the same acknowledgment. (*Hear.*)

The learned Proprietor has stated, in very strong terms, that there was an intentional delay, in sending to this country a statement of the transactions between Palmer and Co. and the Nizam. The report of this transaction—the granting of the license—was drawn up in January 1817; and was

(k) What! whether they do right or wrong?

despatched to this country. Now, Sir, before individuals are pursued for delay, it will be proper to observe, that the most laborious duty of the Secretary's Office in India, is to prepare documents, which are necessary for carrying on the administration of that great Empire. It differs very much from the duty of the Secretary's Office in this House, where the correspondence is at once looked over, and directions given for answering it. I have myself experienced much difficulty in finding time to frame despatches that were to be sent home. The time to which I allude, I mean the latter part of 1816, every Gentleman who hears me must know, was one of the most laborious periods that was ever experienced in India. The Secretaries were completely employed in carrying on the business of the Administration—they could not afford time to draw up a narrative of those transactions. This will account for the delay to which the learned Proprietor has referred. In the month of June, or thereabouts, the then Secretary to Government, Mr. Adam, had to attend the Governor-General, by whom he was employed in framing important despatches; and during the Secretary's absence, the report in question could not be drawn up. I think I have said sufficient to show that no delay was experienced, except what was perfectly accidental. (*Cheers.*)

The learned Proprietor, if I understood him rightly, has also stated, that when Mr. Sotheby was proposed to be appointed first Assistant at Hyderabad, it was concealed from the Council. This was not the case. His appointment was forwarded to Government; and his subsequent appointment to Moorsheadabad was, I believe, also known. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. TRANT—I can assure you, Sir, and the Court, that after the full discussion which this question has undergone, I shall not trespass on the attention of the Proprietors for any great length of time. I thank the learned Gentleman (Mr. Impey) within the bar, for the luminous and convincing argument he has addressed to the Court; for, if he had not delivered his sentiments, I should have been induced to travel over the same ground which the learned Gentleman has taken. It is certainly much better that the Court should be instructed by the able speech of the learned Gentleman, than be wearied by the very lame

one which I was prepared to offer. (*I*) There are, however, one or two points which have escaped the learned Gentleman's notice, on which I shall take the liberty to offer a few remarks. An honourable Proprietor, who addressed the Court on the first or second day of the discussion, has told us, that the letters from the Marquis of Hastings to Sir W. Rumbold (the private letter, which I lament has ever seen the light,) were written at a time when the acknowledged services of the House of Palmer and Co. to the Nizam were such as to give him a paramount claim, so as to shut out all the world besides from pecuniary transactions with that Prince. Now, Sir, that letter was written in January, 1815, before the license was applied for. The House was established in 1814, and it is difficult for me to imagine how these important services could be performed within this particular time. This fact, I think, is of some little importance. On that letter, Sir, I will take my stand, not against the Marquis of Hastings, but in support of good order in India. I rise here, as a Proprietor and an old servant of the East India Company, to declare, that if the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, much as I respect him, does not receive from this Court that censure which is contained in the despatches you are now called on to approve, I shall sell out my stock, and retire from the Company. (*m*) (*Loud and*

(*I*) This is a modest and well-timed avowal for one who knows too well how seldom his hearers are edified with his speeches here or elsewhere. Yet what shall we say of a gentleman of fortune, who, after a long career of service in India, returns to his native land, and avows his incapacity to offer any thing but a lame speech on a subject which his previous habits and experience ought especially to qualify him to understand; notwithstanding which, he goes intemperately into the House of Commons, and there attempts subjects which he cannot so well comprehend; witnesses his alarm on the night of Friday the 18th instant, when he said that discussions on the Slave question were calculated to produce the most injurious effects! Of such manner of men is that Parliament composed, to whose "collective wisdom" we are taught to look for every kind of redress, except a reform of their own immaculate body.

(*m*) Hear this, ye unhappy Proprietors of India Stock! Mr. Trant will retire from your assembly, and leave you all in utter darkness. The affairs of the Company must then go to irretrievable ruin,

general laughter.) Gentlemen may laugh and sneer, but it shall not affect me. One great object which has induced me to present myself to the Court, is to defend Sir C. Metcalfe, and on that subject I fear I shall be obliged to trespass for a short time on the patience of the Proprietors. I should say more on the speech of the late Resident at Hyderabad, if he had been in his place, this day; and in common with all the Court, I deplore the circumstance which has occasioned his absence. It was stated decidedly by the Bengal Government, that the sixty-lac loan was a fictitious transaction. With respect to the accounts relative to that transaction, Mr. Adam, when acting in the situation of Governor-General, speaks thus:—

"I twice examined the accounts received from the Resident at Hyderabad with his despatches of the 12th and 14th of July, with all the attention which the time I have been able to devote to them will allow. They are too voluminous, various, and intricate, to enable me to judge correctly of all the details which they embrace; but there are certain prominent points which appear quite distinct to my observation, and I am not aware that any practical object would be attained by more minute investigation." (I think that it is necessary to mark this passage, as it has been stated that Mr. Adam threw aside those accounts in a very hasty manner.) (n) "Since," continues

for who else can direct them? The "lame speech" is already forgotten, and Mr. Trant now evidently thinks that his not being present to illuminate the debate with his brilliant eloquence and convincing logic, would be such a calamity, that his brother and sister Proprietors would vote for any thing rather than let this dreadful alternative be resorted to. There is, however, a slight ray of hope that Mr. Trant will not really put his alarming threat into execution. He is a candidate for a seat in the Direction, and has already gone through half the dirty lanes and alleys in London to solicit votes to bring him in. Now he cannot be a Director without holding £2000 India Stock, which costs nearly £6000 sterling. That he has not yet come to the fatal resolution, however, of selling this, we may safely infer from the fact of his having been seen at the last ball, with his head uncovered, in that attitude of feigned humility which candidates do well to assume before their election, that they may make their insolence and hauteur the more keenly felt afterwards when firmly fixed in their seats.

(n) It is indeed necessary to mark this

Mr. Adam's minutes, "the Resident has commenced, and perhaps by this time completed, a course of payments to the amount, as stated by him, of seventy-five lacs of rupees, reserving for charges that may eventually be disallowed, a sum of about twenty lacs, an examination in detail is at all events not immediately necessary, nor need we, as it appears to me, delay coming to a conclusion on the main questions arising out of these accounts."

Mr. Adam then proceeds to give a specification of the debts which he makes due to the House by the Nizam, which amount to 60, 58, 191 rupees. Now he (the late Resident) has stated that the plan for the sixty-lac loan was one that could not be recommended by him to the Court.

Mr. STUART.—Mr. Russell states, in the publication which he has given to the world, that he did mainly approve of the plan.

Mr. TRANT.—Mr. Russell's own words will best explain his meaning. He states, in the first place, that the House was willing to negotiate a loan, but that the firm required the sanction of the British Government. That sanction he did not choose to apply for. He then says that the Minister pressed him on the subject, that he was willing to give his concurrence to the scheme for borrowing, but that he declared that the British Government would take no further part in the proceeding. Such was Mr. Russell's opinion at the time. He then goes on to say, that while these discussions were in progress at Hyderabad, the partners of the House wrote to Calcutta, and the consequence was, that the sanction of Government was obtained. Now, Sir, I think Mr. Adam had a right to say that this loan, *quoad* the sanction of Government, was in fact a fictitious transaction. It was a loan to be raised under the sanction of Government for the reduction of unnecessary military establishments and the payment of certain debts. Undoubtedly it was stated that considerable benefits were annexed to this plan. But it appears, on the face of the accounts, that under the sanction of Government not one rupee was advanced; and therefore, *quoad* the sanction, it was a fictitious proceeding. (o)

passage; for nothing can more plainly show the cursory manner in which the accounts were examined than this.

(o) Mr. Adam and Sir C. Metcalfe do not deny the advance of money "*quoad*" the sanction; they deny it *altogether* and

Before I state, as briefly as I can, what I feel it to be my duty to state, on the part of Sir Charles Metcalfe, I beg leave to ask, whether there is present any friend of Mr. Russell, who can explain some points on which I wish to be satisfied? [No person answered.] I must first, Sir, state, that I have most attentively read the whole of the Papers on your table. I have also read the letter of the late Resident, and that published by Sir Win. Rumbold. I have, in truth, given this case the very best consideration that my poor abilities will allow; and I must say, and I think almost every body, except one or two persons whom my learned Friend (Mr. Impey) corrected in the course of his speech, will be found of the same opinion,—that the present amendment is a most proper one. I think I need not, farther than I have done, state the grounds which induce me to vote for that amendment.

I wish now to make a few observations relative to Sir Charles Metcalfe. My gallant Friend (Sir John Doyle), whose second day's speech, in continuation, I did not hear, but which, from the manner in which he closed his first day's address, was, I suppose, very entertaining,—has told us that Sir C. Metcalfe was fitter to be a resident in Bedlam than a Resident in Hyderabad. These words I cannot mistake, because I took them down. Now, Sir, I need not remind my gallant Friend of what an illustrious person said when he was told that General Wolfe was mad. "If he is mad," said that illustrious individual, "I wish he would bite some of my other generals." (*A laugh.*) I am sure my gallant Friend does not need to be bitten—he does not want to be inoculated for courage—he took the disease naturally. (*Hear, hear.*) I met my gallant Friend in Malta, and I heard a great deal of my gallant Friend's achievements in Egypt. When my gallant Friend was in that country, he was very mad indeed: he galloped into the desert up to Buonaparte's dromedary corps, and the consequence of his madness was, that he captured all of them. (*Hear, hear.*) Now, Sir, I say, that if Sir Charles Metcalfe be mad, I wish we

had many more such mad servants; (*Hear, hear*) and I congratulate the Company on having such an active and zealous madman in their employ. Now, Sir, I shall state why I particularly appear before the Court on this occasion. My gallant Friend has said that his acquaintance with the Marquis of Hastings is of forty years' duration. Now I must look back to a period that will prove me not to be a very young man, when I advert to the commencement of my acquaintance with Sir C. Metcalfe. We were children at school together, and under the same tutor, Dr. Goodall. (*g*) (*Cries of Order and Question.*) Sir, I repeat it—we were under the charge and care of Dr. Goodall. We proceeded to India almost at the same time. (*Question.*) Sir, when a man is brought into a court of justice, witnesses are examined as to his character and the circumstances of his life; and I think it is equally proper that the same thing should be allowed here. We went to India, Sir, about the same period. We there pursued our studies for a short time together, and together we entered the hon. Company's service. (*Question, question; Order.*)

A PROPRIETOR.—We shall never be able to get through the business if the hon. Gentleman goes on in this way. (*Loud cries of Question.*)

MR. S. DIXON.—I hope the Court will allow the hon. Proprietor to go on. He is making two tides at once. He does not confine himself to Sir Charles Metcalfe,—he gives an account of himself also,—he affords us the history of two persons instead of one. (*A laugh.*)

MR. TRANT.—Sir, I mention these circumstances, because I wish to obtain credit with the Court as one who knows Sir C. Metcalfe intimately well, and who therefore can speak to his character. If I express myself with the natural partiality of an old friend, I hope it will not be imputed as an error to me. I have known Sir C. Metcalfe during the whole of my life; (*Question, question.*) and a more honourable, upright, or kind-hearted man I never met with. (*r*)

(*g*) In infancy our hopes and fears

Were to each other known, &c.

(*r*) There are no limits to the egotism and vanity of some minds. Of what possible importance could it be to the Court to hear the history of Mr. Trant's infancy, or the character of his school-fellows or tutor? And although Sir C. Metcalfe might, in Mr. Trant's opinion, be the best man he ever met with, he might still be a bad one. The question

as a fact; and Sir C. Metcalfe hints that most of the alleged payments are fictitious.

(*p*) Who might these unfortunate persons be, described to be thus smarting under the correction of this eminent and disinterested advocate?

I shall now state the circumstances which brought Sir C. Metcalfe to Hyderabad. I think it is right to do so, because he has been attacked in his absence.^(x) He had been the private Secretary to the Marquis of Hastings, and political Secretary to the Government. Previously to that he was employed at Delhi. He has in this Court been charged with ingratitude to the Marquis of Hastings. Now, Sir, I beg to explain the circumstances under which he was made private Secretary to that Nobleman. (*Question—Order.*)

Mr. NOWELL.—I really wish to know, Sir, whether the Court are to be detained with a history of the hon. Proprietor and Sir C. Metcalfe? (*Hear and Order.*)

Mr. TRANT.—Sir Charles Metcalfe has been attacked in this Court.

The CHAIRMAN.—Having been appealed to, I must give my decision. The character of Sir C. Metcalfe having been assailed in this Court, I think I have a right to hear the remarks of any person who wishes to speak in his favour.^(t) At the same time I think that it will expedite the cause of Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the business of this Court, if the hon. Proprietor will be less diffuse on the subject. (*Hear.*)

Mr. TRANT.—Sir, this private Secretaryship was pressed upon Sir Charles Metcalfe, and I have been told that he twice declined it. But, Sir, is a public Officer, because he filled a situation under a Governor-General, to be debarred from his right of giving his opinion on any public measure? I am

sure my gallant Friend will not contend for such a principle; and in this Court, I believe, a very different doctrine is laid down.^(u) Am I, Sir, to be debarred from my right of speaking my mind; or am I to be accused of meanness or baseness, because I cannot approve of the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings in every respect? Sir Charles Metcalfe was nearly connected with the late Resident by family ties. There was that inducement, and several others, that might have led him to conceal his opinion, if his integrity were not of the most immovable character. I cannot, therefore, subscribe to the opinion, that he has been influenced by vindictive motives, or by any other feeling except a strong sense of public duty. I have heard no evidence yet that can make me form any other opinion. I hope, one day or another, he will appear in this Court, and speak for himself. I congratulate the Company in having such a man attached to them. The Company's servants are often placed in a very delicate situation. They are obliged to overcome their feelings, for they are bound; and necessity required it, both by their duty and by their oath, to show up their nearest friends. I am happy that the Company have amongst them a man of such unbending firmness and integrity,—a man who realizes the fine picture drawn by Horace—

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quiescit solida.

I, Sir, shall vote for the amendment; but, though I do not approve of the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings in this case, I shall say of him, as I have before said in this Court, that I think very highly of his merits. I will not cast aside such a public servant as he has proved himself to be, because he

related to acts done since Mr. Trant had left India; and his opinion of the character of the actor at any period anterior to this, is of no worth whatever. It is, indeed, a fallacy to suppose such testimony as this of any value at any time.

(s) Does not Mr. Trant censure the Marquis of Hastings, and attack the transactions of Palmer and Co.—and are not they also absent? If to praise those who are absent be permitted, why should it not be equally permitted to censure? The value of the one is nothing where the other is not allowed.

(t) The question was, not what the Chairman had a right to hear, but what the speaker had a right to offer. This is a confusion of terms often made by boys at school, who talk of their having no right to be flogged,—meaning that the master has no right to flog them. But that an East India Director, and an M.P. of twenty years' standing, should fall into such a vulgar error, is surprising.

(u) Not so, Mr. Trant. In this Court the doctrine laid down is, that Mr. Adam was quite right when he said, in his celebrated manifesto against the liberty of the press: "It is a mockery to claim for the servants of any Government a right to discuss freely the measures of their superiors." Does he not know that Colonel Robinson, being a servant of the King, was banished for speaking his mind; that Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnot, not being servants of any one, were also banished for speaking theirs; and that the Court approved of all these punishments? The doctrine and the practice are, at least, in harmony with each other.

has made one mistake—because there is one blot on his character. I do not expect to find a perfect man; and if I see some slight speck on his features—if I perceive the beauty of his character in a very small degree sullied,—I look at the shade with feelings “more in sorrow than in anger;” and I am anxious to pass it by as soon as possible.

Non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.

When the Marquis of Hastings again comes before this Court, I shall lay this business entirely out of my mind, and do justice to the great and eminent services he has performed. (*Hear.*)

MR. PATTISON.—The learned Gentleman (Mr. Impey) has spoken of a letter, written by the Marquis of Hastings in answer to certain despatches of the Court of Directors, having been addressed to the Chairman. I shall explain, for I am not afraid to explain, how that circumstance occurred. When I arrived at the situation of Chairman, I found that both my predecessors were in the habit of corresponding with Lord Hastings, and I beg leave to state that I followed that example, believing then, as I do now, that such explanation between the Chairman and the Governor-General must lead to very beneficial results. I found my hon. friend (Mr. Bubb) in correspondence with the noble Marquis. I think it a very useful practice, in spite of the policy which has put an end to it. I think those who abolished the practice acted under a mistaken view of the case.

MR. CAMPBELL.—Sir, I am at all times unwilling to take up the time of the Court, and, on this occasion, indisposition renders it peculiarly necessary that I should be as brief as possible. I shall endeavour, therefore, as far as I can, to confine myself to the object immediately before the Court—namely, the motion and the amendment. It appears to me that a form of words better calculated to effect the purpose which was intended, and that was less likely to provoke discussion, could not have been devised, than that in which the original motion was expressed; and I am surprised that such a course should have been taken as that which the hon. Chairman has thought fit to adopt. (*A cry of “Speak out.”*) I am speaking as loud as I can, and if the hon. Proprietor who has interrupted

me, will come nearer, he will, no doubt, hear whatever I say. I do not like Gentlemen to interrupt me with cries of “*Speak out!*” because, when an individual is endeavouring to pursue a certain train of ideas, such exclamations are calculated to embarrass and confuse him. (*Hear.*) I was going to express my regret, that a motion so worded, and having one solitary object in view, should have been met by an amendment, which could scarcely lead to any thing, in this Court, but long and angry debate. It seems to me that Gentlemen have been led away, in the course of the discussion, from the object really before the Court, and have introduced topics exceedingly foreign to it. I must say, that a most unwarrantable attack has been made on the character of Mr. Adam, whose name it was quite unnecessary to introduce on this occasion. But we have something more formidable to contend with, than the desultory observations which may be made with respect to Mr. Adam, or any other Member of the Bengal Government; and to that point, Gentlemen ought to restrict their remarks. The Court ought not to mistake the question under consideration. That question ought to be taken for what it is intrinsically worth, without reference to the expressions made use of by this Gentleman, or by that Gentleman. What then is the question, Sir? What have the Proprietors to do? They have only to say, Whether the conduct of the noble Marquis has been corrupt or incorrupt?

A PROPRIETOR.—No person has imputed corrupt conduct to the noble Marquis.

MR. CAMPBELL.—If the hon. Proprietor has read the Despatches, as he ought to do, and has not there seen distinct corruption alleged against Lord Hastings, then all I can say is, that he has put a different construction from that which I have done on whole passages of those documents. (*Hear.*) The attack which has been made on Mr. Adam, could not, as it seems to me, originate in any part which that Gentleman has taken in the affairs of Hyderabad. It requires no great degree of acuteness to perceive, looking at the state of the press in India, and the deportation, or, as the hon. Member for Aberdeen would call it, the banishment, (though to their own country,) of Gentlemen who favoured the freedom of the press; and, amongst others, of the champion of that sys-

tem, the Editor of *The Calcutta Journal*, that the conduct pursued by Mr. Adam, with respect to the press, has excited this hostility. (u) On this subject of the press, I differ totally from my hon. Friend, the Member for Aberdeen. I am as friendly as any man to a free press; but, as to its introduction into India, it is a question that involves most serious considerations. The time, I think, is not yet come for trying such an experiment. (x) It may come, and it will come in the march of events—but certainly it has not yet arrived, and it should not be blindly precipitated. When you have a more extended European population; (y) when you can uphold your empire, under any convulsion which may arise; when you find it proper to extend to your Native subjects all the rights and privileges which now exist amongst ourselves; then a free press may be introduced with safety. (z)

In giving my opinion on the question now before the Court, I shall carefully abstain from making any invidious comparisons. We are now called on to approve of certain despatches, sent by the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government. The Proprietors have been ready to acknowledge the services of the Court of Directors—and they have done so on all proper occasions; but they ought to pause, before they approve of the despatches which are now under consideration. Of the four despatches, which are spoken of in the latter part of the amendment, one was

(u) There is not the least ground for this supposition. Mr. Adam's conduct with respect to the Hyderabad transactions, and his hastening the ruin of the House of Palmer and Co., while Lord Amherst was in the Bengal river, but before he could come up to have even a chance of giving a new turn to the matter, was quite sufficient to implicate him as one, at least, of the chief causes of all the mischief that has resulted.

(x) The experiment *has been* tried—and lasted for five years under Lord Hastings, producing the best effects.—It was then put a stop to, since which, nothing but disasters have happened.

(y) How can this ever happen, while Colonization is prohibited; and who would colonize, if they were not to be free?

(z) On this subject of the Press, we shall not here say more than that Mr. Campbell either has not read, or reading has not understood, what has been already so often repeated, on this much misrepresented subject,

written near five years ago, another almost four years ago, the third nearly two years ago, and the last one year ago. If the approval of this Court to those despatches be so necessary, I should be glad to know why it was not demanded before? Repeated opportunities have occurred for calling the Proprietors together, and hearing their sentiments on this subject. I request the Court to mark the situation in which this amendment places us. If you approve of the instructions conveyed in these despatches, you will cast a censure on the Marquis of Hastings, in the face of the approbation you have already bestowed on him; and, if you disapprove of them, are you prepared to recal, or can you recal, those despatches? If you are not prepared to do so—and you cannot recal them, without trenching on the functions of the Executive Body,—to what purpose do you come to a decision? When, on Friday last, a gallant Officer (Sir J. Doyle) asked the hon. Chairman, whether this amendment was his own act, or the act of the Court of Directors, the hon. Chairman answered, that it was his own individual act; but he further expressed his opinion, that, if time had been given, it would have received the sanction of the Court of Directors. On a subsequent day, the hon. Chairman made a similar statement, in answer to the hon. Director opposite. I must own, however, that I, for one, am not in favour of that amendment; and I hope that the event of this day's discussion will prove, that many other Directors feel upon the subject as I do. That body, I believe, comprises as much caution, wisdom, and sound sense, as is to be found in any society; (a) and, I am sure, they will pause before they give their sanction to this proceeding.

I see, in the latter part of this amendment, a most extraordinary novelty, and one, which, if the precedent be established, may lead to very bad consequences. In calling on the Proprietors to agree to those despatches, do you not, in fact, establish a precedent for an interference with the despatches of the Court of Directors generally? (Hear.) May not the Proprietors hereafter object to despatches? May they not, at any time, resist the contents of despatches, *in transitu*. This would be to create a

(a) Mr. Campbell is himself one of their body. This eulogium comes, therefore, with double grace from him!

second Board of Control, as if one were not a sufficient evil. (b) (*A laugh.*) The Legislature, in former days, clearly contemplated the contingency at which, Sir, we have now arrived; and, therefore, to prevent the possibility of an interference with the despatches of the Court of Directors, it will be found, on reference to the 33d of Geo. III., that the following provision was made:

‘And be it further enacted, that no order, direction, or resolution of the Court of Directors, touching the Civil or Military Government, or revenue, of the East India Company, after the same shall have received the approbation of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, shall be rescinded, suspended, or varied, by any General Court called for that purpose.’

What is the consequence of this enactment? It is, that you cannot interfere with the despatches of the Court of Directors; and, assuredly, it is useless for men to give an opinion on any subject, when they have it not in their power to enforce that opinion. (c) The proposition, in the latter part of the amendment, appears to me to be quite unnecessary for the vindication of the conduct of our servants abroad, whose characters are not attacked in such a way as to bring them under the consideration of this Court. I contend also, Sir, that the approbation of these despatches, goes to the condemnation of the Marquis of Hastings. I would say, Sir, that the calling for the approval of those despatches, at this particular juncture, when an appeal is pending, is injudicious. But, I am bound to declare, on the part of the Court of Directors, that, though I think their judgments were erroneous, I am perfectly convinced that their intentions were honest. As I have, more than once, stated my opinions on this subject in the other room, I am now imperatively called upon to declare, that those despatches were the dictates of pure and honourable minds, discharging a most important, but a most painful duty. (*Hear.*) When I look to the conduct and character of the mover and seconder of the amendment, I feel most confident

that they contemplated nothing but what was just and fair; and, therefore, I regret that they mixed up with that amendment, such ingredients as must of necessity lead to dissension.

One of the professed objects of the amendment is, to exculpate the Company's servants, which, as I have before stated, does not appear to me to be called for. Some Members of the Court of Directors, though they have waded through this immense volume, have, I think, overlooked some parts of it, which are completely at variance with the amendment. The first part of the amendment admits the purity and integrity of the late Governor-General's character. It acquits him of any corrupt motive. To that extent it goes clearly enough. But what does the latter part of this amendment do? It calls for your approval of the whole of these despatches—one portion of which goes, as I will presently show, to charge the Marquis of Hastings with a most gross dereliction of duty—it asserts that he has lent the Company's credit, for the purpose of benefiting the House of Palmer and Co., to a transaction which has been branded as fraudulent, deceptive, and dishonourable. I shall cite but one single passage to prove this fact; and, by it, I am willing to stand or fall. The fortieth paragraph of the political letter to Bengal, of the 28th November 1821, contains the following very remarkable, and very unfortunate passage:

‘In truth you have,’ [addressing the Government ostensibly, but evidently applying the charge to Lord Hastings,] ‘in substance, if not in form, lent the Company's credit, in the late pecuniary transactions at Hyderabad; not, indeed, for the benefit of the Nizam's Government, but for the sole benefit of Messrs. Palmer and Co.’

Now, Sir, I appeal to the honour and candour of every Gentleman in this room, whether the individual to whom such motives can be justly ascribed, is, or is not, worthy to be pointed out as an honest man? Had the opinion, I have just mentioned, been adopted by the Court of Directors, with a full knowledge of all the facts—with all the accounts and documents before them, which would enable them to form a just judgment—with figured statements, which cannot err, in their possession—then, Sir, that opinion would have been decisive; but they had, without due examination, arrived at that conclusion, and adopted the supposition, that the arrangement which they condemned, was made for

(b) No doubt, control is always an evil to those on whom it is exercised. Would that the evil were real, instead of pretended!

(c) According to this maxim, no Opposition Member should ever speak in the House of Commons; no dissenting Proprietor, in an East India Court.

the sole purpose of serving Palmer and Co. (*Hear.*) At the time that despatch was written, the Court of Directors were almost totally ignorant of the circumstances attending those transactions; and yet they say to the noble Marquis:—

‘ You have in substance, if not in form, lent the Company's credit, in the late pecuniary transactions at Hyderabad; not, indeed, for the benefit of the Nizam's Government, but for the sole benefit of Messrs. Palmer and Co.’

This was intended to cast an imputation on the late Governor-General, and this the amendment calls on you to approve. Hence, Sir, I contend, that this amendment is inconsistent. (*Hear, hear.*) The first part acquits Lord Hastings of every corrupt motive, while the last part brands him with corruption in its worst form. (*Hear, hear.*) Not only corruption, but breach of confidence and faith. It charges him with sacrificing the interest of our ally, for the base purpose of assisting the House of Palmer and Co. How are the assertions borne out? (*Hear.*) It will not, Sir, be thought, that Sir C. Metcalfe had any very extraordinary predilection either for the loan or the lenders; and, when called on to give his opinion as to the effect produced by the loan, he says, in his letter of the 17th March 1821:—

‘ The Government was undoubtedly relieved from much pecuniary embarrassment by the loan, and was enabled to pay off large arrears, which had accumulated in several branches of expenditure.’—Sir C. Metcalfe is here speaking of what has been called a “fictitious loan.” (*Hear, hear.*)—‘ but (continues Sir Charles) I have been disappointed in finding that the relief was not so much of a permanent nature as I had expected;’—

Why, Sir, how could it be expected that a “fictitious loan” could produce any very extraordinary results? (*A laugh.*) “And that the loan was not appropriated to the permanent reduction of expense to such an extent as I had supposed.” Here Sir C. Metcalfe treats it as a real transaction—as a *bona fide* loan—though in other places he stigmatizes it as fraudulent and fictitious. Is this, Sir, the language of fair and impartial inquiry? Certainly it is not; and, I am sorry that the speech of the learned Gentleman (Mr. Incey), this day, abounded in similar accusations. In another part of this letter, Sir C. Metcalfe says:—

‘ Nevertheless there is no doubt that

the loan was most convenient to the Nizam's Government at the time, and especially to the Minister himself, personally; and, by enabling him to struggle through temporary difficulties and embarrassments, it may possibly prove the means of greatly assisting the restoration of prosperity in the country.’

This, it seems, was all to be done—By what? By a “fictitious loan.” Why, Sir, when we find such contradictions, a man might almost be inclined to believe, that he was reading Swift's ‘Tale of a Tub.’ Sir C. Metcalfe, in another passage, observes,—

‘ It does not strike me that the interests of the hon. Company have been much affected, in any way, by the loan; [why, Sir, how could they be affected by a fictitious transaction?] (*Hear.*) ‘disadvantageously, certainly not.’

I now come to a passage in this letter, which has puzzled me very much. I have endeavoured to understand it—but I cannot. It is this:—

‘ But for the loan, the increasing embarrassment of the Nizam's Government might have induced, perhaps must have induced, some other measure; and other measures might, perhaps, have been devised, more advantageous to the Nizam's interest, and so far indirectly to our own, than the one under discussion.’ [I suppose he here must allude to the military possession of the country.] ‘It is, however,’ he continues, ‘certainly some advantage gained, that the Nizam's Government has been enabled to struggle on, without any sacrifice on our part, to its present position, from which, with proper measures, there is a prospect of future prosperity.’

Now, Sir, from these passages, three inferences must necessarily be drawn—1st. That, by the loan, the Nizam's Government had been relieved from much pecuniary embarrassment, and was enabled to pay off large arrears. 2d. That the loan had not disadvantageously affected the Company's interests. And 3d. That the loan would possibly prove the means of greatly assisting the restoration of prosperity in the country. Sir, if these were the results of the loan, the proposition contained in that unfortunate passage of the despatch of the 28th November 1821, namely, “That the Company's credit had been lent by the noble Marquis, not indeed for the benefit of the Nizam's Government, but for the sole benefit of Messrs. Palmer and Co.” is clearly disproved. (*Hear, hear.*)

Now, Sir, I shall say a word with respect to the letter addressed by the Marquis of Hastings to Sir W. Rumbold.

bold in January 1814. So many observations have already been made upon it, that I have very little to offer on the subject. But, Sir, if Gentlemen had considered the circumstances under which that letter was written, they would have treated it with more generosity and candour. That letter was written very shortly before the commencement of the Nepal war—that letter was written when his Lordship was endeavouring to repair serious disasters which had attended our arms at the beginning of that war—that letter also was written in confidence. The fair import of that letter, in my mind, is simply this: Sir W. Rumbold was not a partner in the House at the time the letter was written, but he was thinking of becoming a partner in that concern. He set out with a letter of introduction from the Marquis of Hastings to the Resident at Hyderabad; and what does the noble Marquis say in the letter in which he encloses that introduction to Sir W. Rumbold? He expresses himself thus.

‘The amount of the advantage which the countenance of Government may bestow must be uncertain, as I apprehend it would flow principally from the opinion the natives would entertain of the respect likely to be paid by their own Government to an establishment known to stand well in the favour of the supreme authority here. Perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the Firm, from the consequent discouragement to composition with you by any other British partnership, to which a similarly protected sanction would not be granted.’

This, Sir, is said to be a direct monopoly. But how does it appear? If it had been stated, that he would refuse to others the liberty of setting up similar establishments, the charge would be correct; but the noble Marquis has not said any such thing. I have endeavoured, Sir, as much as I could, to abstain, on this occasion, from introducing the names of other parties. The affairs of Palmer and Co. I have kept out of my mind as much as possible; because I do not think it would be right, at present, to state any opinion with respect to matters which I may hereafter be called on to consider. I therefore shall say nothing as to what they have done, nor as to the policy of granting the license. All I shall say, on that point is, that the license was not granted from any corrupt motive. (Hear.) The circumstance of the transaction between Palmer and Co.

and the Nizam have been fully stated; and much as I regret that the friends of the Marquis of Hastings were compelled, in his justification, to demand that they should be laid before this Court, still I am rejoiced to find, that the production of those documents has completely succeeded in vindicating the fair fame of the hon. Marquis.

The Proprietors have now before them a very complicated subject—a subject, in my opinion, but little understood by all those who have delivered their sentiments on it; the late Resident has, I think, placed it in the clearest point of view. (Hear, hear.) From his statement it appears, that the interests of the Company at Hyderabad could not have been confided to abler hands. It becomes now the duty of each Proprietor to pronounce, as far as his judgment will allow him, on the conduct of one of the most faithful, zealous, and meritorious servants the Company ever had. (Hear.) It is for you to ask yourselves, whether, during the nine years in which he so successfully administered your affairs in India, he has ever tarnished his character or impaired his honour? (Hear.) After the most anxious consideration of the subject, to which I have devoted both days and nights, without any personal knowledge of the noble Marquis, having seen him but on one occasion—without owing any obligation whatsoever to him—I stand up here, and give my vote in his favour. I do not believe that he has done any thing to tarnish his character—and I hold up my hand against the amendment, which, while it professes to acquit, virtually condemns the noble Marquis. (Loud cries of Hear.)

Mr. DANIELL.—Sir, I shall content myself with simply stating the line of conduct I mean to adopt on this occasion, and the few short reasons which, I think, justify me in doing so. Notwithstanding all that has been said on the subject, we are really to decide on the character of the individual. We are to consider, whether he has conducted himself in an honourable or dishonourable manner, as connected with the transactions which have been laid before us? I see nothing in the original motion which at all relates to the conduct of his colleagues, or to the proceedings of the Court of Directors. Under these circumstances, I shall, therefore, vote for the motion of the hon. Proprietor, but not from any feeling of personal favour towards him. Neither is it on account of any

hostility towards those who have brought forward the amendment, that I vote against it, but because I think that it is wholly unnecessary and irrelevant. It has been stated, that the hon. mover's proposition is injudicious, because it calls into discussion the conduct of the noble Lord. Now I think quite otherwise; because, some time ago, when an annuity to the noble Marquis was brought forward in the adjoining room, it was said then, that the proposition was premature, because certain circumstances connected with the Hyderabad transactions called for investigation and inquiry. The objections then raised, appeared to my mind, not to apply so much to the political conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, as to a question of much greater delicacy. Seeing that, I think the propriety and necessity of the original motion, proposed by the hon. Member, is perfectly clear.

I beg leave to make one or two observations as to the statements relative to the conduct of Lord Hastings, with respect to his connexion with Sir W. Rumbold. It has been said, that the noble Lord's knowledge of Sir W. Rumbold guided, in a great degree, his conduct towards Palmer and Co. Now, I cannot see how that is made out. The partnership between Sir W. Rumbold and Messrs. Palmer and Co. took place, not by the intervention of the Marquis of Hastings, but of Mr. J. Palmer. A proposition is made to Mr. J. Palmer to join the Firm. He says, "No, circumstanced as I am, I cannot comply; but, if you want a partner, here is my friend, Sir W. Rumbold." Now, Sir, if Palmer and Co. had thought that the influence of Sir W. Rumbold was an object of very great consideration, they would, in the first instance, have applied to him, instead of applying to John Palmer. And what, Sir, did the Marquis of Hastings do? Instead of recommending Sir W. Rumbold to join the Firm, he wishes him to steer clear of it. If the House of Palmer and Co. had considered the influence of Sir W. Rumbold of such paramount importance, they would have admitted him on other terms than those they exacted. They would not have required any capital from him. They would have said—"We want a partner that can serve us—and a man of your influence, even without capital, is sufficient." Sir, the question appears to me to be this—whether it was not better that the noble Marquis should save his empire,

rather than hesitate about exempting certain individuals, through whom a loan of money was to be raised, for important purposes, from the provisions of an act of Parliament? It is utterly impossible to prevent, under all circumstances, the infraction of particular laws. All the wisdom of this Court cannot lay down such rules as shall not be infringed on under any necessity whatever.

Gentlemen here talked much of the inviolability of acts of the Legislature, and have even argued the present question, as if it were substantively this:—shall we be more justified in losing our empire in the East, or in encroaching upon an act of Parliament? For my own part I conceive, that our present question does not go to that extent, though I must at the same time take the liberty of saying, that it does appear to me inconsistent with sound wisdom and enlightened policy to enact rules for the administration of India, at our great distance from it; and to say, that those rules shall never be departed from under any circumstances of temporary danger which may force themselves under the consideration of the local Government. (*Hear.*) The best and the wisest measure which we can take for securing our Eastern possessions, is to choose men of judgment, of capacity, and of character to rule over them. To such men we ought to give our full confidence, and to allow some latitude, at least, of action: for our choice, after it is once declared, is utterly ineffective until it is ratified by the approbation of the Ministry at home, or at least of that part of it which is specially formed to control the affairs of India. After we have selected such men, as the instruments of our authority, we have done all that is within our power to do, and must leave the rest to the dispensation of Providence. Without trespassing further upon your indulgence, I shall conclude by saying, that after all the consideration I have been able to give this difficult and important question, I feel myself obliged to support the resolution of the hon. Proprietor; since I feel, in common with many other individuals, that the amendment, which has been proposed, implicates the character of the Marquis of Hastings, without vindicating that of any other person. (*Hear.*)

Mr. RIGBY rose amid loud cries of "Question!"—"Reply!"—"Mr. Kinnsaid," &c. and after silence had been procured, spoke nearly as follows:—

It is with no small diffidence, and under great difficulty, that I rise to address you at this period of the debate. Having been absent from your discussion of the last two days, and not having been present even at the commencement of the proceedings to-day, I feel myself not so competent as I could wish to address you on this great and momentous occasion; but business of importance took me to a distance from London, and from that distance I have travelled to your Court to-day, at great personal inconvenience to myself, with no other view than that of explaining the reasons of the vote which it is my intention to give upon this important and interesting question. In justice to myself, I must state to you, that I was present at the commencement of this discussion, and that I paid great attention to what fell from the different Gentlemen who then took a share in it; and, I must confess, that, whether I looked to the papers themselves, to the arguments which have been raised upon them, or to what was said by the different speakers on the two days that I was here, I am still at a loss to conceive what could induce the hon. Proprietor near me to dissent from the wise, the just, the conciliatory amendment, which you, Sir, did us the honour to move from the Chair. From the very first blush of this business,—entering into the Court, as I did, with a proud veneration for the high character, for the general abilities, and for the distinguished virtues of the Marquis of Hastings, impressed as I was with an affectionate regard for the many lofty qualities of that respected nobleman,—from the very first blush of this business, I say, I could not help regretting, that this question should have been mooted at all in the way it has been. (*Hear, hear.*) But if my honest, impartial, and unbiassed judgment is called for, with regard to the Hyderabad transaction,—if I must vote upon the propositions which are now placed before you,—most unquestionably, when I am asked what conclusion do I arrive at from these Papers, I must reply, at what other conclusion can I arrive? not looking at the eloquent speech of the hon. Proprietor who recently filled the office of Resident at Hyderabad—not looking at facts which have nothing to do with the main question of our discussion, but which have been brought extrinsically and improperly into it) than this,—that I rejoice sincerely, and from the bot-

tom of my soul, that you, Sir, have put the question in the least harsh and most conciliatory manner in which it can be put,—namely, that we acquit the noble Marquis of all corrupt motive whatever in these abominable and wicked transactions? (*Loud cries of hear, intermingled with laughter.*) I repeat, that the manner in which the amendment has been put is a mild and conciliatory manner, and worthy of the quarter from which it comes. (*Loud cries of hear.*) I rest that opinion upon the Papers which are now before the Court; and though I see opposed to me men of the first talent and ability, men whose eloquence, if it was ever doubted, must now be admitted on all hands, I will take upon me to say, that, if I were to ask for their unbiassed judgment, in their private closets, on these Papers, they would candidly confess to me, that they were most unfavourable to the character of the noble Marquis. (*Hear, hear, and cries of No, no.*)

The last Gentleman who addressed you, was one of the dissenting Directors. How has he put the question to you? and in what manner? Has he thrown any new lights upon it? Has he rendered any thing clear, which before was dubious? No such thing; all he says is, that upon the Papers he can see nothing to impugn the honour and character of the noble Marquis, and that, in consequence, he must vote in favour of the original resolution. Now I would ask the hon. the Director, has he read the Papers upon which he says that he is acting? (*Great uproar, and cries of "Order" and "Question."*) I make this inquiry, because to me it appears questionable how any one, who really has read them, can come to the conclusion, at which the hon. Director professes that he has arrived. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) The last Director but one, who addressed you on the same side, alludes, in justification of his vote, to one or more passages in the letters of 1821. Now in 1821 these transactions wore a very different complexion. When is it that Sir C Metcalfe tells you that he first discovered the real nature of these nefarious proceedings at Hyderabad? It was in 1823—(*Cries of No, no*)—I repeat that it was in that year, so that it was two years after those letters were written that Sir C Metcalfe discovered the terms of that nefarious loan to the Nizam's Government; (*hear, hear, and a laugh;*) and the painful,—nay, with what language ought I not to

brand such conduct,—the shameful seduction of Mr. Hans Sotheby from his official duties? (*Hear, hear, and continued laughter.*) We have been referred by an hon. Proprietor, with slogular skill and dexterity, but not altogether with the same fairness, to a letter written by Mr. Adam in Feb. 1821. What says the hon. Proprietor to the letter from the same quarter, written in 1823? I assert that it is impossible for any man to read the minutes of the Council, aye, even the minute of the noble Marquis himself, stating his reprobation of these transactions, and his reprehension of the conduct of the former Resident at Hyderabad, without seeing that it was then that the Court of Directors first arrived at a knowledge of the guilt of these parties. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I say guilt—for guilt it was, deep, heinous, detestable, disgraceful to the British name, and degrading to human nature. (*Great uproar in the Court.*) I am speaking of the conduct of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. (*Hear, hear.*) The evasive affidavit which they made shows their guilt, and indeed is the strongest evidence of it. When was this deceptive affidavit first brought before the notice of the Court of Directors? (*Hear, hear.*) It was known to the Marquis of Hastings long before it was communicated to any one else; it appeared decisive to his mind, and yet it was kept back by him for many months, not only from the Court of Directors, but also from his colleagues, the Members of Council in Bengal. (*Hear, hear.*) Look at the language of the Court of Directors, when they first became acquainted with its contents. It was strong and emphatic, but not more strong nor more emphatic than the occasion required. It was the language of honest indignation justly excited,—it was the language of nature speaking its best and noblest feelings,—it was such language as they were bound to use, if they had any regard to their duty, and were anxious not to betray the interests committed to their charge. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) The only signature which I find to their letter is the signature of Mr. Pattison,—that Mr. Pattison, whose energies are paramount every where, and who led as he pleased the mild Gentleman, the late Sir Thomas Reid, I believe, who then acted as Chairman of your body. Mr. Pattison, I now find, is one of the dissenting Directors. (*Hear, hear.*) I could wish to know who were the other Directors

who signed that letter in 1821, which bears his name. I find that you, Mr. Chairman, were not at that time in the Direction, and you, therefore, could have nothing to do with it. How delightful then must be your feelings in now coming forward, in 1825, to vindicate the past measures of Mr. Pattison from Mr. Pattison's own reproaches, and in placing on record that which he now thinks he does not deserve,—an approval of his former conduct! (*A laugh.*) Mr. Pattison,—(*Order, order.*)—well, if it be irregular to mention any Gentleman by name, I will designate the party to whom I allude by calling him the dissenting Director. (*A laugh.*) The dissenting Director, then, uses language which to me seems most extraordinary in that protest which has been so loudly, and, I will add, so unjustifiably eulogized in this Court. (*Loud cries of Order, Question, and Hear.*) I repeat the words, most unjustifiably eulogized,—for if ever I saw a paper that was improperly, nay, that was impertinently worded towards the Court of Directors, it is the protest of Mr. Pattison. (*d.*) (*Great impatience exhibited by the Court.*) It contains many insinuations against the motives of the Court of Directors; it deals in strong reflections on the conduct of one of your agents abroad; it characterises Sir C. Metcalfe in terms which affect his character, and sully his honour. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I speak only of this protest. I do not say that he has forfeited his character, or sullied his honour—God forbid—I do not believe it, and I do not say it; but this protest says so, and not only says so of him, but of other of your public officers, which it places in a dubious, and, I perhaps ought to add, in an injurious light. Looking, however, to the letter of 1821, what says the dissenting Director of it? Why, in his letter of 1824 he says, that it proceeded from a perturbed and wrangling spirit, which it would have done well to quiet; a de-

(*d.*) Mr. Rigby is no doubt an admirer of Mr. Adam's and of Captain Maxfield's views on the same subject.—Mr. Adam says it is a gross insult in any man to offer any remarks on the acts of those in power.—Captain Maxfield thinks it almost derogatory from the dignity of the Directors, for Proprietors to pass any opinion on them; and Mr. Rigby thinks it impertinent in a Director himself to word a strong protest against the acts of his colleagues! It is difficult to say, which is the superlative of these axiom-

scription which in my opinion rather belongs to his last than to his first letter. (*Hear, hear.*) The letter of 1821, which I repeat is signed by the dissenting Director alone, is so severe and pointed in its language, that it could not fail to offend any man of common sensibility, much more a man of the fine feelings and the sensitive honour which belong to the Marquis of Hastings. When I look to the character of that distinguished individual, I see it, through a long series of years, celebrated for high and romantic notions of honour; I see it celebrated for courage, generosity, loyalty, and every great and chivalric virtue; but I see it at the same time labouring under the imputation of thoughtlessness and imprudence, and highly rated as it is, staided—(*Loud cries of Order, Question, &c.*) His character, I repeat, is free from any speck of dishonour. (*Hear, hear.*) I am not imputing dishonour to the noble Marquis, but I am imputing to him a want of prudence, (*Great uproar in the Court.*) that want of prudence which branded with merited infamy the character of Lord Bacon, who, when he was brought up for judgment on account of the scandalous practices which had prevailed in his Court—(*Loud and continued interruption.*)

Sir JOHN DOYLE rose to order.—I am sorry to interrupt the honourable Proprietor, but I am sure that the Court will be of opinion with me, that he is now wandering into topics which are utterly unconnected with the present discussion. You are met, Gentlemen, to consider, not how my noble friend may have managed or mismanaged his own private affairs, but how he may have managed or mismanaged yours. The honourable Proprietor is now entering into the first of these questions and neglecting the last. I must therefore call upon the Chairman to say, whether he thinks the honourable Proprietor is or is not in order.

The CHAIRMAN.—I would willingly have abstained from settling this point of order; but as the honourable and gallant Baronet has appealed to me so pointedly, I have only one course to pursue, and that is to perform my duty. I think that the honourable Proprietor is in order; (*hear, hear.*) for having heard one honourable Proprietor, without interruption, draw a long comparison between the character of Lord Nelson and that of the noble Marquis, I cannot see how I can prevent another from instituting a comparison between

the same character and that of Lord Bacon. (*e*) (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. RIGBY proceeded.—I can assure the honourable and gallant Officer that I meant no disrespect to his noble friend, when I ventured to compare him with Lord Bacon; a comparison which I felt myself entitled to make, and of which I should conceive that no man ought to be ashamed, who recollects that notwithstanding the imprudence of which Lord Bacon stood convicted, his accuser Sir William Philips said of him, "Being skilled in science and in arts as he is, I shall say no more of him, because I feel that it would be impossible for me, let me say what I would, to say enough." (*Hear, hear.*) It is thus that I would speak of the gallantry and generosity of the noble Marquis. I would join in the glowing panegyrics which have already been bestowed upon this part of his character, were I not aware that they must all prove inferior to that which they are intended to enact. And, besides, I must remind you that it is not of his character in these respects that we are now called upon to speak, but of his character as it appears from the Papers before us. Now, without reflecting on his honour,—and I contend that your amendment does not reflect upon his honor,—I must be permitted to say that the noble Marquis has been guilty of some imprudence. (*Hear, hear.*) If you look to p. 47, you will find that he almost avows as much himself. For Mr. Stuart, in apostrophizing the noble Marquis, alludes to his declara-

(*e*) Here is the same "vulgar error," which we before noted, again repeated. The Chairman says, "Because I have heard one man's wanderings from the question, therefore a second man has a right to make others hear his wanderings also." In a public assembly, an audience may choose to hear one man, even when he is not confining himself to the question, because his illustrations may be eloquent or good; and they are patient and silent. But the same assembly may not choose to hear another man, who not only wanders, but disgusts them by his dulness and stupidity. They cry "Order," and it is the duty of the Chairman then to enforce it. But Mr. Astell appears to have only one rule of action, which is this: whoever speaks in favour of the view taken by the Court is in order: whoever opposes that view is out of order. This will explain why the puerilities of Mr. Traut and others, that excite only impatience in the Court, are sure to be protected by the sanction of the Chair.

tion, that he takes a warm interest in the welfare of Sir W. Rumbold, and says, that the opportunity of gratifying the partialities of private friendship is one of the sweetest rewards attendant on the toils and anxieties of power. Now the real question is, have not the partialities of private friendship been carried too far in this particular case? Looking at these Papers, I am compelled, however reluctantly, to answer that question in the affirmative; (*Hear, hear.*) I say that they have been carried too far, and I refer for the proofs of it to the documents before you. Let us consider the information which Sir C. Metcalfe gives us on the subject. As the character of that Gentleman stands forward in these Papers in a very prominent manner, I may be allowed to premise my observations on this point by saying, that of Sir C. Metcalfe personally I know nothing, though I felt the greatest esteem and respect for his late father. His talents, his abilities, his goodness of heart, (*laughter.*) his eminent qualifications as a statesman and as a philanthropist, predominate in these Papers. Some of his maxims breathe a truly philosophic spirit, and are for the most part finely, elegantly, and beautifully expressed. To those who have poured such a lavish torrent of abuse upon them, I would suggest, that before they abuse them again, it may be as well if they will venture to peruse them. (*Hear, and a laugh.*) His character is not only that of a high and talented, but also that of a good and virtuous man. (*Hear, and laughter.*) Have Gentlemen any doubt on this point? I refer them to the language of their own idol, the Marquis of Hastings, who says of him, "I only wish to recal Sir C. Metcalfe to himself, for I am sure that I cannot recal him to any thing better." (*Hear, hear.*) In p. 307, Mr. Bayley gives him credit for firm integrity, sound judgment, honourable principles, and eminent talents. (*Loud cries of Question.*) I cannot but feel that I am speaking to the question, and that too very closely. All the character of these Papers depends upon the manner in which you view the character of Sir C. Metcalfe. (*Hear, hear.*) If he is a partial or a wicked man, I admit that the whole question falls at once to the ground; but I say that he is an honest and an honourable man: so says the Marquis of Hastings, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Bayley, Mr. Adam, and almost all your other high and efficient servants; and if their authority be deserving of respect, then are these

Papers deserving of your approbation. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

Now, Sir C. Metcalfe does full justice to the character of his predecessor in the Residency at Hyderabad. He speaks to the state of the Nizam's country and government; he describes its dilapidated towns and its desolate villages; Mr. Russell does the same; and in the leading features of their respective descriptions there is scarcely any discrepancy. Now, in discussing the loan, which was made to this Native Power, I must trouble you with a few words. (*Loud and reiterated cries of Question.*) The loan to the Nizam is surely the question; if it be not, I know not what is, and will be obliged to any Gentleman who will give me information. (*A short pause, after which Mr. Rigby proceeded.*) It certainly appears that the representations made by the late Resident at Hyderabad were substantially these: what if the money were advanced upon loan, it would extricate the Nizam's Government from its difficulties, and would free his revenue from its embarrassments; that he would be enabled to pay his troops in future, and that he would be placed in such a situation (*loud cries of Question*) as would enable him to furnish his contingent in a suitable and efficient manner. Now, though such were the purposes for which the loan was represented to be advanced, there was abundant evidence to show, that it had been misapplied to pay off another account due from the Minister, Chundoo Loll, to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. (*Immense cries of Question.*)

The CHAIRMAN.—I put it to your candour, Gentlemen, whether this is the mode in which we ought to deliberate? A Gentleman has told us that he has come from a distance, at great inconvenience to himself, to take part in our discussions; will it be to your credit to have it said, that under such circumstances you would not hear him? (*f*) (*Chair, chair.*)

(*f*) We are convinced that some great reform is needed in this respect. All men have a right to be heard: but all men have not a right to speak interminably, nor to inundate their hearers with absurdities. Who, then, must be the judges in cases of doubt? We answer, "the many," in contradistinction to "the few." It is their marked disapprobation which does in the end settle all such points: but it should be exercised in a different manner: a subject on which we may offer a more detailed opinion hereafter.

Mr. RICHY, having obtained comparative silence, proceeded—"I do not wish to give my vote upon this question without assigning my reasons for it; and I trust that, as I am in possession of the same privilege with other Gentlemen, they will extend to me that courtesy which I willingly extended to them, whilst they were exercising their privilege of addressing the Court. Perhaps—I humbly hope that I shall be able to throw a new light upon this question, even though I am compelled, in compliance with the expressed wishes of the Court, to compress the remarks which I had intended to offer to its consideration. I never intended to address you at great length; and as a proof of the sincerity of my declaration, I beg you to observe, that I have refrained from making any references to that mountain of a book which has been so often quoted to you. If I had brought it with me, I could have read to you passage after passage in justification of the several paragraphs contained in the despatches of your Directors. For the first letter, which they wrote upon this subject, is almost prophetic of every thing which has since occurred. It evinces a zeal in your service, and a knowledge of your interests, which are no less creditable to their heads than to their hearts, and shows that they look closely to the spirit of the various Acts of Parliament which have been passed to control these pecuniary transactions with the Native Princes of India, and to remedy the mischief to which they are certain to give rise.—(Hear, hear.) An honourable Director says, that the pecuniary transactions in this instance were justified by the paramount exigency of our affairs. I would ask the honourable Director to point me out any passage in these Papers from which such paramount exigency can be proved? He says that the Governor-General declared, that he granted his license from a principle of state necessity. Now, the grand complaint of the Court of Directors, all through these despatches, is, that the Governor-General's license was not called for by any such paramount necessity as the Act seems to require,—that such license was reserved for cases of most exigent necessity, and that it was granted in this instance without any such exigent necessity existing at all. The question, then, resolves itself into this—did any such necessity, as the Governor-General alleges, exist? I say, that it did not—nay, the Governor-General himself admits that it did not; for he sub-

sequently justifies his conduct by saying that loans are necessary occasionally—that it is right to accustom the Native Princes to them—and that the power of granting a license to permit European subjects to engage in them, must be exercised according to considerations of public expediency. This is the language which the Court of Directors reprobate so strongly, stating it to be the language, not of a responsible, but of an irresponsible Governor, and declaring that it amounts to the assumption of a power to do what he pleases, and to elude all check and control whatever. The letter of the 28th November, 1821, written by the Court of Directors to the Governor-General, is a strong and cogent letter, and not unworthy of the quarter from which it emanated. The answer which the Noble Marquis made to it is upon your records; and after that answer, and after the representations which have been made both here and elsewhere in support of it, I say, that you will perform a public good by sanctioning with your approval the excellent and spirited despatch which called it forth.

Gentlemen have talked—but, to a Court constituted like ours, have talked, I trust, idly—of the risk we run of having our charter forfeited, if we come to such a decision as I have just recommended. I confidently expect that you will not allow yourselves to be intimidated by menaces, come from whatever quarter they may. Justice you ought to do in spite of consequences; and I would say to you, what a great and eloquent lawyer said of old, when complaining, to the senate of his country, of the misrule and misgovernment of some powerful provincial magistrates, "*Fiat iustitia, ruat cælum.*"—(Hear.) That is the advice which I now humbly presume to offer you. I say, "Let our charter be forfeited, if the forfeiture be incurred whilst we are acting in the conscientious discharge of our duty to our country, and in strict conformity with the dictates of justice and humanity." (Hear.) The Government of India is, I need not tell you, a matter of mighty importance, and has repeatedly attracted the notice and consideration of Parliament. Debates of the most interesting and animated description, which have called forth the talent, learning, and eloquence of our most philosophic statesmen, have taken place on the subject of Indian jurisprudence; and from those debates have originated most of the restraints which now exist on the management of India.

If you neglect those restraints, if you allow your Governor-Generals, because they are exalted in rank, to violate them with impunity, you are neglecting your duty to philanthropy, and violating the constitution of your country. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) It was to uphold that constitution, it was to sustain the acts of the legislature, that the despatches, which you are now called on to sanction with your approval, were written by the Court of Directors; (*loud cries of hear, mingled with some laughter.*) I repeat, that it is in the spirit of the British constitution that those despatches are penned; and you will find that the course which they were intended to check—I mean the course pursued by Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. in the Nizam's dominions—was destructive not only of the high character of England in India, (*loud cries of no, no.*) but also of the sacred rights of humanity and justice. (*Repeated cries of No.*) Gentlemen, who object to this assertion, cannot have read the Papers which we are now assembled to discuss. If they had, they would have seen a melancholy account of dilapidated towns, of depopulated villages, and of uncultivated fields; they would have seen the fatal effects of the oppression of Chundoo Loll, under the presence of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co.; they would have seen that the springs of Government were relaxed, that its proceedings were impeded, in a word, that it was rapidly crumbling unto decay, under the unprincipled and exorbitant extortions of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. (*Loud cries of no, no.*) As it is denied, I must request that you will permit your Clerk to read the first paragraph in p. 501. It is part of a letter from the President at Hyderabad to the Secretary to Government, and is dated 19th April, 1823. (*Loud cries of Question.*)

The CLERK then read the following paragraph :

“Several items, it will be observed, are on account of guards, cattle, and other establishments belonging to the Government, in attendance on Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. This requires some notice. The members of the firm of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. (Sir W. Rumbold and Mr. W. Palmer, in a greater degree than others), have been attended on all occasions by guards, cattle, and other establishments, belonging to the Nizam's Government, either permanently or on requisition. The extent to which the practice was carried is indescribable. A message from Sir W. Rumbold or Mr. W. Palmer, for ten or twenty elephants, would be as rea-

dily attended to by the Minister, Chundoo Loll, as one from his Highness the Nizam, if not more so. Sir Wm. Rumbold, on his late journey to Madras, as well as on all former like occasions, was accompanied by a very large travelling establishment, furnished by the Nizam's Government. The same privilege was always asserted by Mr. Palmer, when he moved, and much of the materials for some of that gentleman's entertainments were provided from the same source. His servants, and his servants' servants, might be seen parading on the Nizam's state elephants; and the approach to the Residency has frequently been obstructed, or rendered dangerous to those who use carriages and horses, by the concourse of elephants, belonging to the Government, assembled at Mr. William Palmer's gateway, for his private purposes. Those gentlemen, too, of the European society, who were specially patronized by Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., and chose to accept the favour at their hands, were furnished by the Nizam's Government with guards, cattle, &c., through their application, their influence being thus ungenerously increased at the Nizam's expense. These things cease with the discontinuance of their intercourse with the Nizam's Ministers; and it is one of the advantages of this measure, that it will put a stop to practices which were very disgraceful and disgusting. It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the subservency of the Nizam's Minister, in these respects, or the unconscionable abuse of it by Messrs. W. Palmer and Co.

Does the Court remark the language of the letter which has just been read to them? After having described the use which this commercial Firm made of the guards, cattle, and other establishments of his Highness the Nizam, and the ingenious manner in which they turned their use of them to the augmentation of their own influence in his dominions, Sir C. Metcalfe adds, “It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the subservency of the Nizam's Government, or of the unconscionable abuse of it by Messrs. W. Palmer and Co.” It forms a very material part of the imputations upon this House, that, after using for their own purposes the guards, cattle, and elephants, of the Nizam, they should charge him over and over again for the use of the money by which he hired those very guards, cattle, and elephants; and not only for the use of that money, but also for the use of the interest accruing upon it. Well, indeed, might the Minister say, that he was charged with “interest upon interest, interest upon interest,” by Messrs.

Palmer and Co. Such was the extortion practised upon him, that it warranted those expressions; aye, and even expressions still stronger. With such extortions, as was natural to expect, the rapacity of the Minister also increased, and was rapidly approaching to that cruel catastrophe which, but for the wise and humane interference of Sir C. Metcalfe, would have ruined the Nizam's country, and entailed a lasting disgrace on the name of England. (*Cheers, and loud cries of "No," mingled with calls for the "Question."*) If Gentlemen are so impatient, I can assure them that they will drive me on much further than I had originally intended to go. I cannot but recollect the many last words of an hon. Bart. I listened to them with the greatest attention; and I ask him to extend to me the same courtesy, that I willingly granted to him. I say, such was the oppression exercised by Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. upon Rajah Chundoo Loil,—oppression of which he complains more than once in no very measured language. I say, too, that it compelled him to visit it with increased force upon his unfortunate country; and I repeat, that that country would have been ruined beyond redemption, but for the prompt and timely succour which Sir C. Metcalfe applied to it. (*Hear, hear.*) Your honourable Court, Mr. Chairman, thought fit to reprehend the conduct which had been pursued by Messrs. Palmer and Co.; you beheld it, as you plainly declared, with feelings of disgust and of indignation. Your feelings must be shared by every man who values the dignity of human nature, and appreciates the honour of the British name. For, if your allies are known to wither under your embraces, and your friends are seen to perish under your protection, what will be thought of you by the other Native Princes of India? They will refer to the condition of the Nizam's dominions; they will point to his desolated fields, to his ruined towns, and to his exhausted finances; and they will say, that all his misery and destitution arose from his having a Minister who was subservient to your influence, and who walked in the trammels of an English merchant, and of his unprincipled associates. (*Great uproar in the Court.*) Such will be said to be the consequences of entering into an alliance with you; and your friendship will in future be denounced as more destructive to its objects than your bitterest hate.

Entertaining these opinions as an Englishman and as a man of honour, considering the various Acts of Parliament which have been passed to restrain the pecuniary transactions of the European subjects of His Majesty with the Native Powers of India, and looking at all that is sacred in humanity, and that is right and just in policy, I feel myself bound to give my vote in favour of the amendment which you, Mr. Chairman, so properly proposed. I must, however, say, that, in explaining my reasons for supporting it, I have not discharged my duty to myself as satisfactory as I could have wished, owing to the conduct of certain Gentlemen, who have thought it consistent with liberality and candour to give me every interruption in their power. I have as much right to address myself to this Court as they have; and it argues little for the goodness of their cause, that they are desirous of drowning, by clamour, every argument that is urged against it. I can assure them, that I am not warped by any feelings of malice to the Marquis of Hastings; I have no wish to find a blot in the sun, (*hear, hear.*) or to dim the lustre of a name, which, for half a century, has been the property of history. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. DOUGLAS KINNAIRD then rose, amid loud cries of "Question," "Reply," "Adjourn," &c. As soon as they had subsided, he addressed the Court as follows:—I rise to address you, Mr. Chairman, at this late hour, because I understand, that at the opening of the Court this morning, you advised the Proprietors not to separate again without coming to a decision, but to persevere manfully to the conclusion of the debate, even though it should be continued till midnight. I cannot wonder, Sir, that after so long and so protracted a discussion, you should be impatient to arrive at its termination; but I think that even you will admit that I should not be discharging my duty, either to myself, to the Marquis of Hastings, or to the Court, if I did not announce, at the outset of my observations, that I must necessarily occupy a considerable portion of its time before I can agree to its separation. (*Hear, hear.*) When I first presented this question, Sir, to your notice, I asked you to give me credit for the sincerity of the declaration with which I accompanied it. I said to you, and I believed what I said, that the proposition which I had drawn up, was incapable of exciting any discussion. In that respect I have not been disappointed. No dis-

cussion has taken place on that proposition; on the contrary, it has met with universal assent, and the anticipation in which I indulged has been fully realized. Notonly have I met with no opponents, but the very words which I used have been taken out of my mouth, and have been incorporated in the amendment, which you, Sir, have formally submitted from the Chair. Therefore, as far as the Marquis of Hastings is concerned, I have no interest in this discussion, for I have no opponents to meet,—I have no contradictions to reconcile,—I have no accusers to refute. (*Hear, hear.*) With your vote, as far as it regards the honour of your late Governor-General, I repeat, I have nothing to do. I came not here to ask you to erect a pedestal for one who has never fallen; I came here to challenge attack upon the character of a noble individual, who stands before the eyes of Europe with pure and unsullied honour. I have met with no attack; I have heard of no imputation: on the contrary, I have met with general assent, and have listened to much panegyric. As far, therefore, as my proposition goes, I cannot, as some Gentlemen have insinuated, have any reproaches to dread from my noble Friend, for having introduced his name, or challenged remark upon his conduct, in order to remove any misconception that may have arisen regarding it, or to reply to any accusations that may have been whispered in the dark against it. I have paid peculiar attention to the manner in which every Gentleman has expressed his sentiments respecting my noble Friend; and I have now the satisfaction of stating, that, after all the different opinions which have been delivered upon these transactions at Hyderabad, I have, with one or two exceptions at the most, met with the concurrence of every speaker in the opinion to which I ventured to challenge the consideration of the Court. Indeed, not one reason which has been given for supporting the amendment, in preference to my original resolution, affects, in the slightest degree, the character of the Marquis of Hastings.

The first Gentleman, Mr. Chairman, who addressed the Court, I will not say, in opposition to my proposition, but in support of a different proposition of his own, was yourself. I understood you, Sir, to acquit my noble Friend of all corrupt or improper motives. I will not do you the injustice of supposing that you joined in the quibbles which have since been mooted upon words;

and I shall, on that account, decline noticing what fell from others about not understanding what was meant by "personal honour" and "personal character." Indeed, when I am talking of such qualifications, I will not condescend to ask lawyers and special pleaders what meaning they attach to the words employed to describe them. (*Hear, hear; and a laugh.*) I think, Sir, that you meant, fairly and honestly, and without any reserve, to acquit the noble Marquis of all corrupt and improper motives. That, Sir, was all I asked you to do. I demanded nothing more. I did not demand of you to say, that every thing he has done is so well done, that it cannot be done better. Can I be so mad as to contend, that, under the circumstances in which the noble Marquis has been placed, it is impossible for any man to have acted with greater wisdom or with sounder policy than that which he has displayed? Am I even so dishonest as to say that you, Mr. Chairman, and your colleagues in the Direction, might not be right in sending the letters which you did to him, on the imperfect information which you had at the time of writing them? In very truth, Sir, there is not a single act in my own life of which I will affirm, that I shall not have occasion to disapprove, when future circumstances shall come within my knowledge. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) For you, Sir, and your colleagues, there is every excuse, if you formerly came to a wrong determination. You are corresponding with a distant Government, to which you cannot send out, and from which you cannot receive, the slightest message in less than six months;—you have been told repeatedly in the course of this debate, first, how difficult it is to get correct intelligence in India of what is passing at a distance from the seat of administration; and, next, how difficult it is, from the nature of your regulations, and the multiplicity of your transactions, to find time for inserting that intelligence, when it has been obtained, in the despatches which are sent home to you; and with these difficulties before you, with the chance of your obtaining intelligence that is incorrect, either from the omission of your local governments, who send it to you, or from the imperfect information of those who collect it for them, is it to be contended that you are never hurried into the formation and promulgation of opinions which better information shows to be incorrect, and which your own kind

feelings render you happy to retract? (*Hear, hear.*) The Court of Directors must rely on the representations of the Bengal Government; and the Bengal Government must, in its turn, rely on the representations of the persons whom it has accredited to the different powers of India. Do I accuse the Bengal Government of acting wrongly in believing the statements transmitted to them by their Residents? Quite the reverse. I say, that they are bound to take those statements as correct till they are proved to be otherwise. I do not blame the Bengal Government for believing Sir C. Metcalfe; nor do I blame the Court of Directors for believing Mr. Adam. I have not accused Mr. Adam, though several of his friends in this Court seem to think that I have. When I bring an accusation against him,—and I do not say that I have any accusation to bring,—they may depend upon it, it shall not be contained in dark hints, covert insinuations, or doubtful innuendoes, but shall be distinctly stated, in a plain and open and unvarnished detail of facts. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) But, though I do not blame Mr. Adam for believing Sir C. Metcalfe, I must be permitted to make this observation: that, having received from Sir C. Metcalfe accusations against the Firm of W. Palmer and Co., he did, in two days afterwards, without waiting for any investigation, or hearing the accused parties in their defence, decide upon them under a mistake. The accounts which he transmitted to the Court show that he did decide upon them. Do I say, that Mr. Adam was wilfully and knowingly wrong in that decision? No such thing. Had he looked at their books, I think he must have instantly discovered his error; no man at all conversant with figures, who has looked at them, can fail to see how it has arisen; he did not, however, look at them, but decided at once against Messrs. Palmer and Co., from the confidence he placed in the representations of Sir C. Metcalfe. Mr. Adam, in the regular discharge of his duty, communicated that decision to you; and if, upon receiving his communication, you instantly wrote a despatch, approving of what he suggested, I do not blame you, though I perhaps may wish that you had not been so hasty. The case, however, assumes a different complexion, if, four or five years after the writing of that despatch, and those which followed it, you call upon me to approve of what you then did, when you have

other and better information at your command, and when circumstances have come to your knowledge, and to mine too, which give a different colour to the whole transactions. (*Hear.*) Am I bound to give you the same implicit confidence which I gave you before? Or, am I not called upon to exercise my own judgment, and to decide for myself upon the facts which are regularly placed before me in evidence? The answer is plain. I am not obliged to sacrifice my honest opinions before the shrine of your consistency. (*Hear, hear.*) If you demand my approbation, you must show me that you deserve it; and if you do not deserve it, you must not complain if I state my reasons for withholding it from you. I take this opportunity, however, to declare, that in bringing forward the proposition which I have done, I had no wish to bring on a discussion of this character. I had no other motive than to challenge attack upon the character and conduct of the Marquis of Hastings; and I challenged that attack, because rumour, which I cannot meet, on account of the various shapes and figures it assumes, was stated as the foundation of your opposition to the just claims which he has upon you for further remuneration. I congratulate the Court on its having unreservedly made an admission, which all the world anticipated from its justice,—that no imputation of corrupt motives can be truly alleged against my noble Friend. It is no less creditable to the Court which makes, than it is to the party who deserves it. I am sure that it will be attended with consequences that will be a source of encouragement to others, and a benefit to yourselves. Never will you have cause to repent it. (*Hear, hear.*) Why an idea has been conjured up in your minds, that it is necessary for you to have some vote of this Court to support your character, when you are doing nothing more than justice to the character of another; why you should suppose, that, unless the acquittal of the Marquis of Hastings is accompanied by an acquittal of yourselves also, you will have the justest grounds for reproach and condemnation,—I cannot, for my life, understand. I protest, on your behalf, against such a notion. (*Hear, hear.*) I say, that your character stands in need of no such adventitious protection; I say, that it is ridiculous to suppose that you are obliged to come forward in your own defence, when you are not attacked, or that you cannot

do justice to the Marquis of Hastings, without passing a sentence of condemnation upon yourselves. (*Hear.*) What protection is it that you want? nay, what protection is it that you will derive from the success of your amendment? If you think that it will give you any, I, for one, will not vote against it. If you wish the public to infer from it, that you have the implicit confidence of the Gentlemen whom I see around you, be it so—I have no objection; on the contrary, I will allow that you have it as largely as you please; but if you think that the carrying of the amendment will bear you out in any errors you may have committed, or that it will mitigate censure if you have deserved it,—which I by no means affirm,—or that it will defend you from any future attacks, you grossly deceive yourselves, without even a chance of deceiving others. (*Hear, hear.*) If you trust to such a broken reed for protection, the world will laugh at you, your enemies will despise you, and this day's debate will be held up to public derision, as a proof of your consciousness of your own weakness, and as a signal mark of your inexcusable folly. (*Hear, hear.*)

In making the remarks I have offered to you, I have had no wish to cast imputation upon any man. Several Gentlemen who addressed you have called themselves the friends of individuals against whose conduct they anticipated attacks; and if I may judge from expressions which dropped from some of them, have even been disappointed that such attacks have not been made. (*Hear, and a laugh.*) Other hon. Proprietors have announced that whenever Mr. Adam shall return to England, he shall meet with protection from them, and shall not be exposed to the fury of his enemies, without the presence of friends to participate his danger. For my own part, I should be sorry to attack any man who had not the fair protection of his friends, and I hope that in case Mr. Adam or Sir C. Metcalfe should hereafter be called upon to answer for the conduct which they have unfortunately pursued, individuals will not be wanting to their proper and legitimate support. (*Hear, hear.*) At the same time I must remind those honourable Proprietors, that in making attacks upon the conduct of public men, Gentlemen ought to be supposed to act without any personal feelings, except those of regret, at being obliged, by their sense of duty, to come forward to injure the feelings of others. (*Hear,*

hear.) I can safely say, I bear all will against those who have cast imputations upon the motives either of my noble Friend or myself. I wish, however, that, instead of dealing with those hidden springs of human action, which can only be known to each man and to his conscience, they would refer to the overt acts we have committed, when they are anxious to gratify their taste for reproach and propensity to accusation. (*Hear.*) I again repeat, that after what has passed in the course of this discussion, I have no particular wish to go to a vote; but as I have been asked, after proposing to you a vote upon one question, to give a decided and positive vote upon something else, I must beg leave to address a few words to you, upon the resolution which has been proposed as the amendment on my own. I am called upon to approve certain despatches of the Court of Directors, because I challenge attack upon the character of the Marquis of Hastings! (*Hear, hear.*)

I wish to say nothing unkind of you, Mr. Chairman, but I must ask you, what is the effect of the amendment you have suggested? You have made a question that was limited for a particular purpose open and indefinite in extent,—a question, be it observed, that was not of my creation; but which arose in consequence of an hon. Proprietor's stating that he would not enter upon the consideration of the general conduct of the Marquis of Hastings, till his particular conduct in this transaction had undergone examination. (*Hear.*) The consequence was, that these Papers were ordered to be printed, and when printed, were laid upon your table. The hon. Proprietor, when the matter had proceeded thus far, declined, for some reason or other which I do not know, and will not pretend to explain, to proceed any further with it. I then took it up, first of all, because I found no other person willing to do so; and secondly, because I was anxious to get rid of an obstacle to our consideration of the general conduct of my noble Friend. If the obstacle should, in your estimation, appear a solid obstacle, then away, I say, with the Marquis of Hastings, and let us hear no more of his claims; but if it should appear either a trivial or an unfounded obstacle, then away, I say, with the obstacle itself—let us hear no more of it, but proceed to do justice to one of our most gallant and distinguished servants. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I came down to this Court with

a proposition to that effect, when up rose the hon. Chairman, with; I will not say, an ingenious,—for that is not my meaning,—but with a curious amendment, not opposing the substance, but frustrating the effect of my resolution, calling upon you to declare that the dignity of the Court of Directors stands in need of your support. If he had said, “get rid of the proposition of the hon. Proprietor, and then take up the consideration of that which I submit to you,” I should allow that he had acted not only fairly, but rightly, in so addressing you. I know and feel for the situation of men who, from the great variety of business which comes before them, are obliged to write in a hasty and a hurried manner, and I should not have blamed him for so calling upon you to approve the measures which he and his colleagues had sanctioned with their approbation. It would have been a fair subject of discussion, and nobody could have objected to entering into the consideration of it, if it had been brought forward at a proper season. But mark, Gentlemen, the effect which this amendment has produced, by being proposed on the present occasion. There has been no discussion about the honour or honesty of the Marquis of Hastings. (*Hear.*) It has been universally admitted to be unimpeachable. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) But then the kind Gentlemen who proposed the amendment, and were above making any innuendoes, have got themselves into the situation of Mrs. Caudour, and may say, in language similar to hers, “I like the Marquis of Hastings well enough myself, but I don’t know how it is, that I can’t get any of my friends to like him.” (*Hear, and a laugh.*) They have opened a wide field of discussion, into which every gentleman has entered and rioted at will, and have not only led us into debate upon the policy of the noble Marquis, which I carefully excluded from this question, not because I was afraid of meeting them upon it, but because I thought a more convenient time might be selected for it, but also upon the policy of many of his subordinate agents. There is not one part of the Hyderabad Papers which has not been open to the remarks of some Proprietor or another, and we have had statement and counter-statement upon them, filled with all kinds of criminous observations, not merely on the individuals who are now before the Court, but also

upon others whose conduct has not yet been brought under its consideration. In what a situation then am I placed? For here I feel it necessary to make an apology to you for proceeding any further. As far as the Marquis of Hastings is concerned in this debate, I am satisfied with it, and so too, I am sure, will the noble Marquis be himself, for he has neither met with accuser nor with accusation. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I am compelled, however, as other Gentlemen have forced the whole of these Papers upon the notice of the Court, and in a way which Gentlemen now residing in India will be shocked to see, when they behold the strange misconceptions which prevail in England regarding their method of transacting business, and the monstrous misstatements which have been made respecting it in this Court—conscientiously made, I believe, in many instances, but still so absurd as to be undeserving of the grave consideration, and the length of time we have patiently wasted upon them. I am compelled, I say, to follow in the track they have beaten out for me, and to enter into that investigation which they, and not I, have rendered necessary. (*Hear, hear.*) I have given the best pledge of my sincerity upon this question, not so much in coming here to express my opinions in fleeting speeches, which are often made to catch the humour of the hour, and to obtain a mere momentary applause, as in committing them to print, where they assume a permanent form, and are liable to minute criticism and constant investigation. (*Hear.*) If I have erred in reasoning, my error can be corrected; if I have misstated facts, my misstatement can be pointed out. (*Hear.*) But believing that I have not erred in reasoning, nor been guilty of any misstatement of facts, I shall proceed to re-assert, as concisely as I can, the sentiments which I have elsewhere expressed.

I shall, first of all, consider what the facts are which are now before the Court; and I shall there endeavour, as I detail them, to refute (for it will be the shortest mode of doing it) the various contradictions which have been offered to them by different speakers; trusting that before I have done, I shall satisfy the majority of them that they have been labouring under many very essential and important mistakes with regard to these transactions. (*Hear, hear.*) I complain, then, in the first place, that the

transactions in 1814 have never been fairly brought before the notice of the Court. The first sanction, countenance, or protection, granted by the Bengal Government to the house of William Palmer and Co. of Hyderabad, was given on the 22d of April 1814, and was given solely for the establishment of a house of business for banking and agency transactions, and for the supply of timber, for the purposes of ship-building, from the forests on the banks of the Godavery, which abound in timber of a superior size and quality. That sanction was communicated to the Court of Directors on the first of March 1815, and was approved of by them, on the 20th of Nov. 1816, in a letter couched in these terms:

'We observe, by an enclosure referred to in this paragraph, that the Governor-General in Council has authorized the Resident at Hyderabad to afford every proper degree of countenance to the proposed commercial establishment of Messrs. Palmer and Co. in the Nizam's dominions, to which we are not aware of there being any objection.'

The next transaction, to which I must call your attention, is the letter of the Marquis of Hastings to Sir W. Rumbold. Nobody has remarked that this is the only part of the whole correspondence which gives an apparent sanction to the imputation of corrupt motives to the Marquis of Hastings, or upon which such a charge against him can be at all founded. The Marquis of Hastings was addressed by Sir W. Rumbold on the propriety of his becoming a partner in the house of W. Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad. The Marquis, in reply to his letter, wrote another, discouraging the proposition on account of the difficulty which arose in carrying it into execution, in consequence of the manner in which the fortune of his ward, Lady Rumbold, had been settled. Both these letters, he it remarked, are produced by Sir W. Rumbold. (*Hear, hear.*) If there be any thing improper in the production of them, I alone am responsible for it. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) Though others may blame me for it, I have the satisfaction of knowing that the Marquis of Hastings does not. (*Hear, hear.*) I am at liberty to state distinctly that he approves of their being produced, because he is anxious that every thing he has to do with these transactions should stand plainly and undisguisedly before you. (*Hear, hear.*) I know that it has been stated to Sir W. Rum-

bold that he acted imprudently in following my advice upon this subject. I still think that he did not, and I will shortly tell you why. When these letters were first shown to me, I told him that I would rather have him submit to the cavils, which their production would create, than risk the judgment of the British Public on an incomplete and an imperfect case. I told him that the production of them would be manifest proof that he had no desire to keep back any evidence; and that the public would infer, and infer justly, from the existence of such a disposition on his part, that there was no part of the transactions in which he had been engaged that would not bear investigation. These were the grounds of the advice which I gave to Sir W. Rumbold, and even now I do not regret that he followed it. (*Hear, hear.*) Look now, I beseech you, at the foundation of all these calumnies against the noble Marquis. First of all, it was said the noble Marquis had made use of the fortune of his ward, Lady Rumbold. If he had made use of it, and had then granted this license to the commercial house with which her husband was connected, to indemnify him for his loss, there was a motive for his conduct palpably and directly corrupt; but that he had not committed either of these faults is proved by the undoubted evidence of these letters, which I shall hereafter have occasion to read to you.

The next letter to which I have occasion to advert is that of Mr. De Freis, of Madras, containing his opinion with regard to Sir W. Rumbold's joining the house at Hyderabad. Sir W. Rumbold transmitted that letter also to the Marquis of Hastings. You will see, from that circumstance, that it required some persuasion to overcome Lord Hastings's reluctance to the junction of Sir W. Rumbold with the Hyderabad house of business. You will see also another proof of it in the noble Marquis's letter to Sir W. Rumbold, to which I have before alluded. For what does the noble Marquis say? I beg you to attend to his language—for it is very remarkable. "You talk of borrowing the sum which you are to advance for a share in the firm." I ought to have stated to you, that the noble Marquis, in a previous part of the letter, had told Sir William that he had been conversing with Sir Edward East respecting his affairs, and that Sir Edward East had informed him, that he

was decidedly of opinion that he (the Marquis of H.) would not be justified in assenting to the embarking any part of Lady Rumbold's fortune except in Government securities. After mentioning that he was not sure whether Sir William, though he looked to the direct operation of that principle, had taken into calculation its indirect effect, his Lordship adds, "You talk of borrowing the sum which you are to advance for a share in the firm. How can you do that without security to pledge?" A very proper question;—for Sir W. Rumbold had an idea, that, though he could not appropriate his wife's fortune to the purposes of this firm, he might raise money upon it as a security,—a thing which we bankers are well aware that he could not do. His Lordship proceeds:—

"Your own money cannot be made that security, because that would be to subject it to the very risk which Sir Edward East regarded as illegal. If this be not an obstacle, I ought to suggest, for your consideration, a point to which you probably have not adverted. You do not only hazard the sum which you place in the firm, but any one of the partners is individually liable, to the whole extent of his property, for the debts of the house."

This is that liability which all these new companies that are springing up in every direction are anxious to evade; they want, as Sir W. Rumbold did, to be only liable for the amount of the capital they advance, instead of being liable to the whole extent of their fortunes. It is a serious consideration; and as such, the Marquis of Hastings places it under the view of Sir W. Rumbold. His Lordship then goes on to observe:—

"Any accumulation, therefore, which you might make, with the view to comfort hereafter in England, would be exposed to that danger. I state this only for your reflection. I am not competent to form a judgment, satisfactory to myself, of the advantage or peril of your engaging in the business."

Now mark what follows:—it shows that the noble Marquis counselled Sir William to seek the advice of some individual more conversant with commercial affairs than he himself was. His Lordship proceeds:—

"A man of greater worth and honour than John Palmer nowhere exists, if universal testimony is to be relied upon, and he is unquestionably of strong talents: on the other hand, he has the character of speculating in commerce to an extent disproportioned to his capital."

I did not hesitate to advise the publication of this part of the letter, because I knew that the character of John Palmer was placed far beyond the reach of any reproach, and carried as much weight with it in India, as that of Mr. Baring, or of Mr. Rothschild, carries with it in the continent of Europe. (*Hear, hear.*) Had it been the character of a less eminent man, I might have felt some delicacy about publishing such a reflection; but in this instance I considered it would be an idle affectation of it to withhold any part of his Lordship's opinion regarding the character of a man who is so well known and so universally esteemed as John Palmer. (*Hear.*) His Lordship then observes:—

"This opinion may be only the loose guess of the uninformed, or the misrepresentation of the envious; still having heard it advanced by a person whose situation gave him a special view of the commerce of Calcutta, I am bound to impart it to you. Whether the house of Hyderabad is in such acknowledged connexion with the house of John Palmer in Calcutta, as that the one can be responsible for the other, I am not able to say. That fact would be a material consideration."

Now mark again; so far is the noble Marquis from thinking that Sir W. Rumbold is in the certain way to make a rapid fortune by his connexion with the house of William Palmer and Co., that he says to Sir W. Rumbold, if not in words, at least in substance, "I hope you have got the guarantee of John Palmer to the proceedings of the house with which you are going to connect yourself." And again, as if to show that he had used every exertion to dissuade Sir William from this undertaking, he writes to him that he had better go and consult Sir Edward East. His words are:—

"Your best procedure will be to consult Sir Edward East. The kindness of his disposition will ensure you against his thinking it intrusion; and his judgment is so sure that you would have perfect comfort in relying on it."

So much for the first of the noble Marquis's letters to Sir W. Rumbold. I come now to the second letter, the last words of which have been uniformly read by every gentleman who got up to support the amendment. This is a most important letter, and I beg your attention to the remarks I have to make upon it. I shall begin with the last sentence of it, which is as follows:—

'It is on the ground of the service to the Nizam, at the request of our Resident, that I have consented to let the good wishes of Government for the prosperity of this firm be signified. No new establishment could have such a plea.'

Now I would ask you to consider why this sentence is introduced? By itself it appears extraordinary, but does it continue to appear so when considered with the context? Horne Tooke has somewhere declared that he wrote his *Έρεα Πρεβερτα* because he once saw a jury deprive an individual of £10,000 by mistaking the meaning of the word "but" in a deed. The circumstance, he said, convinced him that these small particles were worth understanding, since such important consequences followed from their being misunderstood. Now, if the Marquis of Hastings had attended to Horne Tooke's remark, and had placed the little monosyllable "for" at the head of the sentence I have just read to you, it would have been impossible for any man, however desirous he might be, to mistake his meaning. Take then the sentence, with this addition, and connect it with that which precedes it, and they will run together thus:—

'Perhaps a more distinct benefit may attend the firm, from the consequent discouragement to competition with you by any other British partnership, to which a similarly professed sanction would not be granted; for it is on the ground of the service to the Nizam, at the request of our Resident, that I have consented to let the good wishes of Government for the prosperity of this firm be signified. No new establishment could have such a plea.'

I challenge your literary critic, your weigher of words, and your balancer of syllables, to meet me on this subject; and I say, without fear of his convicting me of error, that one of these sentences is necessary to the explanation of the other. (*Hear, hear.*) The obvious meaning of them is, that no other British house would be likely to compete with them at Hyderabad, because no other house would have the same title of public service on which Messrs. Palmer and Co. founded their claim for the sanction of the British Government. (*Hear.*) I therefore contend that the assertion, that the Marquis of Hastings intended by this letter to give exclusive privileges to the house of W. Palmer and Co. is untrue, and that it cannot be justified by any grammatical interpretation which can be

put upon the language which it contains. (*Hear, hear.*)

I must now inform you that in 1815 Sir W. Rumbold became a partner in the House of W. Palmer and Co., and that, in July 1816, a license was granted to it, exempting it from the penalties of the Act of the 37th of Geo. III. in order to enable it to have pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's Government. Not only the Marquis of Hastings, but also Mr. Edmonstone, Mr. Seton, and Mr. Dowdeswell, put their signatures to that license, all agreeing fully as to the propriety of it in 1816, and resting it on the same public considerations as led them to give the countenance of Government to the House in 1814. What do these Gentlemen do, when they write in 1817 to the Government at home an account of this transaction? They state simply and fairly that the House of W. Palmer and Co. had had large pecuniary dealings with the Government of his highness the Nizam, by virtue of a license, which they had granted to it; and the Court of Directors in replying to this statement observes:

'Your license may be within the cases contemplated by the Act of Parliament, but we doubt it, as it is a general license without a special case of necessity, and without limit; moreover, we do not approve of its being granted to Messrs. Palmer and Co.; and, therefore, we positively direct that immediately upon the receipt of our despatch you revoke and cancel it.'

Before I proceed to comment upon the expediency and justice of this order, I beg leave to call your attention to the Act of the 37th of George III. What, I ask, were the evils which that Act was passed to remedy? They were these:—British subjects went into the provinces—lent money to the Native Princes—got the revenues of districts assigned to them for payment—and thus usurped possession of the country, not merely without advancing any objects of British policy, but sometimes absolutely interfering to check and retard them. (*Hear.*) By this system they frequently involved the Government in quarrels with the Native Princes, and brought great scandal upon the name and character of England. The Act, which was passed to control transactions of this nature, contemplated the possibility of their being sometimes necessary and useful. It left a door open for them by placing a discretionary power to license them under circumstances of emergency,

not only in the hands of the Governor-General of Bengal, but also in those of each of the Governors of our two other Presidencies. Now what is it that the Governor-General in Council did in this particular instance? He availed himself of the discretion which the Legislature had granted him, under circumstances of emergency. The question, therefore, suggests itself, Did those circumstances amount to a case of fit emergency? That point is not so clear that the child who runs may decide it. But what did the Governor-General in Council do, when it presented itself to his notice? He referred it to the Advocate-General, and that Gentleman, your first law officer in India, being satisfied that the interests both of the dominions of his Highness the Nizam and of the hon. Company would be promoted by the success and security of the pecuniary transactions of Messrs. Palmer and Co., drew up that license which has been so loudly denounced as illegal. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) Here I would ask you, what was the condition inserted in it? It is right that you should be acquainted with the nature of it, since, if you saw a disregard of all those ordinary precautions which ought to be demanded from those who are exempted from the operation of any particular rule, you might infer from it a neglect of duty, and might infer again from that neglect of duty the existence of some corrupt and improper motive; (*hear.*) whereas, if you see no such disregard, but on the contrary the exercise of a strict vigilance to prevent the abuse of the exemption which has been granted, you are bound to infer, that every thing has been fairly administered, and that no corrupt motive has ever existed. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) The condition, then, upon which the license was granted runs in these words:

'Provided, however, that the said firm of Messrs. William Palmer and Co. shall at all times, when required so to do by the British Resident at Hyderabad for the time being, communicate to the said Resident the nature and objects of their transactions with the Government, or the subjects of his said Highness the Nizam.'

Now I would ask you, after all the rumours and calumnies which have been abroad to the prejudice of Mr. Russell—after the various insinuations of Sir C. Metcalfe to his disadvantage—after the declarations of Sir C. Metcalfe, that there is an impression on his mind

amounting almost to conviction, that corrupt motives urged him to recommend the House of W. Palmer and Co. to the notice of Government—I would ask you, after all this, whether there is to be found, amid the immense detail of facts which these Papers contain, one single solitary fact, (I do not say a good fact, which cannot be disputed,) but one single solitary fact at all from which Sir C. Metcalfe is warranted to draw his inference or his presumption—no, his positive conviction,—that there was an improper connexion between Mr. Russell and the House of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co.? (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I am not here attacking the conduct of Sir C. Metcalfe; I am only vindicating the character of Mr. Russell, (*hear,*) and it will be hard indeed upon me, if, in discussing this question, I am not permitted to sift and cross-examine the evidence on which it depends. (*Hear.*) I challenge then once more any Gentleman to point out a single fact which will warrant that extravagant assertion of Sir C. Metcalfe, and if any Gentleman can do it, I promise him that I will immediately sit down to allow him to state it to the Court. (*A short pause was made by the Orator.*) As I have alluded to Sir Charles Metcalfe's correspondence, I will here remark, that it consists entirely of notions, rumours, and beliefs, (*a laugh,*) and that it is more completely independent of facts than any other document of a criminatory nature which I ever perused. (*Hear, hear.*) It is also filled with the most wonderful inconsistencies, of which I will merely mention one as an example:—He tells you in one paragraph that he will not believe any Native Gentlemen, and yet in the next he gives you several tales which he has received from them, for no other cause, than that I can perceive, than that they appear to connect Mr. Russell with the Firm of Messrs. Palmer and Co., and in a certain degree to criminate them both. (*Hear, hear.*) Now there being no facts stated in the despatches of Sir C. Metcalfe, but merely an accumulation of rumours, beliefs, insinuations, and innuendoes, we may safely put it out of our consideration, and may proceed to examine how the question stands upon the testimony of others. What, for instance, is the evidence which Mr. Russell gives you? Here let me observe, that the testimony of Mr. Russell, if it be admitted to be trustworthy, is decisive of the question. I grant you, that if it can

be shown that he has been instigated by corrupt motives; it is worth nothing, and that if his evidence be discarded, the whole case must go with it; yes, if you can taint Mr. Russell with anything like impropriety of conduct,—if you can bring before the jury of his country one little fact which can fix upon him the probability of having acted corruptly, a neglect of duty is proved against him which will induce me to abandon the whole case. I say, however, that at present no such neglect of duty has been proved, but quite the reverse. If the dog be dead, and the sheep devoured, it is most probable that the wolf destroyed them, but if the sheep be devoured whilst the dog is with them, and does not bark, it is evident that the wolf is innocent of their slaughter.

Mr. RIGBY here interrupted the hon. Proprietor to inform him, that there was one fact, which had never been contradicted in Sir C. Metcalfe's despatches, and that was, that some members of Mr. Russell's own family had been partners in the House of Messrs. Palmer and Co. [We believe this was the substance of Mr. Rigby's communication; but as it was delivered by him to Mr. D. Kinnaird, near whom he was sitting, in an under tone of voice, we are not sure that we caught it correctly.]

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—The character of all the parties was quite distinct from that of the Resident, and I maintain—

Mr. RIGBY.—It is proved that three persons connected with the Residency, during the time that Mr. Russell was at its head, were members of the House. (*Cries of Order.*) I have only mentioned these facts in consequence of the challenge which the hon. Proprietor threw out to those who thought differently from him on this question.—(*Order.*)

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I am glad that the hon. Gentleman has given me the interruption he has done, as it will enable me, in the course of my speech, to remove an erroneous impression under which he and other Gentlemen, perhaps, with him, are at this moment labouring. I will at present merely remark, that it has been denied by Mr. Russell that his brother, or any member of his family, had any connexion with the House at Hyderabad, and in the absence of all proof, except Sir C. Metcalfe's mere assertion, that denial ought to be deemed conclusive. I will now repeat, that if you can show that

Mr. Russell did not maintain a jealous, vigilant, and active superintendence over the nature and objects of the pecuniary transactions which the Firm of W. Palmer carried on at Hyderabad with the Government of his Highness the Nizam—if you can taint him with any failure in the specific duty he was appointed by the Governor-General in Council to discharge, then you will accomplish that which has not yet been attempted, and will give a new complexion to the whole of these proceedings. But I would ask you, whether the Bengal Government ever displayed any distrust of Mr. Russell's integrity? I call upon the hon. Gentleman who was then a member of it (Mr. Stuart) to give me his attention for a few minutes upon this point. I have no intention to say any thing that can be personally disagreeable to him—indeed, I am so far from wishing to strale any part of his conduct, that I give him credit for the best, and purest, and wisest motives. (*Hear, hear.*) I am only doing an act of justice to him to state, that I think the exemption of any house of business from the ordinary regulations of the Legislature, was a fit and justifiable ground for his paying particular attention to its proceedings, and watching over them with a cautious and penetrating eye. (*Hear.*) The hon. Proprietor said, and I give him credit for his manliness in saying so, that the connexion of Sir W. Rumbold with the House of Palmer and Co. increased the jealousy and aggravated the suspicions which he had before entertained respecting its transactions.

Mr. STUART.—The hon. Proprietor has, unintentionally I believe, put into my mouth stronger expressions than I ever used. All I said was, that I thought the formation of the connexion which he has just described, rendered it necessary for us to use considerable circumspection.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I take it as the hon. Proprietor has stated; and I think that such a declaration of opinion on his part, coupled, as it was, with a determination to act upon it, was a mark of his good feeling and of his upright mind. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) The Court will, however, behold in it a proof that there was a sufficient vigilance exercised by the hon. Proprietor over every thing that was going on at Hyderabad. The hon. Proprietor likewise admitted that he had at one time given ear to certain rumours and insinuations against Mr. Russell; and I think that none of the declarations he has so candidly

made, did him greater credit than that in which he repeated his regret at having ever done so. (*Hear, hear.*) The hon. Proprietor was challenged in Council upon that very point, and he then declared that he considered it as an unworthy degradation of Mr. Russell to exhibit him in the light of a person obnoxious to any suspicion. (*Hear.*) Now, after that declaration, I take it for granted that the hon. Proprietor, who had determined to exercise a watchful circumspection in every thing which regarded the pecuniary transactions at Hyderabad, in consequence of his differing from the policy which had allowed them to be carried on, never stated any suspicions of Mr. Russell's integrity to any person, and that it was not till the year 1822 that they were heard of in Council; when Sir C. Metcalfe, as unnecessarily as unjustly, placed them on record. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) The Court will therefore see that up to the end of the time during which Mr. Russell acted as Resident at the Court of the Nizam, and during which all these pecuniary transactions, which we are now canvassing, took place, there was a jealous superintendent of his proceedings in the person of the hon. Proprietor.

I shall now enter more particularly into the details of these transactions; and in order that you may thoroughly understand them, shall premise a word or two on the condition and administration of the Nizam's dominions. Mr. Russell did not differ from his predecessor Captain Sydenham, as to the mischievous effect of the mode of governing them, adopted at the time when he became Resident. At an early period of his residence at Hyderabad, he discovered that the Government there was in a condition tending rapidly to decay, that it was sinking under its own weakness, and that it must soon break to pieces, if some measures were not taken to prevent it. He saw that there was an original defect in the structure of the administration, which naturally led to a dissolution of all its functions. The Nizam maintained a nominal independence under the permission of our Government, but, in point of fact, was only one of the *factotums* of the Company, as an hon. Proprietor had well observed, since we interposed our advice in every branch of his internal administration. Up to the time, however, of Sir C. Metcalfe, the Nizam, whatever he might be in point of fact, was in name, at least, an independent power, and

that too by an express treaty made with him by Lord Minto. By that treaty it was agreed that the Nizam should choose a nominal Prime Minister, who should take no share in public business; but that we should select an individual who should be the actual Minister, and who should be invested with all the authority of that office. Rajah Chundoo Loll was the individual on whom our selection fell, and was therefore exposed to the hatred of all the parties who were hostile to our ascendancy. The Nizam himself was jealous of his power; and his colleague, who was also his rival, was regularly engaged in secretly counteracting whatever he undertook. Indeed, without our support it would have been impossible for him to have resisted the combinations which were made against them. The hon. Proprietor objected to the manner in which we interfered with the domestic administration of Chundoo Loll, and complained of the yoke we imposed on the Nizam as vexatious to his feelings and disgraceful to his character, acting, as I think, consistently with the eventual safety and tranquillity of India, but inconsistently with the declared views and opinions of the Court of Directors. The hon. Proprietor, notwithstanding all this, subsequently sanctioned a still more direct interference with the Government of Chundoo Loll, and absolutely approved of measures which upset the arrangements into which he had entered. I charge the hon. Proprietor with nothing wrong in so doing; I allude to the circumstance merely as a proof of the dependent condition of the Nizam's Government upon our own, though I will not conceal from you my opinion, that the hon. Proprietor, when he confirmed such conduct, did not view it exactly in the light which was becoming to a wise and prudent statesman. (*Hear, hear.*) The first thing which Mr. Russell had to do with these transactions, is to report to the Supreme Government, for its sanction, an arrangement which the house of Palmer and Co. had made with Chundoo Loll, to furnish 52,000 rupees monthly for the payment of the *Sirkar* horse. I ask the hon. Proprietor, whether at that time he was a member of the Council?

Mr. STUART.—I was not.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—Then the hon. Proprietor is not responsible for any part of this transaction. Now, when this arrangement came before the Council, what was stated to be the ob-

ject of it? To have the troops paid punctually and regularly. The Resident, stated in his report, that the only method of securing that point was that which he had laid before the Council; and the sanction of Government was accordingly granted to it. But was that sanction a guarantee for the repayment of the sum which Messrs. Palmer and Co. advanced? No such thing. Not a question was asked about the terms of the loan; not a word was said about guaranteeing it. Nothing of the sort appeared to have entered the imagination of any of the parties who were engaged in it. Now, I would ask you, is the Marquis of Hastings the only individual who is to be considered responsible for that sanction? Did the other members of Council refuse to join it? Quite the reverse. They all concurred in it—for the raising of the horse was at that time too momentous a question to be treated either with neglect or with indifference. Nobody asked the question as to the particulars of the loan. The Council may, or may not, be to blame for giving their sanction to it under such ignorance; but, at any rate, I contend that there is no ground whatever for imputing blame to Mr. Russell. (*Hear, hear.*)

What is the next transaction to which we come in point of time? The transaction at Aurungabad. At the close of the year 1818, or at the commencement of the year 1819, Mr. Russell reported to the Governor-General in Council, that an arrangement had been made by the Minister Chundoo Loll, with the House of W. Palmer and Co. for supplying him with two lacs of rupees monthly, for the punctual payment of the regular and reformed troops at Aurungabad. Mr. Stuart recorded his objection to that arrangement in a minute which is inserted among these Papers. I am not going to cavil upon the manner in which that minute is drawn up, nor upon the apparent ignorance which it exhibits of the ordinary routine of commercial transactions. Mr. Stuart declares in it, in direct terms: "I think we ought to procure fuller information as to the terms of this loan, in order that we may justly appreciate its merits." The point, thus raised was subsequently discussed in the Council. The Governor-General was of a different opinion from Mr. Stuart. He thought, and other Members of the Council thought with him, that they ought to adhere to the words of the license,

which required of the House to disclose to the Resident, not the terms and particulars, but the nature and object of their pecuniary transactions with the Nizam's Government. The nature and object of such proceedings were matters of public policy, and therefore fit for the attention of the Council; the terms and particulars were matters of private arrangement, and therefore did not fall within its province. Mr. Stuart then objected that this arrangement would give the House of Palmer and Co. too great an influence at Hyderabad—that it would increase their power in the Nizam's country—that it would enable them to have a monopoly in the money market—and that it would allow them to send their servants into the different districts to collect the revenue assigned over to them. As if these objections were not enough, Mr. Stuart added another: "Oh! but the House expect to have the guarantee of Government!" To satisfy Mr. Stuart's scruples, letters were despatched to Mr. Russell, authorising him to make inquiries on these two points—First, Did the House possess any power to interfere in the collection of the revenue in the districts over which they held assignments? and, secondly, Did the House expect any guarantee on the part of the British Government? I call your attention to this latter point, because it formed part of the policy of the Marquis of Hastings not to give it. I wish the Court to be undeceived with regard to it, and to be made fully acquainted that the Marquis of Hastings was, under no circumstances, persuaded to give the guarantee of Government to this arrangement; and that no conjuncture can arise under which Messrs. Palmer and Co. can call upon Government to interfere for the fulfilment of it. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) When the answer of Mr. Russell to the questions submitted to him by the Council came to their hands, it appeared that the House did not interfere in the collection of the revenue of the districts over which they held assignments, and that it did not expect the guarantee of the British Government. Mr. Stuart, then, a second time, expressed a wish to know more of the terms of the arrangement, though it appears that they were at that time well known to some of his colleagues. I find that Mr. Fendall has placed them on your records at 24 per cent. Here let me incidentally notice a purility into which their ignorance of accounts has casually betrayed these sapient

of the East: Sir C. Metcalfe, in one of his prolix and gossiping letters, states, that this arrangement yielded a profit of nearly 50 per cent. If this be so, I, for one, will admit that it is an usurious transaction. But I deny the premises, and therefore protest against the conclusion.

I see how Sir Charles Metcalfe has been led into his error, and am astounded at the ignorance of which it convicts him on the most ordinary occurrence in a banker's transactions. He observes, that in the accounts between Chundoo Loll and the House of Palmer and Co., there was an item charging twenty-four per cent. interest to the Minister, on the over-drawn balance due from him to the House at the termination of the current half-year; he likewise observed, that there was another item, charging twenty-four per cent. on that same unliquidated balance at the termination of the account for the next half-year; and putting these two observations together, he inferred from them that the profit of this arrangement was forty-eight, or nearly fifty per cent. Can any thing be more extraordinary than this erroneous notion of Sir C. Metcalfe? Why the practice which he condemns is the every-day practice of all the bankers in the country. If, in drawing up the account of one of my constituents for the half-year, I find that on the 30th of June he has over-drawn his account, I charge him with interest on it for the current half-year; and if, at the end of the next half-year, the balance against him is still unliquidated, I charge him with interest on it for that half-year also. I am not aware that this, which is a common transaction in banking-houses, is usurious; and yet, upon a transaction of Messrs. Palmer and Co. with Chundoo Loll, similar to it in all its points, has Sir C. Metcalfe raised one of his charges of exorbitant interest,—thereby showing his own ignorance of commercial dealings, and exciting the scorn and indignation of all commercial men. (*Hear, hear.*)

I return, however, to the point from which I digressed. I find, I say, that the terms of this arrangement were not unknown to the Council in 1819; for Mr. Fendall has placed upon the Records a minute which proves that he knew the rate of interest.

Considerable objections were urged in Council against the policy of allowing it to be carried into effect; but, after much discussion, Mr. Adam, Mr.

Fendall, and the Marquis of Hastings, concurred in giving it their sanction, notwithstanding the opposition which was offered to it by Mr. Stuart. I do not pretend to say, at present, which of the parties was right, or which of them was wrong; but I say, here are Mr. Adam and Mr. Fendall, whose words, be it remembered, have not married Sir Wm. Rumbold, (*Hear, and a laugh*), both concurring not only in thinking this arrangement a wise measure, but also in thinking that the accounts of the House ought not to be investigated. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) They had clearly nothing to do with the terms of it; for the rate of interest, as I before remarked, was not a question for the Council. And here let any merchant read the different minutes made by the different Members of it, and refrain, if he can, from suppressing his shame and astonishment at the labyrinth of errors in which they flounder, as soon as they quit the political for the commercial part of the question. The third clerk in any broker's office would have settled, in five minutes, the matter about which they doubted and hesitated so long. The data on which they were to form their calculation are never given, and yet they waste time and paper without limit in contradictions and refutations of each other, on a point so simple that I am almost ashamed to mention it; namely, —Is the rate of interest taken ten or sixteen per cent.? (*Hear.*)

Whilst I am upon this transaction, I cannot forbear reminding you that, before it was brought to a conclusion, Mr. Stuart requested that a reference should be made to the Accountant-General, “for his opinion as to the expediency of the arrangement in a financial view, with reference to the interests of the Nizam's Government, and ultimately, perhaps, of that of the Company.” Now Mr. Russell had distinctly reported that the regular payment of the troops was an important object of British policy, and that he had repeatedly suggested it to Chundoo Loll as the best means of rendering the Nizam's force efficient; that Captain Sydenham, —and I could wish to know whether Captain Sydenham is one of the conspirators of whom we have heard so much; or whether he has a ward married to one of the partners of the House of Palmer and Co.? (*Hear, hear.*) —that Captain Sydenham had originated, and pressed on Messrs. Palmer and Co. the undertaking of these payments; that Messrs. Palmer

and Co. had mentioned to him the plan, and that he had communicated it to the Minister; that he knew the object could be attained by no other means than through the House; and that both the conduct and completion of the arrangement had received his full concurrence. Mr. Russell had further stated, that the guarantee of the British Government had in no respect been given to the House; and that the House had never interfered in the collection of the revenues of the districts over which they held assignments. With all this before him, Mr. Stuart states, that the information furnished by the Resident, was "*more calculated to excite than to relieve anxiety*"; that, while the full details of the accounts of the House, with the Minister were not before the Council, "*all that did appear was calculated to awaken solicitude and doubt.*" Now I beg leave to deny that portion, and to assert, that this loan was, in most points, different from all others; for in all antecedent cases, where the loans to Native powers had been attended with disastrous consequences, there had been no Resident to overlook and control them. I say, that the clause in the license, providing that Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. should at all times, when required so to do by the Resident at Hyderabad, communicate to him the nature and objects of their transactions with the Government of the Nizam, as conclusive proof that the arrangement was contemplated as an exception from all prior cases. I say, too, that it was an arrangement only for a time, and not of that general and unlimited nature which, in other cases, was so injurious. Mr. Stuart complained that no account of the details of it had been received from Mr. Russell. Mr. Stuart ought to have recollected that Mr. Russell, so far from undertaking to furnish information of the particulars of the different pecuniary transactions into which Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. might enter at Hyderabad, had distinctly stated that he could not take upon himself such responsibility. I differ also from Mr. Stuart on another point: he has declared that a guarantee was given to this arrangement by the Government. I assert that it was not. I admit that a strong guarantee was given to prevent the Government interfering against Messrs. W. Palmer and Co.; (*hear, hear.*) but I contend, that the Marquis of Hastings gave no guarantee to interfere further; and that, under no possible circumstances, can a single

farthing be wrong, out of your coffers in consequence of any thing which he has said or done upon this subject. Mr. Stuart made another statement to which I must call your attention. I give him full credit for honesty of intention in every thing he has done. (*Hear, hear.*) I think every person, who has seen the manner in which he has come forward in this question, must have seen that he is a sensitive man, with a mind anxiously alive to the responsibility of his situation; at the same time I think that they must agree with me, that he does appear to have looked only at one side of it, and to have entertained a degree of suspicion and alarm, from the commencement to the end of it, which he need not to have felt, had he recollected that Mr. Russell was an honest and an honourable man. If he was of opinion that Mr. Russell was not an honest and an honourable man, he was right in entertaining suspicion; but then he ought to have avowed it, and to have specified the grounds on which he entertained it. That Mr. Russell is an honest and an honourable man I think every man who has heard his speech, and read his share in these Papers, will willingly acknowledge; but what I am going to read to you from Mr. Stuart's minute will convince you that there was a process going forward in his mind not very favourable to that Gentleman's character. Mr. Stuart, in that minute, says:

'That the circumstance of the Native bankers not being able to make the advances to the Government, and the consequent utter dependence of the Resident and the Nizam, for the regular troops, on the British House of Agency, was sufficiently extraordinary and alarming.'

This sentence, by the bye, is another proof of Mr. Stuart's palpable ignorance of the nature of commercial transactions. I will lend no money of mine to the King of Naples, because I dislike his security; but if Mr. Baring or Mr. Rothschild will negotiate a loan for him, I will lend it to Mr. Baring or to Mr. Rothschild with pleasure. I was at one time as ignorant of the mode of employing money, and of the nature of public credit, as Mr. Stuart now appears to be; but I have grown wiser as I have grown older; and I now know that it is the Baring and the Rothschilds to whom the public give their credit, and not the sovereign for whom they contract. I verily believe that there is not a Neapolitan who would lend a ducat to the King of

Naples, or a Frenchman that would advance a loan to the head of the dynasty of Bourbon. If he was to look either to the King of Naples, or to the King of France for his dividend. No; Mr. Baring must go over to Paris, and Mr. Rothschild to Naples, before the terms and particulars of the loan which these sovereigns are desirous to contract will obtain any attention from the public. And yet if is a circumstance of this nature that Mr. Stuart considers extraordinary and alarming. (*Hear, hear.*) He proceeds, however, to say:

‘That the terms on which a House possessing such advantages over a Government will demand, was a natural subject of solicitude and inquiry: That, although Mr. Russell assured them the terms were more favourable than could have been obtained from Native bankers, they do not know that the terms are not ruinous.’

This, I must remark, is a strong hint for the Court of Directors, and, as you will recollect, was not lost upon them. Mr. Stuart then goes on to observe:

‘That he considers Mr. Russell bound, by solemn obligations of duty, to remonstrate in a manner beyond all doubt and suspicion.’

Mark what follows—is it any thing but calling on Mr. Russell to prove the negative of corrupt motives? (*Hear.*)

‘To remonstrate in a manner beyond all doubt and suspicion, that the measure had originated and was prosecuted from no other motives than a disinterested regard for the welfare of that Government.’ (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. STUART.—Will the hon. Proprietor favour me so far as to read the sentence which follows.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—Certainly, and any other part of the minute which the hon. Gentleman may require.

Mr. STUART.—The next sentence will suffice.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD then read the following sentence:

‘In like manner I judged, that when the arrangement was reported to this Government, we were bound, by obligations equally cogent, to satisfy ourselves that the Resident had fully and carefully performed that duty.’ (*Hear, hear.*)

He then proceeded:—It is curious enough to observe, that though two lacs of rupees were to be issued regularly every month to the troops at Aurungabad, the Native Government only gave the House assignments on

the revenue to the amount of thirty lacs during the whole year; a circumstance, which of itself is sufficient to show that their profits could not be at all exorbitant when the expense and hazard of realising them were taken into consideration. In point of fact, the security offered to the House was not greater than would have been demanded by any banking-house in England. If I lend a sum of money, on which the interest amounts to 1000*l.*, I should demand a rent of at least 1500*l.* a year to be made over to me, and to indemnify me against loss in collecting it, to secure the payment of it. Messrs. Palmer and Co. wished to act upon a similar principle. They advanced twenty-four lacs of rupees to the Minister, and received from him in return assignments to the amount of thirty lacs; and yet, with even such security, these assignments did not produce an amount large enough to pay off the sums which had been lent in anticipation of them. And here I must remark to you, that if the assignments had been regularly paid, the House would have gained nothing by them; for interest was to be charged at twenty-four per cent. on the balance on each side of the account, so that if the assignments had regularly produced what was due to the House, the House would not have been entitled to charge interest upon their advances; and if they had produced more than what was due, the House must have allowed interest to the Nizam's Government, instead of demanding interest from it. And yet notwithstanding this arrangement was notorious to the Council, Gentlemen come down here open mouthed to state, that in 1820 the debt due to the House from the Nizam was so much, and that in 1821 it was so much more, though no fresh sums had been advanced in the interval.

Can Gentlemen really be so careless as to overlook the rapid accumulation of balances on which an interest of twenty-four per cent. is charged? If they will take the trouble to look at the accounts, they will find that, at the beginning of 1820, Chundoo Loh was indebted to Messrs. Palmer and Co. in the sum of thirty-two lacs; that is, eighteen lacs on the Betar Sywar's account, and fourteen lacs on the Aurungabad account, owing to the non-payment of the assignments which had been made over to them.

Whilst this debt was thus increasing, what was the situation of the Minister

himself? He was surrounded by persons jealous of his authority, and angry at the support which it derived from British influence. They knew that he was anxious to reduce the expenses, and to reform the abuses of the state; and the knowledge of that circumstance made them his enemies. Each of them received a sum of money for the support of the troops under his command, and had to provide for them out of the sum which he received, just as our Colonels of Regiments have to provide for their men certain articles out of the allowances which Government makes to them. These individuals, suspecting that their emoluments would be seriously affected by any measures of retrenchment in which Chundoo Loll engaged, were sometimes covertly, sometimes openly, but at all times strenuously combined against his power. It was, therefore, a difficult matter for him, unassisted as he was by Native support, to reduce the debt which was thus accruing. It was, however, subsequently reduced to twenty-nine lacs by the further payment of some of the assignments, which were granted to defray it. What then was the result to the House of these two transactions of 1816 and 1819, both of which were known to the Government, and had received its countenance and sanction? Why, that the Nizam's Government had become indebted to it to the amount of twenty-nine lacs for money advanced by it to the troops in Berar for the support and promotion of British objects. But say the Court of Directors: "How can you talk of the necessity of maintaining these troops in 1819 for the advancement of British objects, when the war was at that time entirely over?" I reply, that the presence of an effective body of troops was requisite at that time in that quarter, and I say so, because in the most difficult part of the Mahratta war, these very troops maintained a position there, which not only enabled our own army to make an advance, but checked and impeded that of the enemy. I state this proposition without fear of contradiction from any individual,—that, if in that almost miraculous concurrence of circumstances, partly providential, and partly the result of my noble Friend's political foresight, which enabled him to avert the danger which at that time threatened our existence in India, any one circumstance can be selected as contributing, I will not say as much, but more than an-

other, to produce that fortunate effect, it was the efficiency of the Nizam's troops in the position which they took up, on coming down between two corps of the enemy, and which they gallantly maintained in spite of all his efforts. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) Had that position been in the possession of a hostile force, and it would have been so but for the efficiency of these troops, the British forces would have been in a situation of the greatest peril. From that peril these advances of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. fortunately rescued us.

Do I ask you to give credit to the Marquis of Hastings for having foreseen that an emergency would arise, in which the regularity of these advances for the payment of these troops, would enable him to hold possession of the fortifications in which they were stationed, and would thereby facilitate the success of his operations in a distant and arduous campaign?—No such thing. I am not so foolish. But if the noble Marquis be so fortunate as to have had singularly beneficial results, arising unexpectedly, from accidental causes, like Pericles, who was such a favourite of Fortune, that she was said to shower cities into his lap whilst he was sleeping,—what a return are you making him for it, when you come down here to cavil and special-plead about his motives (*hear, hear.*) in sanctioning these advances to the Nizam's Government, at a rate of interest which you allege to be exorbitant, and which I maintain to be no such thing! (*Hear, hear, hear.*) I assert, that not only in the transaction of 1816, but also in that of 1819,—and since I have been personally alluded to in this Court as a Banker, I now beg leave to give my opinion as a Banker,—I assert, that the House of Palmer and Co. acted fairly and moderately towards the Nizam's Government; and that the terms which they demanded from it, were such as would have been demanded by any English banking-house in India, under circumstances of similar hazard and difficulty. (*Hear, hear.*) I will go even further, and will say, that there is no transaction of that House, which has yet come to my knowledge, to which I would not willingly write my name, 'Douglas Kinnaird', as an honest English banker. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)

I now come to the third transaction, I mean the sixty-lac loan. At the end of the year 1819, the Marquis of Hastings wrote to Mr. Russell, who

was still the Resident at Hyderabad, informing him that the period was arrived, when he ought to press on the Nizam's Minister the propriety and necessity of making several important reforms in the establishments of the state. The Resident communicated that representation of the Governor-General to the Minister; and what was his conduct upon receiving it? You shall hear shortly; but first let me remind you, that he has been accused of having lavished away money with the utmost profusion, to support his power and maintain his influence; unfortunately, from the causes I have explained to you, he stands in a situation which would warrant almost any dispensation of the means and patronage which are placed within his command. Read, however, the language in which Mr. Russell speaks of him, and attend to the objects on which he employs them. I know of no passage in any writer which shows more forcibly how beautiful nature forms man, even under circumstances which are best calculated to degrade and vitiate his character. Here are traits, which, wherever they occur, no matter what be the climate or the colour of the inhabitants, redeem our common nature from degradation, and gratify the philanthropist by displaying the deeds of benevolence and virtue. Mr. Russell, in speaking of the Nizam's Minister, says:—

'Chundoo Loll is a most respectable man in his private character, and too far superior to his rival as a public officer, to admit of any comparison between them. He has great industry, patience, and aptitude, in all the practical branches of the Government. He is indefatigable in his application, clear in his views as far as they extend, and as a man of business, I hardly ever knew his superior. His long experience has given him an intimate acquaintance with all the affairs of every department, and rendered him perfectly familiar with the manner of transacting them. He almost undertakes too much. Whatever is done, is done by himself; and even the bodily labour he undergoes is astonishing. He has great kindness of disposition, is easy of access, affable in his manners towards the lowest persons, and never, I believe, knowingly authorized a measure of unjust severity; but he is too indulgent and compliant to those who are employed under him, and he is certainly deficient in that resolution, energy, and firmness, without which it is impossible to preside with complete effect over the affairs of a government. His great personal ex-

pense, indeed, the only one of his personal expenses, that is very great, is his indiscriminate habit of giving alms. He distributes many thousand rupees every day to mendicants of all descriptions. I have often recommended him to confine his alms to those only who are real objects of charity; but he has a superstitious notion, that it is to this practice he owes his elevation in life, and nothing, I believe, would prevail upon him to abandon it. With some harm, however, much good is unquestionably done. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) Every poor person who will go to the Rajah's gate, may receive two pice and a quarter of a seer of grain daily, and a rupee and a blanket the first time they appear; and, in this way many thousand lives have been preserved during the recent season of scarcity. The inhabitants of whole villages, who flocked to the capital for support, have been fed and clothed by the Rajah's bounty. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) So much does he consider this a point of personal duty, that even to the most squalid and loathsome objects he always administers his charity with his own hand. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) The fairest mode of estimating the practical utility of a public officer, is to consider how his place could be supplied. If any accident were to happen to Chundoo Loll, no individual, I am persuaded, could be found under the Nizam's Government, capable of conducting the duties which are now discharged by him. With our support, he is qualified to make a better Minister than any other that could be chosen; but he could not stand by himself. He has no rank, fortune, or connexions, to protect him against the jealousy of the Nizam and the intrigues of Mooneer-ool Moolk; and if we were to withdraw, or even to lessen, the support we promised him, when he came into power, if he did not immediately retire, as in all probability he would do, he would soon be driven from his office. Those very qualities which constitute his principal recommendation with us, would be laid hold of by his and our enemies, as the readiest means of effecting his ruin.' (*Hear, hear.*)

This is the man, whom Sir C. Metcalfe has strained every nerve to remove from his situation. Why he has done so, I shall have another opportunity to relate to you; at present I will only say, that, at one period he confirmed by his testimony the character which Mr. Russell has here ascribed to him. I must now turn back to the point at which I had arrived, when I entered upon this digression. I told you that in 1819, the Marquis of Hastings had written to the Resident

at Hyderabad, calling upon him to press upon Chundoo Loll the propriety of making sundry reforms. Among these, one was, that he should dismiss a large body of useless troops, which were at once destructive to the finances and to the tranquillity of the country. That was evidently a measure which required great energy on the part of the Minister, and constant support to him on the part of the Resident. By such a measure he ran the risk of letting loose a body of riotous troops to plunder the country, headed by leaders whose very allegiance was doubtful, and whose existence was rendered precarious from the moment of their dismissal. This is the way in which this man, the Minister to an arbitrary and despotic Sovereign, writes in reply to the urgent requests of the Resident; thereby giving a strong proof of his attachment to us, and of his desire to improve the condition of his country. He tells him, that to prosecute the proposed measures of reform, he wants money to pay off the arrears due not only to the troops which are to be maintained, but also to those which are to be reduced; to enable the Ryots to set tillage again in motion, and to bring waste lands to cultivation near the villages, which they had forsaken owing to the ravages of war, and the desolation of famine, and which their poverty prevented them from repairing; to set free the assignments, which he had given over the revenues of different districts as a security for money borrowed; and to discharge other debts which bore a high rate of interest. He says too, that if he can obtain command of thirteen lacs of rupees for the first of these purposes, he can effect by military reductions alone, an annual saving of twenty-five lacs of rupees to the State. The military reductions, he it observed, form the point on which he is most strongly urged. How anxious he was to prevent the expenses of the military establishments running into arrears, and to reduce that arrear when it had once accrued, is evident from certain circumstances arising out of the arrangement which he made with the House of Palmer and Co. for the more regular payment of the troops at Aurungabad. As those circumstances are recorded, I am anxious, for more reasons than one, to bring them under your notice. When the House was asked to undertake the Aurungabad arrangement, they were so far from thinking it likely to be profitable to themselves, that they cal-

culated upon it as a loss; and yet so anxious were they as British subjects to promote the interests of the British Government, that they undertook it with a view, not merely of returning the protection and good offices which that Government had granted to them, but also of entitling themselves to its lasting gratitude. (*Hear, hear.*)

When Rajah Govind Buksh, the Governor of Berar, apprehending that the influence of the House in Berar would impair his own, proposed to Rajah Chundoo Loll to resume the payment of the troops himself, Messrs. Palmer and Co. willingly consented to his proposition: but Chundoo Loll objected to it, stating that he could not count upon his brother's regularity, but that he could upon theirs. It is true, that the rate of interest allowed to them on their advances was 24 per cent.; but what profit was that likely to afford, when, independently of the charges of collection and the expense of a separate establishment at Aurungabad, they had to pay 22 per cent. interest to the parties whose money they were using? Besides this, it ought also to be recollected, that their transactions at Hyderabad rendered it necessary for them frequently to recel to that capital, with the utmost haste, the funds they had provided for the troops at Aurungabad. Individuals deposited money in the House, and, judging from its respectability, that they could have it restored at any moment they pleased, allowed the partners to employ it on their purposes for a certain rate of interest. I happen to know that many of my friends place their money in the hands of Mr. Baring, on the same terms, for the same purpose; and I do not say this invidiously to him, but because I look upon the name of Baring, in some degree, as national property. (*Hear.*) I also have the honour to be treated with the same confidence by several of my constituents. I reckon it as the proudest feather which adorns my cap. Yet this very circumstance contributed to the diminution of the profits of the Aurungabad arrangements, since they were often called upon suddenly to provide funds for their constituents at Hyderabad, when most of their resources were locked up at Aurungabad; and being thus obliged to insist upon a speedy return of capital from the one place to the other, frequently occasioned a reduction in the rates of exchange against their own remittances. It had been asked, why did not the Minister get the same advances from the native

Soucaris that he got from Messrs. Palmer and Co.? The answer was obvious, because he could not. But why could he not? because they were unwilling to lend their money at any rate of interest to the Nizam's Government. And why were they thus unwilling? because, on a former occasion, the Nizam had refused to give them any further assignments, declaring, as his reason for it, that they had had interest enough already. (*Hear, hear.*) It had likewise been said, that the balances due to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. upon these arrangements were enormous.

Is the hon. Gentleman who brought forward this assertion aware—did it ever enter into his imagination to conceive—that if money lie out at interest for four or five years at 24 per cent., and the interest, instead of being paid annually, be annually added to the principal, and thus be allowed to generate fresh interest, the accumulation must very soon become enormous? You are not, however, to suppose that they were reaping the profit of that accumulation for themselves; they were regularly distributing it to their constituents in the regular routine of business, or were paying out elsewhere on the instant that which they were not to receive themselves for many years to come.

I must now state, that in consequence of the urgency with which Mr. Russell pressed these reforms on Chundoo Loll, and Chundoo Loll again his want of money to complete them on Messrs. Palmer and Co., those gentlemen, after some negotiation, verbally consented, at the close of the year 1819, to advance him a loan of sixty lacs of rupees, on certain terms mutually agreed on between them, and which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter. I must now point out to you several singular mistakes which have been made in the course of debate respecting this transaction. It has been stated, that the House was in possession of certain assignments of the Minister, for a debt of thirty lacs of rupees, or about 300,000*l.*; and that as those assignments were not likely to produce anything near the amount of the debt, it wished to make this loan for the purpose of obtaining the Government sanction to old balances, the existence of which was not known in Calcutta. I deny the truth of the statement, that the existence of these balances was unknown to the Government, and will show it to be destitute of all foundation whatever.

The Minister, at the close of 1819, was at that House every day for more money; they told him that they could advance it him, if he could take the assignments which he had granted to them, and also the balances due upon them, in part of the loan; but that if he would not, they could not do it without great difficulty, as their funds were looked up elsewhere. At the end of 1819, I say, the Minister was daily wishing to have more money; and in consequence of what passed between him and the House, Messrs. Palmer and Co. proposed to Mr. Russell to transmit to the Marquis of Hastings a proposal to do—what? I am here speaking from the book—to raise a sum of money for the Nizam's Government by a loan, to be openly sanctioned and guaranteed by the Bengal Government; for they thought that if they could get the sanction and guarantee of the Bengal Government to it, they could themselves borrow the money at 12 per cent., and lend it to the Nizam at 18 per cent. Mr. Russell, however, refused to transmit this proposal, well knowing that the Marquis of Hastings had determined never to permit the loan of money to a Native Power upon such terms. Knowing also, I say, that there was no hope of the Bengal Government being induced to break through the rule they had laid down, of doing nothing that could involve in it the necessity of interfering in the Nizam's government of his country, Mr. Russell refused to transmit such a proposition to it.

What, then, was the next step taken by the House? They conceived that this loan would be productive of great and important benefits to the Nizam's Government; and as that Government was indebted to them thirty lacs of rupees, for which they held assignments for not more than ten, they were interested in its welfare, as all large creditors must be in the prosperity of the resources of their debtors. They wrote to Mr. John Palmer of Calcutta, to ascertain the disposition of the Bengal Government to infringe the rule laid down, by giving some description of guarantee to enable the House to make the loan on the terms they had proposed to Chundoo Loll. Mr. John Palmer wrote back to them to say that he had no hope that they would ever gain the description of guarantee they wanted; but that if they chose to make the loan without such a guarantee, he had no doubt but the sanction of Government might be obtained for it.

This, of course, was not ascertained in a day or week, but after some considerable time, in consequence of the distance between Hyderabad and Calcutta, and the difficulty of communication between the two places.

In February, 1820, the Minister became particularly urgent. In March he induced the House to transfer six lacs from his account-current to the Aurangabad transaction, thereby making his debt to the House on the account-current at Hyderabad 4 lacs and 60,000 rupees! I refer to the books for this statement. At the same time, the Berar Suwar's account was indebted to the House eighteen, and the Aurangabad account fourteen lacs, making, with the debt on the account-current, a total of nearly thirty-seven lacs. The debt was, however, reduced to twenty-seven lacs by assignments which the House held for ten lacs. Now the advances made by the House for payments to the Berar Suwars, and to the reformed troops at Aurangabad, had been, both distinctly and separately, brought under the notice of the Government, in 1816 and in 1819; and the united balances on these accounts, in consequence of the non-fulfilment of the Minister's part of his agreement with the House, which was its misfortune rather than its fault, formed therefore part of the original transaction. The payments for the loan commenced on the 11th of March, and therefore I say, that at the time of its commencement, and also at the end of 1819, there was not one shilling due to the House from the Nizam's Government on any transaction, of which the nature and objects had not been communicated to the Bengal Government. No subsequent recognition of that debt, in a new shape, could give it more validity than it already possessed; and the making those balances a part of the loan was nothing, more or less, than a liberal concession on the part of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. to postpone immediate payment (to which they were entitled) to a distant period, and to accept, upon certain terms, future periodical instalments in lieu of it. So much, then, for this first assertion.

I come now to another point on which it is necessary to tender some explanation. I have before stated to you, that in the month of February 1820, the Minister had become very urgent for advances from the House. I must now repeat that they released to him, in consequence, the assignments which he had given to them

as security for former transactions. From February to August, 1820, they advanced to him no less a sum than 410,000*l.* on his own drafts and orders, in furtherance of the contract which had been verbally proposed and discussed between them at the close of the preceding year. In May, 1820, as the advances were going on, the House found, that as it could not borrow the money at the low rate it had anticipated, it could not continue them without ruin to itself on the terms originally proposed. Those terms were, that they should forego the discharge of the balances owing to them on the payments they had been making to the Berar Suwars and to the reformed troops, which then bore an interest of twenty-four per cent., and should further procure on their credit, for the purpose of placing it in the hands of the Minister, such an additional sum as should make up with their balances the sum of sixty lacs of rupees. This sum they were to be paid by means of assignments on districts, to produce to them sixteen lacs annually for six years; so that the interest of the loan was, in point of fact, eighteen per cent. The calculation on which they had entertained this proposal was, that they would be enabled to obtain the money at an interest of twelve per cent. They foresaw that this was out of the question at Hyderabad: that limited market could not supply so large a demand without raising considerably the interest on all the funds then in their hands, and which were to a considerable extent already locked up. They expected, however, to raise the supplies at the British Presidencies; but that expectation they were, after some time, obliged to abandon. They saw, therefore, that if they could not obtain some alteration in the terms, — [*A voice here exclaimed, "Yes, they were anxious to pocket a bonus;" and another, "Is this trying the Marquis of Hastings?"*] Mr. D. KINNAIRD proceeded in his statement, but we lost part of it in the uproar and confusion which prevailed in the Court. We understood him to be alleging several reasons why Chundoo Loll should accede to the altered terms proposed by the House of Palmer and Co. Those terms (he continued) were reduced into writing in the month of May. The House, having failed in obtaining the guarantee of the Bengal Government, and also in obtaining money at twelve per cent. in the Presidencies, told the Minister, "We

cannot go on with our advances at the rate of interest we originally agreed on;" upon which the Minister replied, "Go on with your advances; I can afford to give you a larger rate of interest. By the advance of thirteen lacs, I shall make an annual saving which will much exceed the expense occasioned by your increased rate of interest." The House then replied, "There are two modes of altering this bargain: we will have a greater rate of interest, either by raising it to twenty-three and three-quarters per cent., or by charging eighteen per cent. on a nominal sum of sixty lacs, whilst we only advance fifty-two." In point of fact, these are only two different modes of obtaining the same rate of interest: for the amount of annual interest is the same, whether you charge eighteen per cent. on sixty lacs, or twenty and three-quarters per cent. on fifty-two lacs. The House, however, would not have found adequate compensation for the risk and expense to be encountered even on these terms, considering the rate of interest which they were subjected to allow to their constituents; and the Minister therefore agreed to give them a further compensation in a promise to pay them eight lacs more at the expiration of the six years. Before I proceed further, I must beg you to consider why the House of Palmer and Co. were inclined to prefer the latter plan to the former. They were compelled to resort to the native bankers, on the best terms they could, for the money; and as they were thrown on the limited market at Hyderabad, it was important to force it as little as possible. By every additional 10,000 rupees which they borrowed, they did themselves this mischief:—they not only borrowed it at an increased rate, but they also increased the rate on that money which they already had, except in those cases (which were very few) where the parties were bound down not to reclaim it for a certain time. If it was thus desirable for Messrs. P. and Co. not to advance more than fifty-two lacs, it was no less desirable to the Minister to have it thought that they had obtained money at eighteen per cent. Such a circumstance gave him credit, not only among his enemies, but his friends. Their going into the market for more—

Mr. WASSOROUGH rose to order. The hon. Proprietor said, in the commencement of this arduous debate,—[Cries of

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Order, and spoke from all parts of the Court, in the midst of which Mr. WASSOROUGH resumed his seat.]

Mr. D. KINNAIRD again proceeded to state the reasons why Palmer and Co. preferred to have eighteen per cent. as on sixty lacs, on advancing only fifty-two, to having twenty and three-quarters per cent. on advancing sixty lacs.

Mr. RIGBY.—What say you to the bonus they received?

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I promise the hon. Gentleman before I conclude,—nay, before I proceed much further, he shall have the bonus given to him even in mincemeat; but I must request that he and others will not interrupt me whilst I am engaged on these matters of calculation. I was observing that both the Minister and the House preferred the alternative of advancing the lesser sum. To the House, as I before said, it was important to force the limited market at Hyderabad as little as possible; and to the Minister it was an object of as much importance, for obvious reasons, to have the credit among his enemies, as well as his friends, of being able to borrow money at so low an interest as eighteen per cent. It was not only a feather in his cap for the moment, but might be of essential service to him and his Government at subsequent periods. For that reason alone was it politic, on the part of the Minister, not to make the alteration of the terms public? [Another person here exclaimed, "But the bonus—explain the bonus."]

Mr. D. KINNAIRD.—I am asked to explain the bonus. I will do so. I suppose allusion is made to the eight lacs they were to receive at the conclusion of the transaction. Why, what had the house as yet to do with it? Did the partners pocket it? No such thing—but the Bengal Government appear to believe that they did, on the representation made to them by Sir C. Metcalfe. I give Sir C. Metcalfe due credit for his ignorance of the nature of commercial transactions, especially when I find him state this promise to pay eight lacs at the end of six years as a bonus of eight lacs. I would ask, what is the value of the promissory note of the Minister for eight lacs of rupees, to become payable only at the expiration of six years, and to bear no interest in the mean time? Allowing that there was real security for its payment, it would be worth, at the ordinary rate of interest in the country, about two lacs paid down for that sum; being lent out at

interest for six years would have produced between seven or eight lacs at the end of that period. It is a very different thing to give me £2000 down, and to give me £2000 payable six years after date (*Hear*); and if Gentlemen will consider the principle on which that position rests, they will see that this bonus of eight lacs, payable at the end of six years, is a very different thing from a bonus of eight lacs, payable immediately. I have calculated the value of these eight lacs, supposing the security to be good; but what is it, if you take into consideration the contingencies to which it is exposed? What would it have produced at any of your Presidencies? Would any body have given one lac for it? The Government of your ally could not have subsisted without this loan; and this bonus, which is to be such a compensation to the contractors for the risk they incur—this bonus, which it is said they divided among themselves—

MR. RIGBY.—It is stated in the Papers that they actually did divide it among themselves.

MR. D. KINNAIRD.—Yes, Sir C. Metcalfe asserts it, and Mr. Adam believes and repeats it on his authority; but what other proof of it can you discover? The House obtain no interest upon this note, and yet the foolish Idiots, who have been taken in by it, suppose that the House has got a very good thing by it. I am speaking before the first commercial men in the first commercial country in the world, and I ask them what this note would have been worth, had it been secured by the British Government? Their answer must be, that with such security it might be worth two lacs, and that without it it was not worth half a lac! Yes, such is the mighty sum which is to compensate the House for locking up fifty-two lacs of rupees, to be gradually repaid during six years at 20½ per cent.

I now come once more to the terms of the contract. After they had been adjusted between Chundoo Loll and Messrs. Palmer and Co, they were sent, along with the correspondence to which they had given rise, to Mr. Russell, for the purpose of clearly exposing the nature and object of the transaction. They were transmitted by Mr. Russell on the 19th of May, 1820, to the supreme Government at Calcutta, and documents more explanatory of its nature and object cannot well be conceived. Mr. Stuart, who had objected to the Aurungabad contract, objected

to this also, and precisely on the same grounds; that he was not acquainted with the rate of interest or other advantages stipulated by the House. The matter undergoes much discussion in the Council, and incidentally every member of it gives his opinion on the terms of it, most cruelly indeed for their financial credit. After writing four or five minutes, it is at last decided to give the sanction of the Government to the loan, in spite of a strong opposition raised against it by Mr. Stuart and Mr. Adam, who would neither give it guarantee nor sanction. On the 15th of July, 1820, this sanction is transmitted to Hyderabad—and what is the next circumstance, in point of time, to which I must entreat your consideration? Why, on the 1st of September, 1820, Mr. Russell transmits a despatch to the Government, giving the first account of the effects of the Loan, as far as they were discernible at that time. Either Mr. Russell is telling you a wilful and deliberate falsehood on the subject, which I have not even heard whispered on any side, or he is giving you a fair and candid description of what had fallen under his own observation. His language is as follows:—and see how it is supported by that of Sir C. Metcalfe when he succeeds Mr. Russell as Resident at Hyderabad, until Sir C. had certain objects of his own to accomplish.

‘Among the principal officers whom it has been found necessary to remove from their situations, I am sorry to be obliged to mention the Minister’s own brother, Rajah Govind Buksh.

‘At Ellichpoor, a relation of the Minister, named Rao Rajah Ram, who, as Naib Subahdar, had charge of the Eastern portion of Berar, has also been removed from his office.

‘Of the remaining districts resumed from the charge of Rao Rajah Ram, the Minister has appointed his own son, Rajah Bala Pershaud, to be Talookdar, the local duties being conducted by a very intelligent revenue officer of the name of Rao Vencat Row, whom the Minister has chosen as his son’s deputy. In my original report to your Lordship on the subject of the condition of the Nizam’s affairs, dated 24th November last, I enumerated the advantages with which I thought this particular arrangement would be attended. It has now been adopted by the Minister of his own accord, and is of itself, for the strongest of all reasons, a conclusive proof of the sincerity of his exertions to improve the country.

‘The money raised by the Minister on the loan, which has received your

Lordship's sanction, has been very judiciously applied, and has already accomplished much of the purpose for which it was designed.

A reduction of useless establishments has been effected, to the annual extent of between twenty-two and twenty-three lacs of rupees, on a plan similar in principle, though varying in detail, from that enclosed in my despatch to the Secretary, dated the 19th of May last. Among these reductions are included 305 horse, and 300 foot, on the Minister's own personal establishment, and 237 horse, and 250 foot, on that of his brother, Rajah Govind Buxsh. All recruiting throughout the Nizam's army has been suspended, except in the regular and reformed troops, which are to be kept up at their full strength. The reductions which have hitherto been made, have not, I believe, thrown any industrious or deserving individuals out of employ; and, by careful and gradual reduction, they may undoubtedly be prosecuted to a much larger extent.

Advances have been made in all the different districts, and the Minister being relieved from his most urgent embarrassments, has been enabled to allow large remissions in the revenue, without which it would have been utterly impracticable, by any measures, to revive the prosperity of the country. Of the twenty lacs of rupees paid last year by Ruffatool Moolk's districts, the Minister does not calculate, under the system of annance, which has now been introduced into them, to realize above fifteen lacs this year. From Shumsool Omrah's districts, which did yield about twenty-five lacs, he will not, perhaps, collect more than seventeen or eighteen.

After the measures which Rajah Chundoo Loll has already adopted, and the course he has pursued towards some of the most powerful persons in the state, including even his own brother, it can no longer be a question, whether he is cordially disposed to promote your Lordship's views for correcting the abuses in the Nizam's affairs, and ameliorating the condition of his country. But be his disposition what it might, it would have been impossible for him to act with either confidence or effect, without our encouragement and support. The evils he had to remove were not of common magnitude, or recent origin: they were the result of remote causes, and had become inveterate from long standing. When I first travelled through the Nizam's country, upwards of twenty years ago, it was in a condition not substantially better than it is now; and my predecessor, Captain Sydenham, in his last despatch to the Earl of Minto, dated the 29th of May 1810, only a few months after Rajah Chundoo Loll came into his

present office, expressed his opinion on the subject in these strong terms:

"With regard to the amelioration of the state of this country, I am convinced that, during the reign of the present Nizam, no improvement can be expected, without the administration of the country be placed under the control of the Resident. The defects of the present Government are too deeply rooted, and too widely extended, to admit of any partial reform: and it is, therefore, unfortunate, that the only effectual remedy that can be applied, should be so much at variance with our views and policy."

The Minister, therefore, has had, and still has to contend against all the disadvantages arising from the peculiarity of the Nizam's character, as well as to encounter at every step the active opposition, not only of the individuals, who having an immediate interest in the maintenance of abuses, are now suffering from their correction, but that of the whole faction associated with Muneerool Moolk, who are personally and politically opposed to his administration. In this quarter, every possible effort has been made, and will continue to be made, to counteract his measures, by resistance, and intrigue, and misrepresentation.

It cannot be expected that the full practical effect of any extensive system should become immediately apparent. The process of correction and improvement is gradual in its nature. There are already, however, manifest proofs of a salutary impression having been made upon persons in authority, and of the people having acquired a confidence which they did not before feel in the disposition of their rulers. The following passage, in a letter from Captain Seyer, shows that the Minister's decisive measures have produced their effect, even at places the most remote from the capital. The character given in it of the person who has been dismissed from the chief authority at Ellichpoor, is applicable to a large portion of the Nizam's local officers:

"I am glad to find the Minister has taken such decided steps regarding Ruffatool Moolk. he was proverbially infamous for his tyranny and oppression. Salabut Khan mentioned to me what had befallen him, in a way that showed the example was not lost on him. Rajah Ram's road to Hyderabad will be extremely useful. He is weak, vain, and ostentatious; rapacious, not out of the love of money, but merely to supply his profusion; perfectly indifferent to the welfare of the people committed to his charge; easily led, but unfortunately surrounded by bad advisers. I have never found him at all unwilling to attend to my suggestions; and the particular instances of misconduct in his officers, or in himself, which I have brought under his notice, have generally been redressed; but his constant want of money forces him into the practice of all sorts of means to procure it, and he will, perhaps, meet a demand for restitution to one man, by adopting similar violence to that complained of to another."

I have confined my advice to the Minister, on every occasion, to the cor-

rection of abuses, and have been careful to avoid recommending any measure in the shape of innovation. We have not done justice, in our own system, to the original institutions of the country. As strangers, we are hasty in condemning what we do not understand; and have often defeated our good intentions, by establishing our own arbitrary rules and methods, to the exclusion of those which have grown out of the circumstances of the people, and are inseparably blended with their manners and their opinions.'

MR. D. KINNAIRD.—That is only one of the many wise and beautiful remarks which are to be found in the despatches of Mr. Russell. I will now read to you the letters of Sir C. Metcalfe, which completely confirm the statements of Mr. Russell.

A PROPRIETOR.—Is the whole of the pamphlet to be read through? (*Hear, hear.*)

MR. D. KINNAIRD.—I can assure the Court, that my only reason for reading from this pamphlet is a wish to compress the remarks I have to offer, and not a desire to force it unnecessarily upon its attention. (*Hear, hear.*) I may now as well read the letters of Sir C. Metcalfe. (*Great impatience, and cries of No, no.*) I will read, then, the results of them, as I have put them down on paper. [The hon. Proprietor then read the following extract from his pamphlet, p. 153.]

'The following observations suggest themselves upon the three foregoing letters:

'1st. In the Supreme Government's despatch there is a distinct declaration, that the Court of Directors' inhibition of all further pecuniary transactions between the House and the Nizam's Government, was meant to be confined to advances of money alone, and not to interfere with transactions purely commercial, although with the said Government.

'2d. Full testimony is borne to the thorough fairness of the dealings of the House, as far as was known to the Council up to this period.

'3d. The declaration is equally distinct, that no oblique impeachment of any part of its conduct was to be implied from the real of the license.

'4th. An acknowledgment is recorded, that the Council was sensible of the advantage which the Nizam and his subjects had derived from the aid which had been furnished by Messrs. Palmer and Co.

'5th. It is distinctly admitted that the Minister's plighted faith for the fulfilment of all engagements, into which he had already entered with the House, was

not meant by the Court, or by the Council, to be in any way invalidated. Thus, in the latter passage, sanctioning the sentiments previously recorded by Mr. Stuart and Mr. Adam.

'The two letters from Mr. Metcalfe are fully confirmatory of the report which Mr. Russell had made on the 1st September of the beneficial effects from the loan, which was completed in August 1820, although the advances on account of it had been making from the preceding March. In the first of these despatches Mr. Metcalfe announces,—

'1st. That the Nizam's Government had been undoubtedly relieved from much pecuniary embarrassment by the loan.

'2d. That it had been enabled to pay off large arrears.

'3d. That it enabled the Minister to struggle through temporary difficulties and embarrassments, and might prove the means of greatly assisting the restoration of the prosperity of the country.

'4th. That the interests of the hon. Company had certainly *not* been affected disadvantageously by it.

'5th. That the comforts of the people did not appear to have been *visibly* promoted by it. But that if the advances to the cultivators have been *house-*ly distributed, he concludes that good must have been done.'

The two letters of Sir C. Metcalfe, of March 17, and April 5, 1821, are fully confirmatory of the reality of the loan; and, before I proceed farther, I wish to direct the attention of the Court to this point. I understand it is taken for granted, that the loan was a fictitious transaction, on this account—namely, because it is *made up* in part of money advanced on account-current. Nothing can be more fallacious than this. At the commencement of the advance, while the loan was negotiating, those advances were entered in the account-current. Until the whole was paid, the loan was not completed—but, when it was completed, the sums advanced originally, and entered in the account-current, were transferred to the loan account. Nothing could be more regular or correct. It was necessary when the entire loan was made good, to afford security for its amount. Now the Minister was ready to give this in assignment which should be advanced from day to day, as was the case with loans in this country, for the payments could not all be made in one day. When the fifty-two lacs were made over, the House gave the Minister credit in the account-current for what-

ever sums they received and debited the Minister in the loan account. Thus they wrote off the fifty-two-lac loan, and eight-lac bonus, and debited it to the Minister on the loan account. This, together with an interest of 20½ per cent., the Minister was bound to pay within six years; and "then," said he, "I will return you back, as a proper compensation, eight lacs of rupees without interest." Now, I contend that, at that time, eight lacs of rupees were not worth more than two lacs. The accounts of the House of Messrs. Palmer and Co. ordered by the Court of Directors, were transmitted by Sir C. Metcalfe to the Government, on the 12th July—those accounts he had received on the 19th April preceding. It is plain these accounts had been in his possession for three months, and yet Sir Charles in his despatch says:—

'I have not detained these accounts to take copies of them, because I am anxious to receive, as soon as possible, the final orders of the Governor-General in Council, regarding them. If the sum reserved to meet possible retrenchments is eventually to be paid, it is obviously expedient that it should be paid as soon as possible, to relieve the Nizam's Government from the interest chargeable on it. I beg the favour of your returning these accounts to be copied here, or sending me copies from your office.'

This was not a light job, for the accounts made about 300 pages. They arrived at Calcutta on the 27th of July, enclosed in a very short letter from Sir Charles Metcalfe, in the commencement of which he says:—

'Neither the accounts, nor the explanation, convey much information. It was not to be expected that Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. would disclose any thing that they could conceal.'

In this letter, Sir C. Metcalfe renews his charge of the sixty-lac loan being a fictitious arrangement; and observes—

'If their accounts are of little use in any other respect, they have rendered an important benefit, by the complete exposure of the deceit and falsehood practised in that nefarious transaction.'

Mr. Fendall and Mr. Harrington recorded their disapproval of the transactions entered into by Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co. and the Nizam's Government, on the 31st of July; and on the same day, the very day before the arrival of Lord Amherst in India, the Government Secretary despatched an order to Sir C. Metcalfe to close up the

House, and to transmit home details of all that had been done, previous to the arrival of Lord Amherst. Now, I beg the Court to pay particular attention to this proceeding. It took place before the arrival of Lord Amherst. Here is a commercial House, having money transactions to a large amount, condemned and suppressed on assumptions, the fallacy of which any clerk could have detected in a minute. (*Hear, hear.*) It would take years to rectify the injury these assumptions have occasioned to Messrs. Palmer and Co. I will pledge myself to the correctness of the accounts which have met such an unaccountable misrepresentation. From February to August 1820, fifteen lacs, over and above the loan of fifty-two lacs, were owing to Messrs. Palmer and Co. No security had been given for this sum; and, consequently, there was no unsanctioned balance charged as an advance on the forty lacs, paid on account of the loan. And here, I think, it will not be out of place, to state a mistake into which Sir C. Metcalfe had fallen, and which that gentleman had attributed to the Minister of the Nizam. Sir C. Metcalfe says he was told by the Minister, that the loan from the House of Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. amounted to sixty-seven lacs of rupees; whereas Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. themselves had stated that it amounted to only sixty lacs. Now the cause of this error was, that there is no word in the Persian language to express a *loan*, and the word made use of to express it really meant *debt*. And what is the inference Sir C. Metcalfe makes from this? He maintains, that the Minister had told a falsehood in making the amount of the loan sixty-seven lacs, when the Firm asserted it was only sixty. Now the Minister told nothing but the truth; for he stated, not the amount of the loan itself, but of the whole debt due to the House of Palmer and Co. The loan account was fifty-two lacs, and the debt due on this account current, was fifteen lacs, which made exactly sixty-seven lacs. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir C. Metcalfe, in his despatch of the 8th April, 1821, proposes a scheme for the reduction of the rate of interest the Nizam had to pay on account of the loan to his Government. He says:—

'There seems to me a mode by which, under his Lordship's sanction, this object could be accomplished with immense advantage to the Nizam's Government, and with little, if any, inconvenience to our own. The most effectual mode which

seems to me, is by opening the hon. Company's Treasuries for the receipt of money on loan to the Nizam, under a guarantee from the Governor-General in Council, for the regular payment of the interest by half-yearly instalments, and the eventual payment of the principal at the convenience of the Nizam's Government, or, if preferable, within a stated time.

Sir Charles, in this despatch, makes an offer to the Bengal Government of borrowing money to liquidate the debts of the Nizam. He proposed, for this purpose, and no doubt honestly, the raising of a loan, by Government, at the Presidencies; which, he says, might be done at an interest of six per cent. But, unfortunately for Sir Charles, he forgot, at the time he suggested this plan, that he had proceeded to the Nizam's country, in order to prevent the interference of our Government in that Prince's Government. The Marquis of Hastings had always adhered to this policy. And now Sir Charles Metcalfe not only proposes that project, but endeavours to remove all the difficulties that lay in its way, and the objections which might be offered against the British Government becoming a party in the transaction. He said:—

‘A virtual guarantee exists already with regard to the public debt of the Nizam's Government; for, with the least interference in his Highness' affairs, it is impossible that the British Resident can sanction or tolerate any breach of faith towards the public creditors.’

Now, Sir Charles Metcalfe himself was the unfortunate means of making it *possible*, by his interference in the affairs of the House of Palmer and Co. In this despatch, Sir Charles also proceeds to consider what would be the effect of a loan to the Nizam for a period of six years. He mentions, in an incidental way, this eight-lac *bonus*, and does not then make the slightest objection to it. (*Hear, hear.*) He does not express the least dislike of this *bonus*. He remarks that Palmer and Co. ought not to be allowed to suffer any loss, in the event of the loan being taken out of their hands. He says they should not suffer any loss or disappointment for their having afforded “very important relief to the Native Government's necessities.” (*Hear.*) Now the sentiments and views which Sir Charles Metcalfe then entertained, underwent a remarkable change within a few years afterwards. The proposition he advanced, was discussed at considerable length in Council, and it was decided that it was an illegal proceeding. This

opinion was not entertained by Mr. Stuart. The Advocate-General's advice was asked, and he determined that the money could not be advanced consistently with the appropriation clause. A most remarkable suggestion was then made by Mr. Stuart, and one which the law officers of this country had not treated with much respect. The appropriation clause provided that the surplus revenue should be employed in a particular way. The lending of any of that revenue was, however, prohibited; but, says Mr. Stuart, “It is not clear that we have a surplus; but cannot we, supposing we have not, borrow a little money for the purpose of making an advance to the Nizam?” It is true, the Act of Parliament does not direct what conduct Government shall pursue, when there is no surplus; but it says, “when you have a surplus lay it out in such a manner.” The advice of Mr. Stuart, in the absence of a surplus, was for the Government to borrow the money. A most ingenious expedient for escaping from, and defeating the provisions of the Act of Parliament!

Now, Mr. Adam, though the opinion of Mr. Stuart was directly opposed to that of the law-officers, yet ignorantly coincided in it. A majority of the Council appear to have rejected Sir C. Metcalfe's proposal, and in the months of June, July, and August, a proposition of Mr. Fendall, for the absolute purchase on redemption of the peishcush or annual payment of seven lacs by the British Government to the Minister of the Nizam, seemed to have occasioned some discussion, and to have been referred to the Advocate-General or his opinion. This proposition was likewise rejected, because it was judged to be of questionable legality with respect to the appropriation clause of the 53d Geo. III. The Marquis of Hastings and the law-officers thought that it would be contrary to the Act of Parliament. The law-officers said, “You cannot purchase this peishcush. Even when your Charter is at an end, it ought to be in existence. You have no right to put it up for sale. At the expiration of your Charter you may be called upon for this peishcush.” It was the anxious wish of the Marquis of Hastings to give the sought-for guarantee, if he could do so without infringing the Act of Parliament, or deviating from the line of policy he had marked out for himself, and which he had from the first pursued.

Shortly after these discussions had taken place, a despatch was received from the Court of Directors, stating their regret that the money had not been lent. The Marquis of Hastings then wished to mortgage the peishcush, and thus, without contravening the Act of Parliament, to raise the money. Until the arrival of this letter, it had been insinuated that the noble Marquis had acted with great pertinacity in withholding his consent to the proposition for lending the money out of the treasury; and his enemies came to the ungenerous conclusion that he pursued that line of conduct merely to benefit Messrs. Palmer and Co., on the ground that the longer the money remained in their hands, the more profit they would derive from it. They insinuated, that as the House were making exorbitant profits by the loan, the noble Marquis would not agree to advance money to pay it off.

It is curious to observe how certain persons changed their mind when they were intent in effecting any particular object, and especially when that object is the hunting down of a character. The noble Marquis was charged with entertaining the motive I have just mentioned in the year 1821; and in 1822, when the Minister applied for the adoption of a plan for the reduction of the debt, a reproach was raised that the House wanted it to be paid off. It seems to me that Sir Charles Metcalfe set down his ideas just as they arose in his mind; and it may really and truly be said, when he comes before this Court, that there is no man who ought to feel so much ashamed of his correspondence. I do not wish Sir Charles Metcalfe any harm, but I will maintain that I never saw such trash—for trash I must call it—as what has been put forth by that Gentleman. It is without question the greatest trash that was ever written by any man who had arrived at the years of discretion. When Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed to the Residency at Hyderabad, he employed himself for some months in travelling up and down the country. And here I must urge a very serious charge against him. I confess I feel the deep responsibility I incur when I presume to comment on the public acts of public men. Indeed, I should regret in the severest manner, if I were to put an unfair, far-fetched, or ungenerous construction on any circumstance I may allude to. But Sir C. Metcalfe's letters speak so plainly, to my mind, that were I not boldly and openly to state

the impression they have made upon me, and the conclusion to which I have come with respect to them, I should be a very coward. If I strain or misconstrue one point, or if I show that I am unable to establish an incontrovertible reason for the change in Sir Charles Metcalfe's sentiments and opinions—if I do not do this—if I do not assign a cause for the violence of those passions which it was impossible to deny he felt at the time he penned those letters—then will I be content to suffer the censure of being unable to discharge the duty I have undertaken. Unless I show a ground for this strange change of opinion, I cannot longer hold up my head in this Court. My conviction is, that passion has dictated the misrepresentations of which Sir C. Metcalfe has been guilty; and I think, that before he sinks into his grave, he will feel the most poignant regret at ever having penned those letters. I give him credit for those honourable feelings, which, where his passions have not the mastery of him, would induce him to take himself to task, as I, under similar circumstances, would do. I do not mean to say that his conduct was the effect of plan, but I will say the consequences of it to the House of Palmer and Co. have been very fatal. He has plunged that House into headlong ruin, in defiance of the written orders of his Government. He discovered himself in a scrape, and perhaps, such is the force of passion, he might have believed he was advocating the cause of truth, when he was in fact stating fallacies. I am acting under a very serious responsibility, and I will aver that I would hate myself—I would cut off my hand—I would plunge a dagger into my heart, rather than cause pain in the breast of another, unless it be in the execution of a straightforward public duty. (*Hear.*)

Mr. RIGBY.—I rise to order. The hon. Proprietor is going to make another charge against Sir C. Metcalfe, and I therefore contend he is clearly out of order. Can any thing be conceived more unfair than what the hon. Proprietor is about to do—to make a fresh charge at the conclusion of the debate, when the privilege of reply is denied.

Mr. KINNAIRD.—I do not want to conclude the debate. I waive that privilege. I am at present about to explain the reasons which caused Sir C. Metcalfe to change his sentiments in the way he had done. I wish to show why that Gentleman had

latterly viewed, with a jaundiced eye, those transactions which formerly he had looked upon differently. In the first place, I will beg the attention of the Court to that early letter of Sir C. Metcalfe's, written at the time when he had performed the disagreeable task of communicating to the House of Palmer and Co. the order of the Court of Directors for putting an end to the Aurangabad transaction. It was on the 5th of July that Sir Charles reported to Government the execution of the orders he had received; and he seemed to have obeyed them by communicating to the firm an extract from the despatch. At this period a remarkable change in the sentiments of Sir C. Metcalfe respecting this affair might be observed. Then he viewed with different eyes every thing connected with the House of Palmer and Co., and a strange contrast might be seen between the opinions he adopted at that time, and those on the same identical subjects contained in his despatches of March and April, 1821, written before he began his expedition through the territories of the Nizam. He did not show any hesitation, on receiving the orders of the Court of Directors in March, 1821, for the recall of the license; he did not then hesitate to transmit to Government a long series of comments to show how unfit those commands were. He was not at that time slow in pointing out the impossibility of the hon. Court's having intended them to be executed according to the letter, when they knew that the Supreme Government had given its sanction to the transactions of the House. He felt so strongly, and demonstrated so clearly, the monstrous injustice of the proceedings enjoined in that memorable mandate, that he considered it necessary to conclude his despatch on the subject with the following paragraph:—

‘In these crude remarks herein submitted, I offer the result of my local observation; without, of course, meaning to discuss the propriety of the restrictive orders issued by the hon. Court of Directors.’

Mr. Adam and Mr. Stuart both concurred in the justness of the views taken by Sir C. Metcalfe. Both these Gentlemen distinctly recorded their own opinion, that it could not be the meaning of the Court of Directors to interfere with proceedings which had been transacted under the sanction of Government. Mr. John Palmer, in consequence of the very abrupt manner in

which Sir Charles Metcalfe had thought proper to discharge his official duties, addressed a letter to the Council at Calcutta, in which he detailed the ruinous consequences that must befall the House of Palmer and Co., if their arrangements with the Nizam's Minister were immediately terminated. Mr. J. Palmer observed,—

‘Messrs. William Palmer and Co. feel the singular severity of not only having their engagements suddenly cancelled, under denounced penalties, to such amongst them as are obnoxious to the statute, but the guarantees on which they rested for security in their dealings with the Nizam's Government are wrested from them, and they are left to realize or recover their advances to his Highness's troops.’

Now nearly a million of money, the property of different constituents of the House, was at that period placed in the hands of the Nizam's Government. For the reimbursement of this sum they had no longer any guarantee, but depended entirely on the good faith of Chundoo Loll. On the 17th of July, the Council, in consequence of the receipt of Mr. John Palmer's letter, transmitted some directions to the Resident at Hyderabad. They stated that

‘The Court of Directors distinctly expressed a desire, that the execution of the measure which they have felt it their duty to prevent, with relation to the Firm of Palmer and Co., shall be so regulated as not to injure the credit of the House. The Governor-General likewise directed, “that Sir. C. Metcalfe shall formally apprise Rajah Chundoo Loll, that the tenour of the Court's orders referred only to pecuniary transactions between the House and the Nizam;” and he added, “the Governor-General in Council thinks it probable that you have represented to the Minister the obligation on his honour and good faith to make as early payment of the balance due on the unadjusted acts of the House, which have been ordered to be brought to a close as soon as the paramount exigencies of the state will admit; for the hon. Court has expressly deferred its notion of a close to the arrangement, to consist in the restoration of the tankhas by the House of W. Palmer and Co., as soon as the advance made by that Firm on the Aurangabad account shall have been repaid. That degree of interposition, as referring to arrangements made before the receipt of the positive inhibition from home, will be equally consonant to the pleasure of the hon. Court, and the disposition of the Governor-General in Council.’

It would seem, from the reply made

by the Resident to this reproof, that Sir C. Metcalfe was unable any longer to keep bound in his bosom the hostile feelings he entertained towards the House of Palmer and Co.

He was very ready, in a tone of apparent disrespect towards the Council, and of rancorous and malicious insinuation towards Messrs. Palmer and Co., to give the the Government every assurance that no apprehension need be entertained of the Minister not being able to fulfil his engagement with the House. Indeed, he stated that every pressing demand was set aside with a view to their interest, and remarked,—

‘That he has observed, ever since he came to Hyderabad, a persuasion of their power and influence, which will continue to ensure them every possible advantage.’

Here was the first insinuation against the House of Palmer and Co., and now it may not be out of place to explain what were the causes of this new hostility on the part of Sir Charles, and to expose the intrigue, in the defeat of which his rancour originated. On Sir C. Metcalfe's return at the end of May from his second tour, the Assistant Resident (Lieutenant Barnett,) he states, met him at one or two marches from Hyderabad, and informed him that he (L. B.) had, a few days before, received a note from Chundoo Loll, the contents of which he described to him. This note, (to be found at page 174 of the Hyd. Pap.) submits a proposal to borrow thirty-five lacs of rupees from the British Government, at a low rate of interest, in order to pay off a part of the Minister's debt to Messrs. William Palmer and Co.; and contains an able and powerful remonstrance or appeal against Sir C. Metcalfe's whole course of open and direct interference in the internal government of the country, which the Minister therein expressly states to have been written for the information of, and for the purpose of being forwarded to, the Supreme Government at Calcutta. Lieut. Barnett was desired by Sir Charles to furnish him with a report on the subject. And what was the only passage which was omitted in it? Why, the one which was the most material. The concluding passage, in which was expressed a desire of Chundoo Loll to have his representation transmitted to the Governor-General.

A copy of this note the Minister (having in vain waited two months for

a compliance with his request) forwarded, through Mr. William Palmer, in a letter addressed by himself to the Governor-General in Council. Sir C. Metcalfe learnt, from Lieut. Barnett, that the note had been delivered to him shortly after an interview between the Minister and Messrs. William Palmer and Co.; and Sir C. Metcalfe's suspicions were immediately carried towards those gentlemen as the instigators of the proceeding. Lieut. Barnett could not have failed, at the same time, to point out to Sir C. Metcalfe some of the immediate effects of his arbitrary interference in the settlement of the country on the credit and station of the Minister.

He could not have failed to inform the Resident, what indeed was well known throughout the country, that the Minister was distracted, that Sir C. Metcalfe had thwarted all his arrangements, and that he was in a state of despair. Such an event as a native Minister daring to appeal to the Governor-General in Council against an agent of the British Government, Sir C. Metcalfe was far from expecting. The Minister was now reduced to a cypher in the eyes of his countrymen; and his downfall was now confidently anticipated by all the open and secret enemies of that influence which had alone raised him to his office. The very pedestal of his elevation had been removed from under him. He no longer was treated by the British Resident as the Minister of an independent ally, but was made to stand forth the degraded instrument of the subjugation and submission of his country to the imperious delegate of a foreign power. It is only necessary to read Sir C. Metcalfe's despatches, to perceive that he had considered himself invested with a full right and power to exercise a paramount and despotic authority in the Nizam's country. In utter contempt of the instructions to Mr. Russell, his predecessor, (transmitted, too, by himself, whilst secretary to the Government,) that the Resident's interference should be confined solely to advice and influence with the Minister, he had proceeded at once to the direct exercise of sovereign power, by making new assessments all over the country, and by appointing and permitting his young officers to break through the assessments recently made by himself.

In the whole of his despatches to the Governor-general, Sir Charles Metcalfe repeatedly declares that he had the

sanction of Chundoo Loll for all his proceedings. Thus he lulled the Government into an acquiescence in the propriety of various acts which, under other circumstances, they would never have allowed. What a position had he placed himself in? What does he say in his defence? He had gone on too far to recede, and he said, that "on being made acquainted with the contents of the note, he thought it was right to determine what course he should pursue." What! could any Resident be in doubt as to the course he should pursue? Did he not possess the instructions of the service of which he was a member, and did not these instructions enjoin him to transmit to the seat of Government the complaint which had been made against him, as well as his own commentary in justification of his conduct? Now, I will venture to say, that the Minister's representation was in direct contradiction of the justification of Sir C. Metcalfe, and it is plain that was the reason why he was in doubt as to what course he should pursue. He appears to have determined, therefore, for the present at least, to conceal from his employers both the remonstrance of the Minister, and the effects of his own infraction of the Governor-General's recorded instructions for his guidance. He appears, however, to have taken some time to choose his course; for not till the 20th June does he think fit to announce to the Supreme Government his return to Hyderabad. This letter affords the strongest evidence of the intrigue in which he had resolved to engage, or, as he phrases it, *of the course he meant to pursue*. He does not in this letter mention any part of the note from Chundoo Loll which relates to the appeal. He, however, incidentally notices the proposition for borrowing thirty-five lacs of rupees. He could not at this time but feel that the members of the House of Messrs. William Palmer and Co., the only Europeans in the Nizam's country who were not dependent on his smiles or his frowns, were very inconvenient witnesses of any proceedings which he might wish to conceal from, or to discolour to, the eye of the Government at Calcutta. He could not but know that their intelligence must have perceived the striking difference in his conduct from that of his predecessor. He could not fail to be convinced, from the intimate intercourse he had with the Minister, that they must be acquainted with the effects which had been produced on Chundoo

Loll by his assumption of power. The permanent intimidation of the Rajah into a blind submission was, under such circumstances, not to be hoped; but his removal might be effected. And I believe I can bring conclusive evidence to prove that the dismissal of Chundoo Loll was contemplated, and that it was intended to supply his place by Mooneer-ool Moolk. The probable removal of Chundoo Loll was naturally viewed with great alarm by Messrs. Palmer and Co. It was very important to state that he should remain in office, for they were well aware that his successor would not keep such good faith with them as he had done.

The members of the Firm of Palmer and Co. were the only Europeans at the Residency whose situation in life did not depend on the pleasure of Sir Charles Metcalfe; and as he feared they would be able to give decisive evidence respecting his proceedings, he endeavoured to undermine their credit, and to destroy any eventual testimony they might give in favour of any statement which might not tally with his views. In order to effect this object, it was necessary to make some attack on them; and what did he begin with? He charged them with endeavouring to do—what? To remove him from his post. His remarkable letter of the 20th June, 1822, is drawn up with such views, for the purpose of exciting prejudice against the House of Palmer and Co. In that letter he repeats and exaggerates his thrice-told tale of the abuses to be witnessed in the internal administration of the districts of the Nizam's country; and, as if he had been the first to make the disclosure of the disease, he seems to think he has only to point out and apply the remedy. This subject had been frequently noticed in Mr. Russell's statesmanlike and valuable communications. Had Sir Charles Metcalfe examined these, he would have found that the Government had been made fully acquainted with the state of the country, and that the ultimate consummation of the evil had been foreseen and foretold. He would have learned that that consummation, come when it might, it had been determined, should not be hastened by any direct British interference in the administration of the country, and that the Resident's efforts should be confined (as they had been by Mr. Russell) to the exercise of his advice and influence, through the Minister, as long as the tranquillity of the country could in any manner be prolonged. He, in this letter, for the

first time, insinuates, rather than ventures directly to state, that he has met with some want of co-operation from Chundoo Loll. But he insists strongly on the absolute necessity of the continuance of that intervention of advice and influence which his Excellency the Governor-General had authorised for the welfare of the country, and then boasts of the beneficial effects of his own measures, as if his interference had been limited by, or were in conformity with, these instructions.

In his 17th paragraph, he informs the Government, in the ingeniously familiar and gossiping style which is observable in his letters whenever he wishes to divert attention from his design, that it is reported that the Nizam is disgusted with his Minister Chundoo Loll. He was well aware that the Nizam never liked him—that, in fact, he was Minister in spite of the Nizam. To expel him from his place, therefore, was one of the objects next his heart. In the next paragraph he, in a manner equally uncalled for, forces the nominal Minister (the rival of Chundoo Loll), Mooneer-ool Moolk, upon the Governor-General's attention in a false and favourable point of view; following up this panegyric with an attack in contrast upon Chundoo Loll. This brings him to the Minister's alleged extravagance, and then incidentally (and as it were by-the-bye), he contrives to mention one of the subjects of the Minister's celebrated note, namely, the proposal to borrow thirty-five lacs. He carefully, however, conceals the latter (by far the most important) part of the note, the direct remonstrance of the Minister to the Governor-General in Council against the conduct of the Resident in assuming undue power. Was this the way to perform his duty to his employers? Thus did he practise disingenuously upon the Governor-General, at the very moment he was plotting the ruin of those whom he was bound, by every tie of honour and of duty, to protect from misrepresentation and misfortune. To this letter of the 20th of June the Supreme Government replies on the 19th July, and in it are to be found the following paragraphs:

'The Governor-General in Council observes, that the points submitted in your despatch are too numerous and important to admit of immediate decision, but will be taken into deliberate consideration hereafter. The only point to which his Lordship in Council deems it necessary to advert on the present occasion, is that stated in the 22d para-

graph of your despatch, viz., the Minister's professed anxiety to pay off the loan, and the mode he proposed of accomplishing it. His Lordship in Council concludes, that in an affair of such moment, the Minister will have submitted his proposition to you in writing; and in such case his Lordship in Council will be glad to receive a copy of the paper in which it was conveyed.'

As he had concealed the note of the Minister which contained the proposal for the loan and the remonstrance, he was obliged to elude a compliance with these orders. And in this determination, he did not, in any of his subsequent despatches of the 1st, 9th, and 31st of August, allude to in the slightest degree, much less act in obedience, to the directions of the Governor-General. It was not only till after the last despatch had been written that he learned that the note had, through Mr. Palmer, reached the hands of the Governor-General in Council. Accordingly, on the 8th of September, he has no longer any motive for silence, and he, with apparent carelessness, states, in reply to the letter of 19th July, to which he then for the first time replies, that the proposition for the loan had been included in a note addressed to one of his Assistants, which note he believes to be in the Government's hand, among the papers clandestinely transmitted by Messrs. Palmer and Co. This position was, undoubtedly, a desperate one, when the murder came out on the 31st of August. He had now no alternative but to persuade the Government that Chundoo Loll and Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. were in league to counteract, to disorder, and finally to displace himself. He saw, on the 31st of August, that he was discovered,—that his intrigue, in withholding the note, had become known, and he therefore formed the determination of removing Chundoo Loll, and of annihilating the House of Palmer and Co.

It is at once amusing and disgusting to watch, in his despatches from the 20th of June to the 31st of August, the great contrast that occurs. There is not one of them but turns with slanderous insinuations against the Minister and the House of Palmer and Co.

I will now read Sir C. Metcalfe's despatch of the 9th of August, 1822, and if it does not indicate at once his settled and fixed design to remove Chundoo Loll from his post, I never was so much mistaken in the whole course of my

life. This is the letter which renders the intrigue so glaring :—

'To G. SWINTON, Esq., Secretary to Government, Fort William.

SIR :—Some days ago, the nominal Prime Minister of the Nizam's Court, Nawaub Mooneer-ool Moolk, sent me a message, saying that he had been directed by his Highness to wait on me, and adding a complimentary intimation of the gratification which he derived from that order. I returned the reply usual on such occasions, expressive of the happiness which I should have in seeing him, and he came the next day.

'A visit of this kind from the Dewan was so unusual, if not unprecedented, since the nomination of the present Ministers, that it naturally attracted much attention. Rajah Chundoo Loll considered that it was meant as an attack on his power, and was much alarmed. He gave me notice of it previously to Mooneer-ool Moolk's message, but added a different account of the cause, for he informed me that the Nawaub had persuaded the Nizam that he had been invited by me.

'When Mooneer-ool Moolk came, after some common complimentary conversation, he apprized me that he had been sent by the Nizam to inquire how matters stood, with regard to the interchange of territory between his Highness and the British Government, especially as to whether or not further cessions would be required from his Highness? I replied, that there was a balance against his Highness, arising out of the excess of revenue which he had received compared with what he had ceded, and that I hoped the matter would soon be adjusted to his Highness' satisfaction.

'This being the whole of the commission with which Mooneer-ool Moolk professed to be charged, he went on to talk of other matters on his own part. He spoke of our measures for the amelioration of the condition of the Nizam's subjects, and praised highly what had been done. He described also the Nizam's feelings on my conduct generally in such flattering terms, that if I could believe what he said, I should be satisfied that my endeavours to carry into effect the benevolent intentions of the Governor-General in Council had not been exerted in vain. But I need not point out how impossible it is to be sure that a Native of India is speaking truth, when he has any object to effect.

'He used different terms, as was to be expected, with regard to Rajah Chundoo Loll, and dwelt particularly on the waste of the public resources in bribery, for the support of his power.

'He (Mooneer-ool Moolk) said, that the whole of the Nizam's family was bribed; and of his own, he declared

not only that every servant that he had was in Chundoo Loll's pay, but that even his own mother-in-law sent that Minister a daily account of the occurrences of the inmost recesses of his (Mooneer-ool Moolk's) house. (*A laugh*.) Of the general truth of what he said on this subject I have no doubt, having always received similar information from various quarters. During his discourse on the state of the country, I availed myself of the opportunity to endeavour to impress on his mind, with a view also to its possible communication to the Nizam, a correct notion of the real nature, object, and extent of our interference in the affairs of his Government. I knew that reports, exactly such as under such circumstances might be expected, had gone abroad, of our present measures being only a prelude to taking entire possession of the country as a British possession.

'I therefore explained to him that our actual interposition was precisely with an opposite view, and in order to save the Nizam from such a result, which, in the way in which ruin was proceeding, would have been inevitable. I further explained, that as soon as any assurance could be obtained that oppression would cease, our interference would be immediately relinquished as unnecessary and useless. I have repeatedly held out the same pledge to Rajah Chundoo Loll, when he has offered temporary opposition to measures which I have recommended as essential; and I hope to see the day when this pledge may be safely redeemed. I hold the same language to all persons who communicate with me on the subject, in anticipation of the suspicions which, with or without interference, the Natives of India are universally inclined to entertain, judging from the events of our history, without being able to discern their causes. This visit from Mooneer-ool Moolk has doubtless been considered as the commencement of an intrigue against Chundoo Loll. From the alarm which it produced in the mind of the latter, he must have entertained a similar apprehension. I have endeavoured to persuade him, that he has no reason to doubt any serious consequences. One of his observations was remarkable: "What can Mr. Metcalfe do, however much inclined to support me, if the Nizam himself proposes my dismissal?" This was before Mooneer-ool Moolk's visit, and it seems that Chundoo Loll must have apprehended that such a communication from the Nizam was in contemplation. My own belief is, that this fear is without ground; and I am happy to say that Mooneer-ool Moolk did not hint, in the most distant manner, at the probability of the Nizam's entertaining such an intention. Mooneer-ool Moolk has since

informed me by message, that the Nizam was much pleased with the assurances which our conversation had enabled him to carry to his Highness of my attachment to his Highness' interests, and of the friendly disposition of the British Government; and that the Nizam expressed much gratification at the result of his visit, I hear also from other quarters; but why he should particularly be so I know not, for there was nothing in my communication to Mooncer-ool Moolk which his Highness might not have heard, long ago, through Chundoo Loll. I am uncertain, therefore, as to what I may infer from this information; [and then comes] 'I have the honour,' &c. &c. (*Laughter*.)

For what purpose, I ask, was this letter written? Was it not to prepare the Government for the contemplated substitution of Mooncer-ool Moolk, who was to be Sir C. Metcalfe's creature, for Chundoo Loll, who acknowledged fealty only to the British power, but not to its capricious abuse in the hands of an irresponsible representative? The effect of this visit at Hyderabad may be easily conceived. That it was achieved by Sir C. Metcalfe, no rational person can doubt. So conscious is he of this necessary conclusion, that he himself states, "that the visit has, doubtless, been considered as the commencement of an intrigue against Chundoo Loll." At length, on the 31st August, in the 57th paragraph of that apparently rambling but designing despatch, he proves his eager anticipation of the dismissal of Chundoo Loll, by asking the Government whether, in the event of the Nizam proposing such a measure to him, he is to receive the intimation favourably or otherwise? This denoted a foregone conclusion in Sir C. Metcalfe's mind. He had, in the 51th paragraph of the same despatch, given it as his opinion, 'that the conduct best suited to the circumstances, would be to court the good-will of the Nizam himself, in preference to any of his servants.' That Sir C. Metcalfe should have hazarded the expression of such an opinion, after the character which had been given of that strange personage by himself, as well as by all his predecessors, accredited to that Court, can only be accounted for in connexion with his ulterior object. He offers no explanation whatever of this new point of view in which he would exhibit the Nizam. It is impossible to doubt, that he already held the Minister's dismissal to be certain, conscious as he was, that it only required a hint be-

ing conveyed to the Nizam to ensure the proposition being made. In the 33d to the 36th paragraph of the same despatch, he rings the changes at the supposed removal of Chundoo Loll, and entertains the Government with sundry speculations on the result of that event. But the concluding paragraph is not the least deserving of notice. It runs thus:—

'I have this day received intelligence of a very extraordinary nature, which induces me to transmit it (this despatch) without connexion and without delay, lest the additions and alterations I might make to it, should receive a bias from that intelligence.' (*Cries of hear.*)

Now, what was the news which could induce the Resident to transmit his despatch in so great a hurry, from the apprehension that his mind might receive a bias, so as to make him distort and falsify the letter he had just written? That intelligence then was, that the note of the Minister—the note which he had so improperly kept back from the Governor-General, contrary to his duty, and in defiance of the instructions—that that note had found its way to the hands of the Government. This important information was, that the Minister had judged it expedient to apply from the Resident to the judgment of his masters. (*Hear.*) Now, I ask, when these proceedings are taken into consideration, can Sir C. Metcalfe be considered a candid and unbiassed historian? (*Hear.*) Can he be judged on impartial evidence? The Court will scarcely believe it, but such was the state of mind in which Sir C. Metcalfe penned his reports of the 31st August and the 3d September; so passionately and violently did he write them, that he considered it necessary, on the 5th September, to correct a mistake into which he had fallen in his despatch of the 31st of August, on the subject of the rules laid down for the regulation of the Resident's performance of his duties. The following is the letter of the 3d of September:

'To G. SWINTON, Secretary to Government, Fort William.

'SIR,—I hasten to correct a mistake into which I have fallen in my report of the 31st ultimo. I observed therein, that I had not discovered any explicit instructions on my records for the Resident's giving his support to the Minister Chundoo Loll. (*Hear.*) I have this instant met with a despatch, under my own signature, conveying very explicit instructions on that point, and I wonder

how it before escaped my notice and recollection. (*Hear.*) I hope that the Governor-General in Council will excuse this inadvertency.' (*Hear.*)

Sir Charles Metcalfe had, at that time, been the representative of the British Government at the Nizam's Court, for nearly two years. During that period he had taken upon himself a most active and offensive direct interference in the internal government of the country;—a conduct not only directly opposed to that of his predecessor, but to the express orders of the Supreme Government, penned and communicated by himself. And at the end of this period, he confesses to have never given himself the trouble to ascertain the first and most important duty of his office, the very foundation on which the tone, demeanour, and conduct he was to observe towards the Nizam's Minister, were to be constructed. That Minister, he had observed, was confessedly the most capable man in the kingdom, the firm and attached adherent to British interests, the openly-avowed creature of British power, and the designated instrument through whom he had been told to work out the objects for which he was himself sent to Hyderabad. Instead, however, of following his instructions, he endeavoured to oust the Minister from his situation. (*Hear, hear.*) When he had spent three days in reflecting on the news of the Minister's note having reached the Government, Sir Charles resumes his pen. In his letter of the 3d September, he says :

'That he has long been aware of a plot hostile to him and to his proceedings; one part of which has been to persuade the Minister that he (Sir Charles Metcalfe) was inimical to him, and that he must look elsewhere for support.'

He then gives a long rigmurle story of his having called on the Minister to account for his conduct; and, by his own account, he appears to have so frightened the poor man, that he states him to have put up his hands in a beseeching attitude, and to have prayed to the great man to forgive him. (*Hear and laughter.*) He induced the Minister to say a great many things, which he, with much adroitness, declared to be true or false, as best suited his views. He put into his mouth insinuations to the discredit of the honour of Palmer and Co.; and compelled him to assert them to be the real authors of the note, and the instruments of its transmittal to Government. He states, that he conversed for four hours with

the frightened Minister, though there was more good humour on his own part than was expected by the Minister. He says he told the Minister, in a jocular way, that "he never could forgive the trick he had played him; and that the matter went off with a laugh on both sides." The following ominous and half-threatening paragraph concludes the letter:—

'Much more conversation passed between us, than I am able at present to relate or recollect.' I may hereafter have many observations to make on the subject of this letter; but I await your intimation of the commands of his Excellency the Governor-General in Council, regarding the communications of Rajah Chundoo Loll, through Messrs. William Palmer and Co. The mode in which they have been received, will either render necessary a very disagreeable detail, or will relieve me from that necessity. It will also decide, to Chundoo Loll's conviction, what his conduct shows to be at present doubtful in his mind; *i.e.* whether the Resident, or the Firm of William Palmer and Co., be the real representative of the British Government at this Court.'

The Resident now found that he had got into a strait, and he resolved to get out of it as quickly as he could, in some way or other. He began, then, to attack, with great vigour, both the House and the Minister. Now, I request the Court to pay particular attention to the despatches, from this day forward; and if you find in them one single dispassionate statement respecting the character of the Minister, Chundoo Loll, or with regard to the views of the House of Palmer and Co., I am ready to allow myself to be set down as one who has employed himself in inventing a tissue of falsehoods. I think the Court may now very well account for the change which took place in the statements of Sir Charles Metcalfe. You will be able to discern the causes of the difference between his opinions before and after he made his journey up the country. He had been arbitrarily interfering with the Minister's arrangements. The Minister had, in consequence of his proceedings, appealed for redress to the Government. When this circumstance came to the ears of Sir Charles Metcalfe, as he knew that the Minister could bring too many and too respectable witnesses to give evidence as to his proceedings, he formed the determination of ruling the House of Palmer and Co., and of driving Chundoo Loll from his situation. I am thoroughly convinced of

the correctness of this reasoning, and I am ready to let it rest in the judgment of my country. My opinions are placed on record—they are in print before the public—and any one who reads them can judge for himself whether I have advanced slanders or stated truths alone, and draw incontrovertible deductions from them. For my own part, I conceive I have clearly demonstrated the causes which gave rise to the hostility the Resident had displayed towards Messrs. Palmer and Co. Conscious of the purity of my motives, I am willing to stand or fall, as the judgment of my country may approve or disapprove of the decision to which I have been impelled. It is not my wish to press more severely than is requisite on the individual whose conduct I have arraigned. When men are placed in a critical situation, they often do what, originally, they had not even thought of. This frequently happens with those who are raised to a high station, and who have not a friend about them to encourage them when they act rightly, and to point out to them the mischievous consequences of their conduct when they are proceeding in a wrong career.

The Governor-General in Council wrote a very paternal reproof to the letters I have just referred to. The despatch of the 25th October 1822, contains this reproof. The noble Marquis, in that despatch, clearly displays the wrong part of the Resident's proceedings. He shows the policy which should have been observed, under existing promises and treaties, towards the Nizam; but declares that, judging from the Resident's former conduct, he still retained his fullest confidence. The Governor-General adopted the maxim, "To do a great right, do a little wrong," in speaking of the transactions between the British Government and the Nizam. Indeed, throughout the whole of the despatch, the Governor-General takes a masterly view of the subjects on which the previous letters of Sir C. Metcalfe turn. He spoke, with some degree of censure, of the conduct of Mr. Wm. Palmer, in having, situated as he was, transmitted the note of Chundoo Loll to the Government. It was, however, difficult to say by what other channel that complaint could have reached the Governor-General, considering that it was against an individual who was in possession of enormous influence and power. The Governor-General has placed in the clearest point of view the misconduct

of the Resident, in having, with regard to the support which should be given to Chundoo Loll, that Sir Charles Metcalfe wholly forgot the treaty or agreement under which that support was promised.

I think I have succeeded in showing the reason why the Bengal Government gave so ready an ear to Sir C. Metcalfe's representations. He first lulled its suspicions by means of spurious statements, and then he commenced his attacks with impunity on the characters of men who were estimable in private life. For my own part, I sincerely declare I would be ready to change characters, now, and for the future, with Mr. Russell, with Sir Wm. Rumbold, and with Mr. Wm. Palmer, if these Papers are at all indicative of the conduct they pursued. I challenge the reasoning of Mr. Stuart, and those who have adopted his opinions;—but I wish it to be understood that I am far from denying that those individuals had not performed services which were advantageous to the Company. I truly believe they have performed such duties; and I believe them perfectly qualified to perform all their duties in life, when they were not impeded by circumstances. It is not my desire to cast imputations on any individual. I wish not to reflect on the Court of Directors on account of their proceedings: such a course is foreign to my habit or manner. I never did, nor ever will, seek to destroy a character, or inculpate an individual, by hint or innuendo. It has been said by an hon. Proprietor (Mr. Freshfield), that, in order to gain a point in debate, I had opened this question with great skill and dexterity. Now I put it to any unprejudiced man, whether I can justly be charged with having employed any unbecoming skill or dexterity. (*Hear, hear.*) In introducing this question to the Court, I adopted that very way which I thought was least likely to occasion irritation.

I observe the hon. Chairman is looking at the clock; but if I speak till 12 o'clock to-night, I am determined to offer all the remarks that occur to me, even if only half a dozen Proprietors were to be left to listen to me. Now, I will ask the hon. Proprietor who has accused me of skill and dexterity, what has been his own conduct? The first anxiety manifested by that hon. Gentleman, who had shown himself to be Mr. Adam's friend, was to be informed whether there were any papers before the Court that had reference to Mr. Adam's case. He was assured there

were none. But this did not suit the purpose the hon. Gentleman had in view, and therefore the Chairman, in his speech, had the dexterity to read the Papers alluded to. I do not mean to blame the conduct of the hon. Chairman: if he thought he could make a point, he certainly had a right to do so. But I cannot, at the same time, help thinking it an extraordinary proceeding, to publish the opinions which had been read: for in what way were these opinions obtained? Why, by laying before Counsel a heap of Papers, without pointing out a specific charge that was to be founded on them. "Here," said the Directors, "is a lot of Papers: cannot you find a conspiracy or some other charge upon them?"

The learned Serjeant (Bosanquet), whom they had consulted, is not at present in Court; but I must say the Directors have acted towards him, and towards the Attorney-General, in a very unfair way. The opinion of the latter Gentleman I know, for I have had some conversation with him upon this subject. It is, in my idea, exceedingly objectionable to produce these opinions, when it has been declared that no legal means can be taken relative to the transactions on which they were given. This is precisely the feeling of the Attorney-General himself on the subject. When it had been declared by Counsel that no legal proceeding could be instituted in a given case, the door was considered to be closed against any farther consideration of the subject, and they naturally adopted expressions more freely and more easily than they would under other circumstances. The door was, in fact, shut upon the whole question, when Counsel said, "You cannot go into a Court of Law with this case." Where was the necessity of reading the opinions in Court? The opinions of Counsel were opposed to those of the Directors, but they thought it expedient to produce the words and reasoning of those learned Gentlemen. "I have perused," said Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet, "nine volumes of Papers, (I must admit, a pretty large field for speculation,) relating to the transactions of the House of Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co. with the Nizam's Government." The learned Serjeant then went into a detailed examination of the transactions they related to. We were told by the hon. Chairman on a former day, that these legal opinions "fortified the Court of Directors in their decision."

Fortified them in their decision!—What decision? No decision has been come to by the Court of Directors on the subject, in consequence of these opinions. Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet, in his opinion of the 27th of Feb. 1824, uses the following expressions:—

"I have read the Papers sent to the Chairman by Sir William Rumbold, and have also had one opportunity of looking at the accounts, but I have found no reason to alter my opinion, which I have already expressed; that a criminal imposition has been practised upon the Bengal Government by the House of W. Palmer and Co.; whether larger sums of money may or may not have been advanced, between February and August, 1820, to Chundoo Loll, than would have been advanced if the sanction of Government to the pretended loan had not been expected; still I am of opinion, that the sixty lac loan is a fictitious transaction and a fraud. It cannot escape observation, that all the money advanced was debited to the Hyderabad accounts, which was a general account with the Minister of two per cent. per mensem, whereas the pretended sixty-lac loan professed to be made at eighteen per cent., at which interest the advances should have been charged if considered as anticipations of that loan, subject to the expected approval of that loan."

These parties are charged with having concealed the *bonus*. Now, I contend this is not true. (*Hear.*) They forwarded to the Government all the written communications which had passed between them and Chundoo Loll; and at the time they were so doing, they thought they might be enabled to raise the money on such terms as would allow them to lend it at eighteen per cent. They did, however, subsequently, in consequence of losses, think it necessary to change the terms. But I can prove, from letters written by Mr. John Palmer at Calcutta, to Sir William Rumbold, in the months of July and August, that the House was even then endeavouring to raise money at twelve per cent. I can show, from these letters, that the monied men at Calcutta thought the security so bad that they would have nothing to do with it on any terms whatever. Their principal objection was, that they did not wish to lend their money for a longer period than one year. Mr. John Palmer, in his letter of the 30th of July, says:—

"I must speak to some of the monied Europeans, and see whether they will come forward with a few lacs: but I own a want of confidence in the result,

although I should probably raise as large a sum at eight or nine per cent. as at twelve per cent., *neither do I believe any one will lend for more than one year.*

'I had given you credit for having secured all the funds you required on the spot, and really there is a want of circumspection in the omission, which is reprehensible. But had you secured the whole loan at twelve per cent., I submit whether eighteen per cent., if you have no latent advantage, can possibly compensate your anxieties, trouble, and concomitant expenses. But you require my aid, and not my reflections. I will do you all the good I can, be assured.'

Now this was the peculiarity in the loan:—It was to continue for six years, and during that time Messrs. Palmer and Co. being subject to the claim of their constituents for the restitution of their money, or the leaving it in the hands of the Firm only, on the condition of recovering an increased interest. Under the altered terms, Palmer and Co. were to receive twenty and three-quarters per cent. And what security had they for their money? Why, they might whistle for it, if the Minister did not effect the reform he had promised. It might well be said by Mr. J. Palmer, in his letter of the 1st of August, 1820:—

'I confess the straits you are in (if you are not humbugging me in point of some reservation) lead me to consider your project very ill-digested and of little promise.'

I contend, there was no concealment on the part of Messrs. Palmer and Co. The terms were known, both in the case of the Aurungabad and the Berar Accounts. The Government knew, when it sent for the accounts, that those transactions bore an interest of 24 per cent. Then, what should make them suppose the Government would be displeased at their lending money at 20½ per cent. (*Hear.*) It is very plain, that to the Minister it was an object of no little importance, to keep up the character among his enemies, as well as among his friends, of a person who could borrow money at an interest as low as 15 per cent. It was not only a feather in his cap for that particular moment, but was likely to be of essential service to his Government hereafter. As long as the altered terms were concealed from the Soucars, they would lend money at a less rate of interest; and therefore the Minister acted a just part in not making them public. But the House of Palmer and

Co. had no such motive for concealment. They harboured no desire of the kind. Some people have run away with the idea, that 24 per cent was an exorbitant rate of interest. But they have formed their conclusion, without taking into consideration what security there was for its repayment. (*At this part of the hon. Proprietor's speech there were loud cries of "Question."*)

The CHAIRMAN.—I request the Court will allow the hon. Proprietor to conclude his Speech. I must, however, take the liberty to remind him that he has been upon his legs upwards of three hours and a half. (*Loud cries of "Hear."*)

Mr. KINNAIRD.—I am at this very moment endeavouring to save the time of the Court. (*Hear, hear.*) I can assure you I am quite as much inconvenienced as you are; but I have a duty to perform, and under no circumstances will I consent to abandon it. I feel myself bound to read the Attorney-General's opinion, which, in my opinion, decides the question entirely in favour of the House of Messrs. Palmer and Co. (*Question, question.*) If I refrain from reading it, I may be accused of being afraid of producing it. (*Loud cries of "Question."*) If you will admit that I am not afraid to read it, I will shut the book. (*Much confusion.*) I have much to regret on this occasion, because it may be supposed that I have given rise to all the personal discussion which has occurred during this Debate. I trust, however, that those who have attended to these proceedings will acquit me of having used one word, in bringing forward this discussion, that could by any construction lead to a discussion on any subject but the character of the Marquis of Hastings, as connected with those transactions. But when a discussion of a very different nature has been introduced,—when it is thought fit to agitate a question which afforded a wide latitude for debate,—it would be supposed that I admitted the truth of the allegations that have been advanced against the House of Palmer and Co., if I were not to endeavour to vindicate their conduct, and display the falsehood of those allegations. It has been essayed to prove the truth of the assertions levelled against Messrs. Palmer and Co., by repeated reference to the documents and despatches. The assertions of those who had slandered the House have been quoted for the purpose of upholding the truth of those very assertions. This was, to say the

least of it, a novel mode of reasoning. It is no more than repeating the assertions of their enemies, which ought to be proved true before they were adduced as evidence.

Some Gentlemen have treated us with copious extracts from the mass of papers; and, taking every rumour, every hearsay, as fact, they jumped to the conclusion, that Messrs. Palmer and Co. had conducted themselves in a very improper way. I cannot, however, sit down, without reading some part of the Attorney-General's opinion. That learned Gentleman takes such a view of the question as appears to me to amount to a complete justification of the House. I would willingly let their cause rest on that opinion. The document is dated Sept. 28, 1821, and proceeds thus:—

'Dear Sir,—I have perused the Hyderabad Papers, and agree with Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet, in thinking, that in the event of any criminal proceeding being instituted against the Members of the Firm of W. Palmer and Co., the best course will be to charge them with having conspired to obtain, by false representations, and for their own private ends, the sanction of the Bengal Government to the sixty lac loan. The payment of arrears to the troops, the reduction of unnecessary establishments, the advancing of money for the improvement of the country, the discharge of debts to Soucar and others, were stated to the Government as the principal objects of the loan, whereas the greater part of it is said to have been applied in pursuance of a previous understanding between the parties to the discharge of debts, due from the Government of the Nizam to the House of W. Palmer and Co.; and this was effected by a mere transfer of the old debt to the account of the loan, without any advance being actually made, or any reduction of expenditure having been either accomplished or intended.'

Now, he who stated this to the Attorney-General has stated that to which the Papers give the lie direct. (*Cries of "Order."*) The accounts themselves show the falsehood of the statement. For their accounts are perfectly simple—indeed, more simple than the accounts of Bankers usually are. In them are to be found no transfers—no double entries. The opinion proceeds thus:—

'I cannot, however, help entertaining considerable doubt as to the result of a prosecution in this case; not merely from the complicated nature of the accounts and transactions, (of the effect of which, in a criminal prosecution, every person conversant with the proceedings in Courts of Justice must be sensible,) but also

from the circumstance, that one object of the loan was expressly stated to be the discharge, among other claims, of the debt due to Wm. Palmer and Co.; and it certainly is not a little singular, that after this was stated, both in the letter of the Minister, and also in the note of Wm. Palmer and Co., no inquiry was made by the Bengal Government as to the amount of that debt, so as to ascertain what sum would be applicable to the other purposes of the loan. It appeared, that on the Anrumbad and Berar Soucar Accounts, both of which were received with the knowledge of the Government for public objects of importance, there was then due to the House of Wm. Palmer and Co. upwards of 30 lacs of rupees, and which therefore they were entitled to deduct from the loan, or to have immediately repaid out of it.'

They would of course pay themselves. The good sense of the Attorney General saw this at once. The learned Gentleman goes on to say:—

'The extent of this deduction cannot therefore, I think, be made matter of charge against the House of W. Palmer and Co., particularly as the Bengal Government, (although the existence of these accounts must have been known to it,) does not appear to have made any inquiry upon the subject. Independently of these sums, very large payments were made to the Minister, while the loan was in contemplation, or in progress, to the extent of upwards of thirty lacs, reduced by receipts during the same period to about twenty-two lacs, and it will no doubt be contended that these large advances would not have been made except upon the confidence, that the loan would take place, and that they are therefore in substance to be considered, and were by the parties at the time considered, as made in respect of the loan, and that, as to the application of them by the Minister, the House of Palmer and Co. is not to be held responsible. I am aware that, upon these advances, interest at the rate of two per cent. per month is charged in the account, and therefore it may be fairly argued that they were not advances on account of the loan, which was fixed at the rate of 18 per cent. per annum; but still, I cannot help thinking, notwithstanding the circumstance, that in the event of a trial, a jury might be disposed to consider that the advances, though not made specifically, and in terms on account of the loan, were made with reference to, and in contemplation of it, and that it was for the Minister to make the proper application of the money. Another ground of charge arises out of representations, as to the extent of the loan, though stated to

amount to sixty lacs, it consisted in fact of only fifty-two lacs, the difference being retained by way of *bonus*. But here again it is remarkable, that the Bengal Government did not require any engagement, or even distinct communication, as to the terms of the contract. The subject was discussed, but all the information upon it was deliberately, and, after much consideration, dispensed with.

All information was dispensed with! Is it the fault of Messrs. Palmer, if Lord Hastings, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Fendall, choose to dispense with all information? There they were prepared to afford the information, if it had been required of them. (*Hear, hear.*) And yet, forsooth, these parties are to be prosecuted for a conspiracy, and the Bengal Government, who have neglected their duty, are to pass unnoticed. Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. are to be prosecuted for concealing what they were not required to reveal! The learned counsel says, it was discussed in Council, whether information should be demanded, but the Government

‘Appear to have satisfied themselves with general and vague reasoning and inferences, when, if specific information had been required, it must either have been fairly communicated, or, if a false representation had been made, it would have afforded a distinct and precise ground of charge against the House.’

Let us hear no more, then, of trying the House for a conspiracy. For if blame attaches any where, it must fall on the Bengal Government, and not on Messrs. Palmer and Co.

I will now, Sir, before I sit down, remind the Court of the situation in which I stand. I have taken on myself to challenge all attack on the character of the Marquis of Hastings. I have looked in every direction for attack, but I have not been successful—I have found it not. Feeling as much for that noble individual's character as he himself does, and no man was ever more sensitive to his honour and fame—I say, feeling as acutely for his character as for my own, to this conclusion I come, that all the charges which have been brought against him, that all the accusations advanced by special pleading, and by torturing sentences from their true meaning, that all that was able to be alleged against the noble Marquis resolves itself into an accusation of *favouritism*. Those, however, who make this accusation, add, “but that *favouritism* was connected with no base or corrupt motive.” (*Hear, hear.*) I say, Sir, that any public man entering on public duties, who could not meet with such insinuations,

such indirect charges, as have been whispered against the Marquis of Hastings, and who, notwithstanding, could not still preserve the brightness of his character unstained and unsullied—I say, such a man is not fit for an elevated station in society. This *favouritism* the noble Marquis has been charged with, and yet, on all sides, he has been acquitted of harbouring any corrupt motive. I will not split words. That is the meaning of the hon. Chairman's amendment; and I have no doubt he intended it to have that import. Let it go then forth to the world, with all the weight that may be attached to it. I am convinced that my hon. Friend (Sir J. Doyle) will henceforth meet, without a blush on his cheek, this illustrious nobleman. I am convinced he will feel that I have not injured his noble friend and countryman's character by the course I have adopted.

I cannot help, Sir, saying, that a more extraordinary situation than that in which the Court of Directors is placed, it is impossible to conceive. The hon. Chairman who moved the amendment, and the hon. Director who seconded it, came into Court as if apprehensive their own records could not bear them up against the opinion of the day. If the Court of Directors are not satisfied with their own acts, but must appeal to this Court for approval, I think they hardly deserve the situation they hold. It would have been for their own dignity, if they had not stood forward in the manner they have done. Do you feel that your own conduct cannot stand the test of examination. If you feel it requisite to call on this Court for a vote in your favour, which you know you can obtain every day, then I conceive that the situation in which your character stands, to be truly lamentable. If you do mean to proceed thus, if you do intend to call on the Court of Proprietors to express their approbation of the despatches you have transmitted, you may rest assured that when the time arrives for the renewal of your charter, the circumstance will not elude observation. You woefully deceive yourselves, if you imagine that the sanction given to your acts by such a proceeding will satisfy the public. The public will laugh at you; the public will naturally inquire into the value of a sanction like this, coming, as it does, from the Court of Proprietors, a varying body, some members of which have attended on this occasion who will never visit it again. I, for one, desire that this question shall go to ballot. Eight other Proprietors are, with me, ready to demand a ballot. I think that those who support the original motion, may do so without, in the least, casting an imputation on the executive. I do not wish to withhold fair tribute of

respect to the Court of Directors; but when I am desired to give my vote on one subject, I will not take that opportunity of stating my opinion on another. When you apply to me in a direct way to give my opinion on your conduct, I shall be foremost in declaring what my opinion is; and I trust it will not be forgotten, that I have not this day met the eulogiums which have been pronounced on the Court of Directors with any remarks calculated to cast a shade of discredit on those commendations. (*Reiterated cries of Hear.*)

THE CHAIRMAN.—The Court must be aware that having had the honour of moving the amendment, I have a right to reply. I have not, however, a wish to do so. I would not think of taking up any more of your valuable time, as so much of it has been occupied already with the discussion of a question which has been so thoroughly considered, but will come at once to the question. I shall say nothing respecting the remarks which have been made on my conduct in this business. I am very well content to leave that to the consideration of the Proprietors, rather than detain them by my observations. (*Cries of Hear.*) I cannot, however, refrain from observing, on the part of my hon. Friends and myself, that we do not rest our character on the decision of this Court. We are perfectly satisfied with the justice and uprightness of the line of conduct we have pursued hitherto, and will be so, whether the vote of this Court should approve or disapprove of the amendment. That amendment does not seek the thanks of the Court. I do not look for them, though I am far from underrating their value. The amendment goes this far and no farther,—it goes to this point—and a most important point it is,—whether the decision of this day is to sanction rule or misrule in India? (*Hear, hear, hear.*) (g) Whether that practice,

which has produced such mischievous results, is to continue to exist in India?—(*Cries of Hear.*)—And convinced am I that it will continue, unless the proposition contained in the amendment be sanctioned by your *Hear, hear.*) I shall now put the question for your decision. (*Loud cries of Hear.*)

The Court was then cleared, and the question put,—that the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the question, which was decided in the negative. It was next moved,—that the words proposed to be inserted by way of amendment stand part of the question, which passed in the affirmative.—The amendment, thus become the main question, was then put, whereupon a requisition for a ballot was handed up to the Chairman, signed by the undermentioned Proprietors:—

JOHN DOYLE,	DOUG. KINNAIRD,
THOMPSON HANDY,	ALEX. NOWELL,
JOHN MILLER,	JAMES PATTERSON,
RANDLE JACKSON,	JOHN FULLARTON,
ALEX. JOHNSTONE,	

Friday the 18th inst. was fixed for the decision of the question by ballot, and the Court then dispersed at half-past nine o'clock.

[The result of the Ballot on Friday the 18th proved to be, that the amendment of the Directors was carried by a majority of 575 to 306.]

every day by the Directors, and the grossest acts of tyranny in that country receive the cordial support of the Proprietors, whenever they are convened to give their votes as their patrons and employers wish. We hope the day will come, however, when the question, whether further misrule in India shall be sanctioned by the people of England, as well as by a knot of selfish Monopolists? will be more earnestly discussed than it has ever yet been; and that the Directors, as well as the trained bands by whom they are now chiefly supported, will be compelled to hide their diminished heads from the scorn and indignation that cannot fail to be their reward.

(g) Well might the audience cry "Hear" at such an impudent assertion as this.—Misrule in India is sanctioned

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

No. I.—*Introductory.*

Let them learn, that every colony, while used in the proper manner, payeth honour and regard to its mother-state ; but when treated with injury and violence is become an alien. They are not sent out to be the slaves, but to be the equals, of those who remained behind.—THUCYDIDES, Book I.

THE power exercised by Great Britain in the East, is a political phenomenon ; we view it with the same sort of surprise as is occasioned by observing a bubble sailing a great while along the water, without bursting. It has already lasted long ; and, as it seems to depend on no certain principles, but to be sustained entirely by circumstances which came together no one knows how, there is no saying how much longer it may endure. Events have happened and are happening in Asia, from which a shadow has been cast over the future destinies of India. At home, the orators of Leadenhall-street are employed in waving common-places and sophisms, like fans, before the eyes of “ Honourable Proprietors,” whose range of mental vision appears to be, without this artifice, by far too confined to observe the complexion of principles in operation on the banks of the Ganges. As to the nation in general, they appear, up to this moment, to have forgotten altogether the extent and importance of Hindoostan. It has been thought of, as if it were a kind of fairy region, where people might pick up riches without care ; but then, no one was to enter it, who had not a talisman from the magicians of Leadenhall-street in his pocket ! Amazing infatuation ! It has never been considered that good government might have caused golden harvests to spring up on the plains of India for the sickle of every Englishman ; that it might in our hands have become the centre of a new circle of civilization which would embrace all Asia ; that by proper management the leaves of our Bacons and our Lockes might have been turned over with advantage by the fingers of millions of Hindoos, and all the spirit of our institutions have sprung up and survived, where now the car of Juggernaut rolls in the glare of infernal Suttees. This is still possible ; but it must be brought about by principles far different from those which have hitherto regulated our conduct in the East. We can do no permanent good to ourselves in that quarter, without benefitting the Hindoos ; they must share our institutions, our sciences, our arts, if we would, in any other character than that of robbers, participate of their mineral, agricultural, and manufacturing resources. They should be English-

men, as far as they can become so. But this change is not to be wrought by Missionaries alone. Men cannot communicate what they do not possess, and therefore teachers of religion are not the only persons necessary to imbue the Hindoos with the intellectual qualities of Europeans. The work must be the work of legislation. The Hindoos do not want dogmas only; they want morals, they want principles: and while these are wanting, tyrannize over them we may, but we shall never govern them with justice. In fact, we owe them civilization; it is the price, the only price, for which they parted with national independence; and if we do not pay it them, we are tyrants. But India will never be well-governed, unless the people at large in this country obtain a correct knowledge of the measures pursued in respect to it, and of its exact moral position; from whence they may judge what is just and politic. About that of which they know nothing, or have only a few vague, confused notions, people feel but a very feeble interest. We never inquire whether the inhabitants of the planet Saturn are well or ill governed, or whether plagues or earthquakes disturb their happiness; but, far as it is divided from us by space, our feelings towards them would be very different, if, by any means, we could receive a packet of intelligence from them, though it were only once in a hundred years. To the mass of Englishmen, the Hindoos are as little known as the Saturnian tribes. A little floating sort of intelligence goes the round, now and then, of the London Newspapers, and breaks off, like scattered rays, into the provincial journals; but it is entirely evanescent, and produces no result. Masses of other news come immediately at the back of it; the mind, running willingly into the more familiar channels, fastens upon these, and India and its concerns are forgotten.

Now, it is well known that governments never desire any thing more agreeable than to rule over a country whose concerns no one but themselves understands; for whatever they do must appear best in such a predicament. For this reason, they always oppose the advancement of knowledge. The principle, if not just, is intelligible; and explains a piece of policy which many honest people find it difficult to comprehend. To be more particular: the Ministry of this country have always contrived to persuade the House of Commons that our East Indian possessions are managed rarely by the grocers of Leadenhall-street; that if their monopoly were done away with, "Honourable Members" might be compelled to pay more for their tea; that fewer of their younger sons would get fortunes, or the cholera morbus, in Bengal; that, in many cases, their own wealth would be lessened most fearfully, if "adventurers" and "interlopers" were allowed to carry European knowledge and enterprise among the Brahmins. And this, "Honourable Members" believe, for want of knowing better. But, to effect any considerable good for India, it is not enough that Members of Parliament alone should comprehend its affairs; there must be a fund of knowledge common to them with the body of the nation; when they speak of Oriental matters, they must be understood, if we would ever have them speak well. At present, no charms of eloquence could keep attention awake for any length of time on a subject of mere Indian interest, as it would be termed. People imagine they are affected more sensibly and durably by questions of a purely domestic nature, than by such as involve remote interests and concerns; but, in reality, there is nothing connected with India to which

an Englishman, ought to be indifferent, nothing that can happen to it, but must affect his private interests, and the very comforts of his fire-side. A very slight acquaintance with our Oriental relations would demonstrate this. But even such an acquaintance would be incomplete, or rather must be without foundation, unless it were erected on an examination of our history in the East; unless it included a knowledge of what we have done, as well as of what we have acquired.

The methods, indeed, by which we acquired our Oriental power; the course of policy by which we have endeavoured to preserve it; the events, in short, connected with our establishment in India, seem at this moment to demand recapitulation. Not that books on Indian affairs are few or scarce, or that a new History of British India is wanting; for Mr. Mill's work is sufficiently minute and complete; but it is not to be expected that men occupied in the miscellaneous business of life should be able to peruse the various publications necessary to form a just notion of our Indian history, or even to go carefully through Mr. Mill's work, altogether as voluminous as Hume's history of the whole Empire. We have thought, therefore, that an epitome of these bulky volumes might be of considerable service to our readers, not as a substitute for Mr. Mill's History, but as a plain narration, as brief and perspicuous as we can make it, of the principal actions and events which laid the foundation, and wrought out the grandeur, of our Empire in the East. Such a narrative may, we think, be useful to two classes of persons; such as will be satisfied with a faithful outline of events, and such as desire to investigate their causes and relations. To the former, it will afford all the information they need; to the latter, it may serve as an introduction to Mr. Mill's work, and those other publications, which give long and elaborate accounts of every transaction, whether important or not. We shall omit whatever may appear of trifling or inferior consequence, for our aim is, as much brevity as shall be found consistent with a clear detail.

Of the nature of the events to be related, the reader who is conversant only in common history, will be able to form no conception whatever beforehand; they are anomalies in the general picture of human nature; for in all other transactions, a mixture of heterogeneous principles, as honour, ambition, mere activity, vanity, revenge, military daring, benevolence, produces a series of actions reflecting their natural hues upon each other, and forming a whole that is at least pleasing to behold, if it does not command our entire approbation; but in the outline we are about to draw, the iron hand of mere avarice is the sole agent, and this the reader will see every where at work, plucking out the chords of compassion from the heart, or crushing the widow and the fatherless, and the poor and needy, and those who have none to help them, in its remorseless grasp. In other histories, nation is seen struggling against nation for supremacy, or to preserve its freedom, and their champions are stimulated to heroic deeds by glory, or the nobler and purer motive of patriotism: it is not our good fortune to have any thing of that kind to relate in our history of the East India Company; on the contrary, we have to conjure up before the reader's fancy a hypocritical conclave of monopolists, skulking into a vast empire, with chains and death for the Natives, hidden in tea-chests and bullion coffers! We have to show him their agents in humble guise, following from place to place the pomp and splendour of the old sovereigns of Hindoostan, and entreating permission

merely to set foot upon their dominions as traders and merchants. We have to show them winding into the concerns of the country, like a serpent; strangling the lawful managers of those concerns, and then thrusting up their audacious crest, red with slaughter, and threatening destruction to whoever dares talk of humanity to the Natives! We have further to describe them as conniving at the worst abuses of despotism and superstition—drawing revenues from the Moloch of Juggernaut, and smiling, with the Gospel in their pockets, at the burning alive of human victims in abominable Suttees. To complete the picture, we must exhibit them turning round upon their own countrymen, whom curiosity, or a desire to impart to the Natives a knowledge of the sciences and arts of Europe had drawn into their possessions, and commanding them to be silent, and submit themselves to their tyrannical regulations, under penalty of imprisonment, transportation, and ruin! This is a strange state of things; but such is the condition of British India. It is now becoming, however, a subject of general interest; curiosity respecting it is thoroughly awakened; it is therefore necessary not only to search for such information as is original and referring to late events, but to revert also, as much as possible, to the fountain and rise of our Oriental Empire. The East India Company has, it should be remembered, the fortunes of all Englishmen in India, whether civil or military, in its hands; it is likewise clearly understood that this conclave of monopolists looks with a very jealous eye on all such disclosures of the true state of the country as their servants might be disposed to make; it is not, therefore, till long after the events, that truth comes before the public, when in most cases it is too late to reverse unjust decisions, or make reparation for injuries inflicted. But History can still “rejudge their justice,” blow away the clouds from calumniated innocence, and stamp everlasting infamy on the memory of evil men. It should give some pause, we think, to the jesuitical tyrants who rule over India in the present day, to think that every heartless sneer they utter against freedom and honourable principles, is treasured up by immortal pens in records where posterity will look for their characters. The thin disguises with which they veil their designs and actions from the unreflecting, are condemned by the politician and historian, who penetrate their most hidden motives, although they spring up and unfold themselves beyond the Indus or the Ganges. They may assure themselves that the Government-House and Supreme Court of Calcutta are as pious to the eyes of History as the courts and cabinets of Princes have been found to be; and that base actions and crooked policy originating in them will no less certainly be traced on a durable scroll, than such as flow from palaces. This is one strong source of consolation to those they have persecuted. To themselves it must be a source of uneasiness. For, whatever appearance of serenity and indifference men may put on, they cannot, with the consciousness in their minds of having acted unjustly, be either tranquil or indifferent.

Besides, the Empire of the East India Company is founded, as it has been often urged, upon *opinion*; not upon the opinion of the Natives of India, for they are kept down at the point of the bayonet, and ruled by the common methods of despotism; nor upon the opinion of English sojourners in Hindoostan, for they have no method of making it known. No, but it is founded upon the *opinion* entertained in *this country*, that we derive some advantage from the existence of the East India Com-

pany. Now the Directors are well aware that nothing could possibly prove so destructive to this opinion as a thorough knowledge of their concerns; they perceive clearly that their charter rests on a basis of mental darkness; that they have no hope, except what is derived from the expectation that they shall be able to stifle the spirit of inquiry. For on all occasions, when the wisdom of their rule is called in question, they are but too happy in being able to appeal to the ignorance of their countrymen. "Such and such opinions, and principles, and courses of action," say they, "are well enough calculated, we allow, to diffuse happiness and national wealth over these European realms; but human nature is very different in India! In the first place, the people are black, and are called by the most uncouth names in the world,—such as Chundoo Loll, Mooneer-ool-Moolk, and others of the same kind; and then they are not Christians, and can never, in all probability, be made such: add to this the well-authenticated fact, that they live on rice, and eat no beef; and can it be believed, for a moment, that they are a people fit to be intrusted with political freedom?"

By reasoning of this kind, the orators of the India-House contrive to satisfy the scruples of their countrymen. But were a knowledge of Indian affairs more generally diffused, people would not be abused by such a species of logic; they would be able to array in their minds a series of facts not to be dissipated by the empty sophistry of "Honourable Proprietors;" they would doubt, and demand specific information on questions in debate. And as long as India remains dependent on this country, it will be the duty of the nation to make the most of its resources, for the benefit of the colony, if it can be so called, as well as of the parent state. But this can never be done until the extent of those resources are clearly known; until it is known also what has been done for India, what might have been, and what should be done. No other nation, we believe, on the earth, possessing a dependency of such inestimable value, would ever have looked upon its advantages with that stern apathy which has always marked our conduct towards our Oriental possessions. Enlightened conquerors, if there ever were such, or conquerors who have passed for enlightened, and who have been so partially, have always been anxious to impart to their new possessions a bias towards the manners and customs of the victorious country: it is the only compensation they can give for the loss of liberty and national independence, and, when most complete, is extremely imperfect and inadequate. But even when this higher species of policy has been neglected through design or ignorance, it has been the almost uniform practice of mankind to turn their conquests to the best account, as it is called; that is, they have endeavoured to realize from their acquisition as great a quantity as possible of power and wealth. It will be seen from our *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, that we have never been actuated, in our conduct towards that country, by either of these principles; never been led to benefit either them nor ourselves in a rational and permanent manner. We have kept the country as the dog in the manger watched the hay: we have not enjoyed it ourselves, nor have we suffered any one else to enjoy it. This conduct has arisen from our ignorance, as much as any thing, of what might be done with India. The East India Company, composed of politicians without reach or capacity, have preferred, at all times, a small immediate gain, wrung by brute force from the very bowels (if we may

so say) of the country, to any superior advantages derivable from more deeply-seated springs, which might have been opened by labour, and made to flow in a perennial current on the whole body of the nation. They have not carried the mildness of European civilization with them into the East; they have put off the Englishman on their voyage out, and imbibed the principles of despotism along with the fiery warmth of its atmosphere; and, what may appear more surprising, the cautious trader has been transformed into the thoughtless tyrant. But there is nothing wonderful in this. A man of narrow views and little mind, removed suddenly from the contemplation of ledgers, or Oriental Grammars, or fashionable frivolities, into the airy regions of government, would be a miracle if he did not lose the balance of his prudence, and sacrifice largely to vanity. Avarice is a very powerful passion, but vanity is much more powerful in the greater number; and when a man can persuade himself, or when, in reality, he is sure that he can gratify both at once, there is no principle that can restrain his conduct. Hence the unaccountable pranks of the Company's Civil Officers in India. Hence the career of the Warren Hastingses, the Adams, and the Amhersts. We know well enough that it is the cant of the times to affect moderation on subjects of this kind: "it is unfair to attack the absent;" "it is unmanly to triumph over the dead." But no one feels any repugnance to call Nero or Charles the First a tyrant; or to express his scorn of a Harry the Eighth's lust, or a James's imbecility. No one of these moderate and gentle spirits felt, we dare say, the slightest disinclination to scatter gall and bitterness on the character of Napoleon when alive, because he was "absent," or now, because he is "dead;" and they may be assured that the hatred a man feels towards a public enemy is far less deep-seated and intense than that which he entertains towards a domestic oppressor. Civil wars are the cruellest, if they are the justest, of all wars; and the persecution of a fellow-citizen is more detestable and unnatural than the wrongs inflicted on us by a foreign enemy. From the latter we expect hostility, and are prepared to defend ourselves, and to inflict, in our turn, whatever injuries the laws of nations consider allowable in war; at the hands of the former it is customary to look for beneficent acts, for kindness, for co-operation, or, at the least, for common justice. When we are disappointed, when we find the reverse, our indignation is roused, we grow resentful; there is no room for mildness, it gives way before a torrent of stronger principles. This is what a nation feels towards its oppressors, towards every tyrant, great or small: but we, as historians, shall endeavour to let naked reason pronounce upon facts and characters; our object being to show the good and the bad that has been done by our countrymen towards the Natives, and towards each other, in the East, not so much with a retributive, as with a prospective, view, — desiring to incite to good deeds in future, rather than to brand former evil-doers for their crimes.

LITERARY AND POLITICAL CAREER OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE CANNING.

THE page of history has no record of substantial greatness and wealth to equal that of Great Britain at the present day. The extent of her dominions, if we include her mighty Empire in the East, exceeds Imperial Rome under Trajan, Aurelian, or the philosophic Antonines. Her colonies extend from pole to pole, and are watered by the dews of both hemispheres. The sails of her mighty commerce are spread on every sea. Her merchants are the merchants of the universe; and every breeze wafts unlimited wealth to her shores. In Asia she has no rival; her ascendancy throughout Hindoostan is supreme. She has usurped the throne of Aurungzebe; and is absolute from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains. To consummate her greatness, the New World is opening full upon her view. The rich conquests acquired by the genius of Columbus, and the daring of Cortez, Pizarro, and the first adventurers, have passed for ever from the feeble hands of Spain; and that vast continent, from Mexico to the La Plata, is now open to British enterprise.

Happy for the endurance of such power, if the possessions, which fortune and valour have acquired, are maintained by a wise and conciliating policy;—if justice shall at length be rendered to her subjects at home;—if her mighty monopoly in the East is not subverted by the oppression and imbecility of her servants;—if the lesson of history shall be open before her, to remind her what Carthage was,—the desolation that marks the site of once mighty Babylon,—the ruins of Imperial Rome,—the wreck of that vast dynasty which, under the Spanish Tiberius, clutched the New World, and overawed the Old,—and which now lies in ruins, like a huge karac stranded upon the ocean's bed. The leading Minister of such a country stands full in the view of the civilized world; his policy involves the happiness of millions; his name and actions incorporate themselves with history; and pass with honour or reprobation to succeeding days.

That high station is now occupied by Mr. Canning. After twelve years of despairing exclusion, the fall of his rival restored him again to power. At a moment when he was about to quit that theatre for ever, where he had so often played his glittering part, the grave closed over his competitor, and the reins he had so long held passed from his cold grasp to eager and abler hands. The shout of exultation that rose over the coffin of the fallen Minister, pealing through the aisles of the cathedral, and startling his pale colleagues as they stood round his remains, spoke the spirit of his administration, and the feelings of the people, but too well. With him neither genius nor feeling expired. He was alike talentless and heartless; his first step to power was on the ruins of his own country; and every act of his long ministry was directed to extinguish thought and freedom throughout the world. As the parched traveller, through the burning desert, whose aching eye only rested on the deceptive "mirage," or was relieved at weary intervals by some solitary Oasis, hails with delight the first glimpse of returning cultivation in fertile Egypt or Syria, it is consoling to us, to turn from an administration

where all was a cheerless waste—where scarce a single star broke forth to illuminate the darkened horizon, to that period of change when it was no longer night—when a Minister succeeded, whose genius at least was acknowledged, and whose career, if not unexceptionable, is distinguished by some sympathy with freedom, and marked by brilliancy and repose. From the time the foreign policy of Great Britain was intrusted to his hands, this country ceased to countenance the ruthless Ottoman in the horrid work of butchery and extermination through Greece. Though the invasion of Spain was permitted by a fatal weakness, England has been gradually divorced from its fell alliance with the despots of the Continent, and has at length assumed the station suited to her power and name among the nations of the earth. A better government has been dealt to Ireland; the burdens of both countries have been sensibly reduced; the independence of Southern America has been virtually acknowledged. We have flung from our hands a tattered compact with Old Spain, to ally ourselves with the rich countries of Montezuma and Atahualpa. This great regeneration, time and national energy has, in a great degree, accomplished; but much also has arisen from a change of councils: and it is not our wish to withhold from Mr. Canning an atom of that merit, to which he is really entitled. A short but candid memoir of this distinguished orator and statesman may not now be unacceptable to our readers:

The Right Hon. George Canning was born (we believe) at Paddington, in the neighbourhood of London, in the beginning of 1771, the same year in which his father died. His family in Ireland is respectable, and of long standing. Mr. George Canning the elder, though not distinguished by the talents and attainments of his celebrated son, had still a cultivated taste for literature, and was known in the world of letters by some productions of merit. He was educated for the bar, and for several years resided in the Middle Temple. He died at Paddington, which was his principal residence since his marriage. His literary pursuits, however, superseded, in a great degree, his legal studies. Among other productions from his pen, was a poetic epistle, supposed to have been addressed by the unfortunate Lord Wm. Russell, the dreadful night before his execution, to his devoted friend, Lord William Cavendish, who generously, as is known, offered to aid his escape, by changing clothes with him, and taking his place,—a sacrifice the murdered Patriot at once nobly declined. Mr. Canning also translated from the Latin of Polignac, his ‘*Anti Lucretius*’: the appearance of which was followed by a warm controversy with the Editor of the *Critical Review*. Mr. Canning died on the 11th of April 1771, and was interred in the new burial-ground of Marylebone, where his tomb, with an affecting inscription, was placed by his mourning widow. He left three children at his death, of whom the present Minister was, as we have already mentioned, the youngest. His guardianship, by his father’s death, devolved on his uncle, a respectable wine-merchant in the City, who, struck by the early proofs he gave of uncommon talent, had him educated with great care, and at an early age sent him to Eton.

Mr. Canning inherited, as an only son, from his father a small estate in Ireland, which had been long in his family, and was sufficient to defray all the expenses of a liberal education. His progress at Eton, that celebrated nursery of genius, was rapid and distinguished. He con-

tributed largely to a brilliant little publication, issued weekly, called the *‘Miscellaneous and Political Register,’* and which lasted about nine months, having begun in November 1786, and closed on the 30th of July 1787. The youthful band of Etonians engaged in this publication were, Lord Henry Spencer, Mr. Litchfield, Mr. Benjamin Way, Mr. John Frère, Messrs. John and Robt. Smith, Mr. Joseph Mellish, and Mr. George Canning. The papers written by Mr. Canning bore the signature of B., and formed the largest portion of the work. One of the most distinguished was an irascible Essay on the Laws of Criticism, as adapted to epic poetry, with a laughable investigation into the merits of the old ballad,—‘The Queen of Hearts she made some Tarts.’ The different papers of this animated little work were collected and republished at Windsor, in 1787, in one octavo volume, which was soon followed by two others.

From Eton, after a residence of some years, Mr. Canning entered at Christ Church, Oxford, where he was soon distinguished by his more matured talents and attainments. He became a member soon after of the Middle Temple, London, with a view to the bar as a profession. But a higher fortune, and one more suited to his genius, awaited him. Mr. Pitt was then in the zenith of power and popularity; his professed economic principles, and advocacy of reform, had procured him equal favour with the crown and the people. He had risen himself by the force of uncommon abilities; and was fond of surrounding himself with young men of talent; among whom the proud Minister moved, like a planet amid its attendant satellites. Early educated at Oxford, ‘Alma Mater’ still lived in his remembrance; and the

Doctarum hædere premia frontium,

were not disregarded by him in the proudest moments of ambition. The Minister apparently courted high rank more than talent on the Treasury Benches; but he had always his light troops about him, whom he pushed forward as skirmishers, while he prepared himself for the more serious conflict. Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Sturges Bourne, Sir Charles Long, and others, owed their early introduction into Parliament to Mr. Pitt’s patronage; and to such he delegated the task of reply to any minor opponent, while he retired to Bellamy’s, for an hour or two, with his “Fidus Achates,” Mr. Dundas, where they generally “drank deep ere they departed!” The Minister inherited a hereditary gout, from his great father, Lord Chatham, and with it a coldness of stomach, which needed strong stimulatives. Wine, in consequence, in large quantities, made no present impression upon him. His usual custom on sitting down at Bellamy’s was, to pour a bottle of port-wine into a large tumbler-glass, and swallow it at a draught; after which he returned to his place wholly undisturbed.

Mr. Canning’s name was mentioned to Mr. Pitt as a young man of most promising talents; and, by his influence, he was returned to Parliament, in 1793, at the early age of 22, for the borough of Newton in Hampshire, and a new career was opened before him. On the 31st of January 1794, Mr. Canning made his maiden speech, in defence of the subsidiary treaty just then concluded between this country and Sardinia; and sought to justify it, by referring to the subsidy granted to Portugal of 620,000*l.* annually, in the seven years’ war. His speech on this occasion, though in strength and connection it fell far short of his sub-

sequent efforts, still gave much future promise. He spoke on the second bench, just behind the Minister, and Mr. Pitt repeated what he said to him with evident feelings of sympathy and approbation. His warmest patronage and friendship were subsequently extended to Mr. Canning, while he lived. We have heard it asserted, and on good authority, that a previous intention existed to bring Mr. Canning into Parliament in the Opposition interest, and that on Mr. Pitt's dwelling one night exultingly on the speech of one of his youthful proteges, Mr. Fox rose, and said, that advantage would in a few nights be more than balanced by the appearance of a young Gentleman, on *their* side, of splendid talents. It is further said, that Mr. Canning's adherence to the powerful Minister was decided by the advice of Mr. Sheridan, who represented the gloomy prospects that, with his slender fortune, awaited a career of opposition. If any such connexion with Mr. Fox and his friends really existed, it was, however, soon severed, and Mr. Canning became a decided adherent of Mr. Pitt, and a warm advocate of all his measures. His speeches from the ministerial benches were now frequent, and he was soon appointed one of the joint secretaries in the foreign department, under Lord Grenville.

At the dissolution of Parliament in 1796, he was returned for the borough of Wendover, and further provided for by the place of Receiver General of the Alienation Office. He soon after became united to Mrs. Canning, an amiable and accomplished woman, one of the three daughters of the celebrated General Scott, who had accumulated an immense fortune by play. The elder sister was married to the present Duke of Portland—the second to Lord Downe; all brought large accessions of fortune to their husbands. General Scott was the individual of whom the story is told that, sitting one day, in the Thuilleries, at play with the present King of France, then the Comte D'Artois, and a stake of several hundred Louis d'ors before him, the widow of a military officer sent up an affecting petition for relief. The General just paused to glance at its contents, then, raising the box, said, "Here goes for the widow,"—when, having won, he swept the whole contents into her petition, and sent it down to her. His visits at Brookess, and White's, at that day, are said to have been prolonged, to the ruin of many a noble fortune. Among the rest, Lord Carlisle, then so distinguished by an extravagant taste for dress, by red heels, and "marechalle" powder, was said to have lost several thousands at a sitting. It was to this circumstance the allusion was made, at a masquerade at Mrs. Cornely's Rooms, where the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire, the lovely Mrs. Crews, and Mrs. Bouverie, appeared as witches, and apostrophized Lord Carlisle like the weird sisters in Macbeth—

All hail Carlisle!

Hail to thee! once Lord of annual thousands, thirty-three;

But now no more. Beware that Thane! beware that Scott!

He'll drain thee dry as mountain hay.

General Scott, however, was a far different character from the villain Charles—his honour was wholly unimpeached. Though the full flow of fortune almost invariably attended him, no imputation rested on his name. He mixed, while he lived, in the first circles, and died respected in the bosom of an amiable family.

Mr. Canning continued, for several years, to act with Mr. Pitt, until his secession from power, in 1801, when he resigned his employments, and followed his great patron into temporary retirement. It was at this period he gave a marked proof of his attachment to the fallen Minister, by the celebrated song from his pen, of "The Pilot that weathered the Storm." He had previously established "The Anti-Jacobin," or "Weekly Examiner," in conjunction with Mr. Frere and Mr. George Ellis, in which his satirical attacks on the political opponents of the then ministry, were vehement and frequent. But the fires of that mighty revolution which ten years before had burst on Europe, were then nearly exhausted. An armed truce with the Consular Government of France had been patched up by the feeble ministry of St. James's. Mr. Addington, the creature of Mr. Pitt, who was put forward, by his proud master, merely to act as his *locum tenens*, and keep his seat warm for his return, showed no disposition to resign, and roused the hostility of his rival. It was then Mr. Canning again dipped his pen in gall, and poured unsparing ridicule on the Minister and his colleagues. The names of Addington and Bathurst were, for the first time, "married to immortal verse," and the couplet of bitter ridicule is still remembered :

When his speeches falter vilely,
Cheer! oh, cheer him! brother Hiley.
When his speeches faltering lag,
Hark! to the cheers of Brother Brag!

All Mr. Addington's pacific virtues could not preserve his power. In vain he unfurled the imbecile Treaty of Amiens before the House; as vainly did he trust to the assured protection of the King, who was soothed by his want of all talent and pretension. The philippics of his proud rival were unceasing as those of Cicero against Mark Antony; the paquinades of Mr. Canning covered the whole party with ridicule. The majorities of the "Doctor" saw foul weather approaching, and nightly rattled in scores. Mr. Addington, after a hopeless struggle, retired in despair, and was consoled by a title, and the gift of Richmond Park.

Mr. Pitt again assumed the helm of the state; and his "poet" and friend was immediately appointed to the lucrative situation of Treasurer of the Navy, which he retained until the death of the Minister in 1806; when the whole administration fell to pieces; and Mr. Fox and his friends, after twenty years exclusion, again came into power. The Parliament was, of course, dissolved by the new ministry; and Mr. Canning, who had sat in the previous session for the Irish borough of Tralee, was then returned for that of Sligo. He was now, once more in opposition,—a freezing climate, ill-suited to a constitution accustomed to the sunshine of the Treasury Bench; and his weapons of ridicule were again produced from his armoury. He attacked the coalition in prose and verse; he apostrophized his antagonists satirically as "all the talents;" and on a pamphlet of great ability appearing, supposed to have been written by Mr. Fox and Mr. Brougham, entitled, 'An Inquiry into the State of the Nation,' Mr. Canning drew up a reply, which, if not felicitous for its facts and reasoning, was marked by considerable wit and talent, and loudly applauded by the party with whom he acted.

The lamented death of Mr. Fox led to the dissolution of the ministry he had formed: his name and his vast abilities alone gave it existence.

Compounded of the most jarring interests, it was ill-calculated to last. Light and darkness, fire and water, the greatest opposites in nature, were not more irreconcilable, than the politics and prejudices of this ill-assorted Cabinet. To the popular eloquence of Mr. Fox, was opposed the aristocratic, "hauteur" of Lord Grenville. Lord Howick was fronted by Lord Sidmouth, while the intolerant Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Ellenborough, contrary to all precedent and principle, was made a Cabinet Minister. Such a coalition could not last. The funeral bell of Mr. Fox tolled its death-warrant. The fatal precedent of 1785 was followed in the formation of this administration. Both resembled the union of those bands of Italian "Condottieri," in a former age, who assembled under one standard only for common plunder. Had a pure Whig ministry been formed, it would have conciliated the respect of the country, and the Cabinet, more limited in number, would have been strong from common confidence. Mr. Fox expired in solitude at Chiswick. He was scarce cold, before the germs of disunion appeared in his disjointed ministry. The back-stairs intrigues of a former day were revived, and concessions to the Catholics, subsequently voted on the motion of the Admiralty Secretary, were made the ostensible plea for the dismissal of an administration, whose real weakness consisted in the original sin of an unnatural union.

On the Tories again succeeding to power, Mr. Canning took a higher station. He was called to the Cabinet, and intrusted with the seals of the Foreign department. The melancholy history of the expedition to Walcheren is but too well remembered. The horrible waste of life, in that pestilential swamp—

Where nature sickened,
And each gale was death,

roused universal indignation throughout the country. It led to a rupture between the war minister, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning, which closed in a personal meeting. Mr. Canning was wounded, and retired from office; and his rival soon after obtained, by superior intrigue, an ascendancy, which he retained until the grave closed over his ambition. Mr. Canning now continued some years retired from office, occasionally speaking in Parliament, and always maintaining on the benches where he sat, the ascendancy of superior talent. It is to his honour, to record, that when with Lord Wellesley, on the death of Mr. Perceval, he might have formed an administration, concession to the Catholics was made the basis of acceptance of office by both; and on this act of justice being refused, Mr. Canning and the noble Marquis continued in retirement.

At the general election in 1812, his abilities attracted the attention of the mercantile interest in Liverpool, as those of Mr. Burke had the traders of Bristol at a former day; and after an arduous struggle with Mr. Brougham, he was returned: as he was on a subsequent election, when opposed by Lord Sefton. On the first occasion, Mr. Canning put forth all his powers. He was matched with an antagonist of transcendent ability:—

His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant.

The speeches of both were the finest models of popular eloquence. Every

arrow, winged from the shaft of eililer, was barbed by wit or satire. Mr. Canning's eloquence was like a Damascus blade, keen and polished; its edge was felt wherever it fell, and poured light throughout every word. Mr. Brougham fought with weapons of equal temper, but more weight. Nothing but numbers could have overborne him: he was surrounded by a band of friends, whom his eloquence kindled into enthusiasm. But the calculations of commerce are cold and interested, and Mr. Canning owed his triumph to their influence. The Lisbon mission, at a period when the Court was in Brazil, and there were no duties for any ambassador of rank to perform in Portugal, drew on Mr. Canning the severest invectives from the opposition benches. He was charged with pocketing a monstrous sum of 12,000*l.* annually, merely to aid his domestic views. He defended himself in his place ably, we will not say successfully, in a speech subsequently published by him.

On the death of Lord Buckinghamshire, Mr. Canning again came into office and the Cabinet, as President of the Board of Control. The situation, connected as it is with the Government of our vast possessions in India, is one of great consequence, but was not followed by a seat in the Cabinet, until the time of Mr. Canning and Mr. Wynne. The acceptance of a minor office under his triumphant rival, Lord Castlereagh, created, at the time, considerable surprise, and was often retorted on him by his political opponents. But Mr. Canning had the solid consolation of place and its emoluments. This situation, at the memorable period of the Queen's impeachment, he resigned. The last two years or something more of Mr. Canning's political life, when he returned to high office more powerful than ever, and has been, in fact, the leading Minister of the country, are fresh in the memory of all. He was about to assume the government of Oriental millions, and had resigned himself to a distant though splendid exile, when the death of his great rival burst like a thunder-clap on his ear, and changed his views and prospects altogether. After a short but difficult negotiation between Carlton Palace and Fife House, in which the Chancellor with his wonted placability became the envoy of conciliation, the royal prejudices gave way before necessity, and Mr. Canning took the Foreign Office, with the lead in the Lower House. He returned to power with rising storms around him. The Congress of Verona was just assembling. The continental despots, with their satellites, were congregating in the Italian city, so celebrated by the genius of Shakspeare, and the former quarrels of the "Capulets" and "Montagues," to decide the bondage of all Italy,—to pronounce on the appeal of Greece,—and settle the subjugation of unoffending Spain. "Montmorenci" pressed the march of French troops within the Pyrenees, and it was decided;—a single menace of resistance on the part of England, from the mouth of the successful Soldier who had triumphed in so many fields, would have saved Spain. But nothing came from him but a feeble protest, and liberty was crushed in the Peninsula. This was the most unpopular portion of Mr. Canning's administration; many of his acts, since then, have purchased high and general praise. The real neutrality now maintained with Greece; the state papers on the subject of South America; the appointment of *Consuls* to the different provinces of that rich continent; and the recent recognition of their leading republics,—are measures worthy of this great Country,

and bear honourable testimony to the genius and policy of the Foreign Minister.

As an orator, Mr. Canning stands deservedly high. His figure is graceful, and of the best proportions; his voice full and harmonious; his language eloquent and fluent. Without the mighty range of intellect of the great Fox, or those rich stores of practical wisdom, which Burke poured forth profusely; Mr. Canning still draws on the best sources of classic lore and history, and is an accomplished and most impressive speaker. His conduct to his official dependents, and to all who have occasion to address him, is said to be most conciliating and courteous. He is placed in that high station, where such qualities are not lost,—where, in the words of Cicero, “Gloriam conciliat magnitudo negotii—gratiam, æquitatis largitio; offensionem vitat æquibilibitate decernendi; benevolentiam adjungit lenitate audiendi.” We would wish to see the councils of Great Britain in different hands from the present Cabinet. But we have drawn this hasty sketch of the leading Minister, without political prejudice of any sort, and have awarded the just meed of real merit where deserved. Many of his colleagues are of a far different stamp, and possess neither talent or liberality of any sort. On them, we should speak in other language: to be silent is the best tribute, at present, we can pay them.

A STROLL IN MARCH.

’Tis rather early yet to talk of Spring—

But every thing around me looks so vernal,
That I perforce must sport a cuckoo’s wing,
(Not without view to th’ Oriental Journal):
Yet, since even May is not now quite the thing
Which in earth’s golden prime was named Eternal,¹
I own ’tis somewhat antedating time,
To build in stormy March the halcyon rhyme.

Yet ’tis a true *Spring day*; and, if excuse

Were due for singing when and what we please,
I think I could a decent one produce,

In spite of hedge-rows bare, and leafless trees:

Besides, all rhymers claim prescriptive use,

Present and future, to confound at ease:—

Of old, one name invol’d both *Bard* and *Prophet*²—

’Twas a warm cloak, I wonder who could doff it.

But to my theme: Spring’s own delicious essence

Floats on the golden air, and breathes along

The heart, which thrills (be it a bard’s or peasant’s)

Till life is bliss, and thought is all but song;

¹ *Ver erat æternum.*—Ovid. *Aut.* lib. 1.

² The Roman word *Fates*.

The very verdure deepens in its presence,
 And Nature's hoary brow again looks young,
 While Heaven appears like a blue sea unroll'd
 To cleanse "the vapours of this sin-worn mould."¹

So soft the breeze, as if it wish'd to prove
 How March can whisper in the breath of May,
 Albeit the sephyr's find no rose to love,
 Nor sweets to rifle from the white-thorn spray.
 Though no fond love-song wake the shadeless grove,
 Down shrills the blithe lark's firmamental lay;
 From the red furrow sounds the rook's far call,
 And tinkles clear the hedge-rill's diamond fall.

I love that sound of waters,—from the lone
 And gentle murmur of the woodland urn,
 To the proud ocean's grand melodious moan,
 The dirge of ages never to return—
 From the sweet river's calm voluptuous tone,
 To the foam chafing in the granite churn,
 Where from its high stand leaps the fall below
 In many a column bright of liquid snow.

Such things were sweet from childhood : I have ponder'd
 Whole sunny hours beside the amber brook,
 Changing to gems the sands o'er which it wander'd ;
 And though, from earliest years, I lov'd a book,
 Yet better far, where one dear stream meander'd,
 I lov'd to seek some lone and leafy nook,
 Dreaming indefinite things, until beat high
 My youthful heart with strange mysterious joy.

If you should ask the aim of this digression—
 It is, to prove that I am a true poet ;
 Wherefore, all ye who read this meek confession,
 With or against your wills, I pray you know it :
 Even in the high Parnassian Court of Session
 My title will be own'd—if I can show it ;
 And if I cannot, like the Peers² of James,
 I'll draw my sword for want of clearer claims.

Poetic swords are *pens*. If I produce
 One "halting sonnet of my own pure brain,"³
 Writ with my own wing-feather of a goose
 In my own hand, it is not writ in vain.
I am a bard : and where can be the use
 Of being so, if I give no ear pain—
 If I, like others, force not words to chime,
 And make pure nonsense purl in liquid rhyme ?

¹ Milton—"Comus."

² Alluding to a fact in Scottish history. One of the Sturms sending to some of his nobles for the title-deeds of their estates, they produced their *swords*.

³ Shakspeare—"Much Ado About Nothing."

A Stroll in March.

Not that I think *my verses nonsense*—not
(I always leave a hole for number one);
Should any wit presume to call them so;
Let him take choice of Vandal, Goth, or Hun,
If on Parnassus one poor laurel grow,
Or if there be one drop in Helicon,
I am determin'd—but, as yet, no matter—
I think we started from "the sound of water."

That sound is eloquent, wherever heard,
And rather apt to make me talkative—
I mean *in ink*—for I am seldom stirr'd
A *viva voce* utterance to give
To thoughts, as dear as starlight to the bird
That seems for night and solitude to live:
But now adieu, digression and apology,
I turn to study Nature's grand phrenology:

How splendid sleeps on Cawsand⁶ lone and proud,
The sunny snow! save where it lighter fell,
Or where the sun has thaw'd the mountain shroud,
Or wind, or rain, dissolv'd the silver spell;
There only is the dark hill's face allow'd,
By glimpses of its own rich hues, to tell—
Just as a Spanish Donna's veil discovers
Only one eye to make and madden lovers.

Dear to my heart that mountain stern and wild;
Beneath its shade a mother's early years
Pass'd from her birth—and there, while yet a child,
She gave her father's grave an orphan's tears.
Oh! breathes there one, who never was beguil'd
To love like me—for something that endears
More than the beautiful, or the sublime—
The sweet localities of olden time?

More near, the sun lights up green Phosbury,⁷
Where banners way'd of old, and warriors fell;
Dark towers its coronal of firs on high,
While blue beyond the distant moorlands swell,
And brown beneath, ting'd with faint verdure, lie
The young-corn slopes that fence "Our Lady's Well."
Sweet Spring! once sacred to the Virgin Mary,
And worthy *any* virgin, nymph, or fairy!

And now I turn me from the distant scene
To note things, *less imposing*, it is true—
The pale smoke fading in the sky serene
From the low cottage, almost lost to view;

⁶ A lofty hill on the confines of the great Devonshire Moor.

⁷ A hill in the vicinity of Crediton, near which are the vestiges of an
encampment.

A. Stoll in March.

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The plough-boy changing Nature's alfin green,
As 't were by magic, to a red-brown hue,
Thinking, I dare say, (unpoetic sinners)
Of nought in heaven or earth,—except his dinner.

There seems up from the sunny earth to pass
A tremulous film of fine transparent gauze,
Bright as the beads that crown the champagne glass,
And clear as frost that on the snow-drop thaws;
Floating in waves of elemental gas,
A lucid veil of crystal air it draws
Over the face of Earth—like the pure glory
Round some grey martyr's brow in pictur'd story.

Fresh-dy'd in green the sparkling ivy looks;
The flow'ring gorze fires round a golden volley;
The fern waves greener in the hedge-row nooks,
And wears a richer gloss the burnish'd holly:
Oh! Nature's—Nature's is the prime of books,
(Excepting *one*, the holiest of the holy.)
Sunbeams the type—the page, the teeming sod—
The work, the splendid POETRY OF GOD!

On days like this 'tis joy to feel we breathe—
Their sunshine does not only light the eyes,
But pierces to the shadowy heart beneath,
And gives to earth the hues of Paradise.
On such days Poetry may braid a wreath
Of fancies that seem bright realities;
And Love may dream of Hope and Joy, as though
Such flowers of Heaven would never fade below.

Beneath yon bank of primrose—lovely link,
That weds the time of storms to that of flowers—
One lonely violet o'er the streamlet's brink
Leans, the blue prophet of yet fairer hours,
When a new world of bloom and balm shall drink
The dews of Spring, and in her thousand bowers
The soul of Love shall wake the breath of Song—
With which I close—as mine is somewhat long.

Crediton.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE PAPERS LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT
RESPECTING THE PRESENT WAR IN INDIA.

WHILE the British Government in the East Indies is wasting its treasure, and lavishing the blood of its troops, in a war which, even if crowned with success, can promise no advantage worthy of being contended for,—it is of some importance to inquire, what has been the origin of this unhappy contest? who were its authors? and have they a cause that will justify and atone for this disturbance of the public tranquillity and this sacrifice of human life? The Papers relative to the Burmese War, presented to both Houses of Parliament by his Majesty's command, in February last, and now before us, will materially assist all inquiring minds earnestly bent on obtaining a right answer to these important questions. As the Papers themselves are, however, in the hands of Members of Parliament only, and out of the 600 copies printed, not more than six are likely to be scrutinized minutely, we shall enter into such an examination of them as may enable even our Parliamentary readers to form a clear conception of the subject, without their undertaking the laborious task of wading through documents which, we sincerely believe, not six men in either House would read with the attention necessary to understand them thoroughly. This task would be the more discouraging to the mere English reader, from the narrative being perplexed and confused with trivial details, and barbarous expressions in Oriental tongues, left untranslated, as if purposely to mystify the subject, and to render it unintelligible to those who have not had the advantage of residing among the people of the East.

In order to understand distinctly the original ground of contention, it is necessary to inform the reader, that the south-eastern part of the Company's territories on the Bengal side of India, terminates in a narrow tongue of land, called Tek Naaf, formed by the Bay of Bengal and the River Naaf, which is considered to be our eastern boundary in that quarter. At the extremity of this point is an island called Shahporee, separated both from our territories on the one hand, and also from the contiguous ones of the Burmese on the other, by branches of the river Naaf flowing on both sides of it. This island, or rather islet, is too small, we imagine, to appear at all on most of the common maps; but in a map which the Bengal Government has recently had compiled on a large scale, a copy of which is in our possession, this islet is rendered sufficiently visible. From its position, we should suppose it to have been formed by the mud of the Naaf gradually deposited where the river partly recoils in an eddy as it joins the sea; and that from being originally a mere mud or sand-bank, the waters at last retiring, left it dry land. However this may be, its existence seems hitherto to have almost escaped notice, or, at least, it had been of too little importance for any European to take the trouble of ascertaining, with precision, to which of the neighbouring states it belonged; and the position of the island, nearly in the middle of the boundary river, tended, certainly, to give it a character of *neutrality*, unless it was clearly occupied by the people of one or other of the contiguous countries.

At page 62 of the Papers before us, we have the authority of Mr. Robertson, the officiating Magistrate and Political Agent in that part of our frontier, for stating, that "the island had formerly, he believed, been vacant and untenanted before the guard was placed upon it." Now the placing of this guard upon it, as he mentions, by the Company's servants, was the original cause of the rupture with the Burmese. The conviction here expressed by this English gentleman, of the island having remained vacant hitherto, can only, of course, apply to that state of which he is a servant; and is a clear confession that the *English* had not taken possession of the island: but he, of course, cannot be supposed to know whether or not the *Burmese* have equally abstained from occupying it. They themselves assert positively that it *has* been in their possession for upwards of forty years; and, therefore, complain of our putting a guard upon it, as an act of aggression on their frontier.

Before we proceed farther, it will be necessary to advert to the occasion of this proceeding on the part of the East India Company's servants. It was immediately after the close of the Marquis of Hastings's administration, during which the affairs of India had been conducted with so much glory to himself, and advantage to those he served, (who now make him so ungrateful a return,) that his successors, among their first acts, sowed the seeds of this unjust and hitherto disastrous war. In the early part of the year 1823, while the Hon. John Adam was temporary Governor-General, a boat laden with grain, belonging to one of that class of our Indian subjects called Mughis, in passing near to the island of Shahporee, on the river Naaf, was stopped, it is said, by a party of Burmese, armed with matchlocks, and the manjee, or steersman, was shot dead on the spot. On this being reported to Mr. Lee Warner, the Magistrate of that district, he at first supposed it to have been done by the Burmese, with the view of deterring the Company's subjects from cultivating that island, and resolved to detach a guard of provincial troops, consisting of a Jumadar and twelve men, to establish a footing on it, in order to prevent the Burmans from taking possession. The Bengal Government not only sanctioned this proceeding, but, on its being reported that the Burmese were assembling, in considerable numbers, on the opposite side of the Naaf river, they directed the Magistrate to take measures to compel the Burmese to abandon the island, should they have forcibly taken possession of it. So far the English authorities seem to have acted in the most precipitate manner, without the least respect to what might be the feelings of their Burmese neighbours on the subject, and without making any inquiry as to whom the island really belonged. But the slightest inquiry sufficed to prove that the resolution to seize the island had been formed *entirely under a mistake*. This the reader will bear in mind; for the Magistrate having afterwards taken evidence regarding the murder, it did not appear from it to have been at all connected with the island of Shahporee, as he had at first supposed. He was still, however, inclined to regard this, and other acts of violence committed by *private individuals*, as acts of *public and national* aggression,—an inference altogether unwarranted either by the theory or practice of Governments. There was no intention expressed on our part of seeking regular redress from the Burmese authorities for alleged grievances committed by their subjects; a step which ought to have been taken, if we regarded the offence as sanctioned or approved by the Burmese rulers. Instead of pursuing this obvious course, these

pretended aggressions were to be met by retaliation, and particularly by placing on the island of Shahporee twenty Sepoys. The Burmese also complained of acts of violence committed upon them by our subjects; and if each party were thus to take redress with their own hands, by taking possession of, and fortifying posts on the frontier, this itself would have been an actual commencement of hostilities.

The Burmese, however, proceeded in a different, and, as appears to us, a much more rational, as well as pacific manner. Their Officer at Top Mungdoo, the nearest station on their side, addressed a communication to the Judge of our district of Chittagong, adjoining him, containing at once a valid excuse, as far as the state was concerned, for their not taking on themselves the responsibility of the murder of our subject, (viz. that the perpetrator of it had escaped from their power and jurisdiction,) and a remonstrance against our occupation of Shahporee; which we quote entire, because it is at once brief, explicit, and quite characteristic of the people. It is as follows:

From the year 1146, Mug ara, the country of Arrakan has been in our power; the Rajah of this country placed the island of Shahporee under my jurisdiction, and there never was any quarrel or disturbance; it appears, therefore, the guard of Sepoys who are placed on the island of Shahporee, is owing to the intrigues of the Darogha and Mug surdars of Teknaf. If the Sepoys are not withdrawn, there will be a great quarrel. The Judge of Chittagong has authority, as far as the Thanah of Teknaf; it is proper that measures should be considered of by that gentleman to remove the Sepoys from Shahporee, to prevent a quarrel. Nye Uchurung, who was not appointed by the Rajah of Arrakan, but assumed of himself that office, has levied a considerable sum of money from my people, and also caused them to fly the country, and otherwise created much disturbance, and also killed one of your Mugs by firing a gun at him; all which matters were reported to the Rajah, who sent for Nya Uchurung; but he fled, and it is said he has with his followers gone to the north of Thanah Teknaf, on which I wrote to the Thanadar of Teknaf, "if you can, seize all these bad people!" If you listen to what the Mugs of Teknaf say, there will be a great disturbance; the Mugs of Arrakan who live under your protection are great villains, and bad people: the two countries are at peace; if you attend to what the Mugs say, it will not be well; and on the receipt of this letter, order the Sepoys to be withdrawn from the island of Shahporee; if they are not withdrawn it will be reported to the Rajah of Pegue, and Judge of Arrakan, and the event will not be good.

The Uchurung, or officer of the Burmese, wrote to the Magistrate of Chittagong, another letter on the same subject, in which he is still more precise regarding their right to the island. It is as follows:—

I, the Mungdoo Uchurung, residing on the east side of the Naf river, write to you the Magistrate of Chittagong.

From a period of forty-six years, the four cities and countries of Arrakan, Rynberry, Chyndo, and Mywon, have been in the possession of my Rajah and several other Rajahs. I, the Uchurung, have possession to the east of the Naf, and the island of Shahporee is included in the possession of my Rajah, who every year receives the profits arising from it. At present you, the Magistrate of Chittagong, have issued orders, by letter, to the Darogha and Mohurrer of Thanah Tek Naf, on the receipt of which, houses have been built on the island of Shahporee, and a stockade erected, and Sepoys placed to guard that island; the island is my master's, and this is not to be doubted. You, the Magistrate of Chittagong, ought not to place Sepoys and Peadas on the island; and if you continue to keep them there it will not be well. Pull down the stockade and carry away the materials; if not, there will be a great quarrel. I do not write

what is above mentioned on my own authority: it is by the orders of the Rajah of Arracan; and according to his instructions I write this letter. The merchants of each country carry on their trade by land and by water as if it were one country. The island of Shahporee is the right of my Rajah; order the Sepoys and Peasas who have erected a stockade, to quit the island, otherwise there will be a great quarrel; this letter I send for your information.

The reader will observe, that the Burmese constantly assert, in the most positive manner, that the island is part of their dominions; while the British Government asserts the very reverse to be the case, but generally in language vague and equivocal. It is necessary to examine, therefore, the proofs or arguments by which the Governor-General supports his pretensions: 1st. It is asserted (p. 37), that from an inspection of the map it is *evident* that Shahporee is separated from the Burmese territory, and close to ours. 2d. That the main channel of the Naaf flows between it and the Burman shore; whereas, the water is shallow on our side, and the channel continually filling up. 3dly. That, from time immemorial, it has been in our possession, being "comprehended in the revenue settlements." Now, if the last of these positions rested on undoubted facts, it would be much the best argument of the three; but, unfortunately, we cannot discover that it has any solid foundation whatever; and this is probably the reason why the Governor-General has thought it necessary to prop it up by associating it with two such suspicious companions. 1st. If the island had been, from time immemorial, in our possession, how could the Political Agent of the East India Company himself have stated, many months after this, when many discussions had taken place as to the right, and abundant time had been allowed for inquiry, that before we placed there the guard of Sepoys, he believed it had been "vacant and untenanted"? And how could it be comprehended in our revenue settlements, as alleged, when there is no proof that it ever yielded us any revenue at all?—a point, in respect to which, it is admitted on all hands, to be perfectly worthless. When Mr. Hume, in Parliament, moved for the returns, it was confessed, even by the President of the Board of Control, to be quite worthless as to revenue; it never having been known to yield any: so that the pretension of its being always included in the revenue settlements, seems to be a mere pretence set up for this particular occasion. On the other hand, the Burmese state that the Rajah of Arracan every year received the profits arising from the island; so that whatever little it might yield was theirs. With regard to the position of the island, even by the Company's own map now before us, its distance from the mainland on both sides seems pretty nearly the same. And, if the channel on our side be "continually filling up," (as stated at page 1.) we may infer, as this is a progressive process, that some time previously it was much deeper and broader than at the present period; and as this is an indication that the river is gradually changing its course, in that point, by encroaching on the Burmese side, and throwing up the alluvial soil towards our side of the river, it affords a probability that the disputed island was a few years ago much nearer to the Burman shore, and much farther off from ours. But, as we know that rivers so frequently change their beds in flat and alluvial countries, if the mere breadth and depth of water, on either side of such an island, must determine to whom it belongs, then wars about it would have no end; as long as each party, on the advancing or receding

of a river, in any particular direction, should take forcible possession of shores and islets from the other. It was unfortunate, indeed, for the Indian Government, that in default of better reasons, they should be obliged to have recourse to so feeble an argument as this. How would our Secretary for Foreign Affairs be astonished, if he received official intelligence that his Most Christian Majesty, the King of France, had thought proper to take possession of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, because, to use the language of the Indian Government, "it is evident, from seeing these islands, that they are separated by a broad channel from the British territory, and only divided by a much narrower one from that of France?" Yet this inference might be as justly made, from ocular inspection of the map of the two countries. His Catholic Majesty of Spain might, by the same kind of reasoning, prove a much clearer title to Gibraltar, than its present possessors: our West India Islands would, by the same rule, belong to the American continent; and we should in this manner speedily get rid of all our colonial possessions.

But the Government of British India had an argument in reserve, which would be a complete salvo for any defect in its title. It is well worthy of notice, because it shows how well provided the Company's servants are with excuses for violating the Act of Parliament, interdicting any extension of its territory. The argument addressed by them to the Burmese, when they complained that their island had been violently and unjustly seized, is to this effect (p. 37): "We assert that the island is ours, not yours; but even if there were a doubt of its belonging to us, any attempt, on your part, to *seize it by force*, would be immediately repelled by this Government." The Burmese, however, might have justly replied in the very same terms: "We also assert, and know, that the island belongs to us; but even were this doubtful, *according to your own rule*, your attempt now made to seize the island by force must be repelled." The necessary tendency and result of this line of procedure, laid down and followed by the Company's servants, was evidently to precipitate the two states into war. The only way of escaping this dilemma, was by negotiation and mutual agreement, which ought to have preceded our resolution to seize Shahporee *formed under a mistake*, and the actual occupation of it by a military force; as this was virtually a neutral territory, having been hitherto "vacant and untenanted," according to the testimony of the Company's own Agent, who reported this to his superiors.

In August 1823, the Governor-General of Arracan wrote again on the subject, as follows:—

Our Sovereign is extremely fortunate; he reigns over the Great Kingdom by inheritance from his grandfather, since his ascension to paradise; he is replete with religious principles, a strict observer of the Ten Commandments, and of the Twenty-eight Articles of Virtue; to him has descended the throne of his grandfather, which he now fills.

There is a certain island, known by the name of Sheen-mabu, where stockade has been erected, and a guard of Native Sepoys stationed; in order to their being removed, I forwarded a letter on the subject, to the Governor of Chittagong, by the hands of General Mungdoo, who brought an answer written on a sheet of paper, in the English, Arraconese, Persian, and Hindoo characters, declaring the said island of Sheen-mabu to belong to the English. I ask, therefore, if this communication is to be considered as an authorize one on the part of the Governor-General? If it be so, I assert that the island

of Sheen-mabu does not appertain to the Bengal Government; from the time Arracau was subject to the original Arracanese ruler, and since it came to the golden possession, the island was always annexed to the Denhawoody (Arracanese) territories, and still belongs to our Sovereign. The guard stationed at that place may be the occasion of disputes among the lower order of the people, and of obstruction to the poor merchants and traders now carrying on commerce in the two great countries, and eventually cause a rupture of the friendship and harmony subsisting between the two mighty States; to prevent such occurrences, it is requested that the guard now stationed at Sheen-mabu may be removed.

The Right Honourable Lord Amherst having just assumed the powers of Governor-General, replied on the 15th of August, repeating the assertion, that Shahpurre was part of the British territories, and declining to withdraw the troops. The result was, that on the 23d of September, something more than a month after, the Burmese, seeing their representations were ineffectual, expelled our Sepoys from the island by force; killing three, and wounding three more. This was done in consequence of an order from his Burman Majesty, as declared in the following notification, sent by the Burmese Officer to our Officer at Tek Naaf:—

The Royal Hearer, Menyaden, Scha Noratha, hereby acquaints the Eastern Chiefs, the Thanadar, Jemadar, Moon-shce and others, that the circumstance of foreigners having erected a stockade, and stationed armed men on the island of Sheen Mabu,[†] belonging to his (Burman) Majesty, having reached the Golden (Royal) Ear; his Majesty has commanded that no stockade or armed men be suffered to remain on the island of Sheen-Mabu, and that they may be forcibly removed; the Royal authority received is in writing. The Eastern Thanadar, Jemadar, Moonshce and others, who are now in the island of Sheen-Mabu are therefore requested, if they can, to destroy the stockade, and quit the island *instantly*, not regarding day or night: if they cannot retire they are requested immediately by letter to give notice of the same.

Having thus vindicated their claim to the island they rested satisfied, and displayed no wish whatever to annoy our frontier by any further measures. The British Government then began, in its turn, to complain of an aggression on its frontier, which, however, was plainly the mere consequence of its own previous act. Lord Amherst now issued a declaration, dated on the 17th of October, expressive of his "astonishment" as well as "indignation" at this proceeding, although he had been uniformly apprised that, if our troops were not withdrawn, this was the *only* alternative. His Lordship repeats the assertion, of "incontrovertible grounds" and "fresh proofs" having been urged that the island belonged to us; although, we must confess, that we have looked in vain throughout these Papers for such grounds or proofs; the assumption being unsupported by any visible evidence whatever. There is, on the contrary, however, the important confession, that the place was "vacant and untenanted" before the Company's servants adopted the precipitate measure of placing on it the guard of Sepoys, which was notoriously the sole cause of the rupture. It is amusing to see how Lord Amherst, in this declaration, endeavours to sneak out of that rash proceeding, by calling it merely "a measure of police," and a "simple police arrangement."

Turning back to page 26, however, we find that the object of placing our troops there was "to prevent the Burmans from taking possession."

[†] The Burmese name for Shahpurre.

As well might the capture and destruction of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen have been called by the British Government a "measure of police," and a "simple police arrangement," since it was done *only* to prevent the French "from taking possession." The Governor-General concludes, by announcing his intention again to seize the island by force. The Burmese, on the other hand, declare unequivocally, that such a measure must inevitably lead to a war between the two States. This is the tenor of the following letter of the Rajah of Arracan, (the Burmese Governor of the province adjoining Shahporee,) which also complains of some other aggressions; and is dated 29th of October 1823:

Mur Maha Menger Krojou, Governor of Denhawoody (Arracan), Minister and Commander-in-Chief ruling over Yeoka-poorá and one hundred and ninety-eight conquered provinces to the westward of the great Golden Empire, to the Governor of Bengal.

A stockade having been erected on the island of Shein-ma-bu, belonging to Denhawoody, adverting to the friendship and commercial intercourse subsisting between the two great States, I sent Darem Yagea and Stossain Ally Sinquist, with a letter to the Company's Governor, who pretends that Shein-ma-bu, belongs to the English, on the proof of certain papers. The island, was never under the authority of the Moors or the English; the stockade thereon has consequently been destroyed in pursuance of the commands of the great Lord of the seas and earth. If you want tranquillity be quiet; but if you re-build a stockade at Shein-ma-bu, I will cause to be taken by force of arms the cities of Dacca and Moorshedabad, which originally belonged to the great Arracan Rajah, whose chokies and pagodas were there.

We purchased one hundred muskets; these have been seized by the Company's subjects, the rebels Young Auja, Gna-jan-Sheag, Bay-gounja, and Young Quartoen-bowa; you are requested to have them restored.

A letter follows, in the next page, sent to Colonel Shapland, by a Burmese Officer named Bhuman Do, who affirms that the island in question had been in the possession of his Rajah from the time of his grandfather; and that whenever the Mugs or Mussulmans (our subjects) wished to carry over their cattle to feed there, they used to receive a written order or license from the Uchurung, a Burmese officer. It deserves to be noticed, here, that none of the subordinate officers on our side ventures to contradict these specific facts advanced by the Burmese. When our Dornagahs and Subadars utter a sweeping declaration that the island belongs to us, it is evidently only in compliance with the orders of their superiors who had instructed them to say so. Why, we ask, was not the evidence of the old inhabitants, acquainted with the localities, taken and laid before the public? There can be but one inference drawn from its being withheld, namely, that our claim to the island rests on no solid foundation; or rather, we should perhaps say, is totally unfounded.

The Bengal Government, persisting in the determination to assert its title by force of arms, sent an expedition by sea, which arrived at the Naf river on the 21st of November 1823, and again took possession of the island. In conjunction with these strong measures, an attempt was made to bring the Burmese authorities to appoint deputies to meet ours and effect a general adjustment of the boundaries. Captain Cheape, the Engineer Officer and Surveyor, deputed on our part to the south-eastern frontier, proposed to the Burmese Officer that the Moorasy, a branch of

* The island of Shahporee.

the Naaf, should be taken as the boundary in that quarter. The instructions on which that gentleman acted are not given; but, according to the evidence of the Bengal Government's own map, the proposed line of demarcation was a manifest encroachment on the Burmese territory. Accordingly, Capt. Cheape himself remarks, with some appearance of surprise at the polite reception of this bold proposal (p. 57.), that the Burmese Officer was "not at all startled at the Moorasy being taken as the boundary. He expressed himself pleased; and an arrangement, which he so authorized, he would willingly accede to; and immediately proposed to go to Arracan to make known to the Rajah his own sentiments, as well as what had been communicated to him."

Let us, however, consider candidly the position of affairs at this period. The British Government had forcibly taken possession of *at best* a neutral island; declaring that, right or wrong, *having* taken possession, it would not suffer its right to be disputed. Knowing that this had given great offence to the neighbouring State, it then sent officers to demand a demarcation of a boundary line, and fixed upon one which clearly deprived the Burmese of a considerable portion of their acknowledged territory. At the same time, a *large force* was sent in support of these proceedings. Could the Burmese be otherwise than alarmed at this attempt to encroach upon them, and at the same time to overawe them by force? That this *was* the case, is proved by an extract of a letter from T. C. Robertson, Esq. which is dated the 27th of January 1824, and appears at page 70 of the Papers.

It is now becoming gradually more evident that, *alarmed* at the *MAGNITUDE* of our *equipments*, the number of ships in the Naaf, and the movements of our troops, at the commencement of the season, the Rajah, conceiving it improbable that the island of Shahporee could be the sole object of such preparations, has reported to the Court of Ava that the British Government are meditating an invasion of Arracan.

The writer of this had been appointed to act as magistrate of Chittagong, and political agent on our south-eastern frontier, where he had accordingly arrived on the 9th of the same month. Three days after this he reports (page 59), that "he had been obliged to remove the detachment from the island of Shahporee, on account of its *unhealthiness*; that of the Burmese venturing to re-occupy it, he entertained but little apprehension; they had invariably, he understood, declared their *utmost* wish to be, that it should be left *neutral* and *vacant*, until the right of its possession were determined." This reasonable wish, however, the British authorities determined not to grant. In the true spirit of their monopolizing masters, who will neither improve the resources of India themselves, nor suffer others to do it for them, although its own men could not live on this miserable spot, it issued a declaration, that if any of the Burmese approached it they should be punished! The Rajah of Arracan then sent a peremptory demand for the evacuation of the island, as a preliminary to any amicable arrangement. It is couched in the following singular style:—

We send four of our leaders to confer with the Judge of Chittagong. The deep Shahporee belongs to our Sovereign, and never did belong to the English; nevertheless they, listening to the suggestions of the Mugs, who are miscreants, have built a fort thereon. Our King is fortunate, King of the World and Lord

of the White Elephant. He has store of arms, and he is just and righteous, and his ear is as of gold, and with it he has heard of the fort being on the Deep, and has ordered it to be removed, and whatever Mugs or Bengalees are on it to be seized; and to execute this order, we, the Rajahs of Arracan, are proceeding with innumerable armies, headed by captains and colonels.

The letter which the Judge sent us by Noor Khan Jemadar has reached us, and we have perused it, and perceive that he wishes a Wuzer of wisdom to be sent to him; therefore we send four such persons with Hussien Ullee Doo-bashee. When the fort is removed from Shahpuree the intercourse between the two great countries will be like gold and silver, and former friendship restored; therefore we send these persons to the Judge and Captain Cheape.

Mr. Robertson, after having a conference with these agents, writes, on the 15th of January, that from all he could collect, it was certain that we could not retain the island of Shahpuree, and remain at peace with the Burmese; and that till this question was settled, they would not touch upon any thing else whatever. This conference seems also to have very strongly impressed his mind with the folly of involving the two countries in war about so "paltry a matter." He calls it a "miserable spot," a "pestilential island;" and seems in the bitterness of vexation at what was about to happen, to vent his sorrow by showering down upon the mudbank which had been the innocent cause of the dispute, every epithet of contempt. Did this proceed from the Burmese agents having convinced him we had a bad cause? We hint this suspicion, because it is in this letter we find the remarkable confession, that the island had been "vacant, and untenanted," in other words, neutral, as we would understand, before the Company's servants placed the guard upon it, which occasioned all the dispute. We shall quote the passage, that the reader may see how this important piece of information is slipped in, casually, by way of parenthesis, as if it had been an unwelcome truth, which the writer was conscious the Government he was addressing did not wish to hear. It appears at page 62, as follows:—

They (the Burmese) will, I think, be contented with the place remaining vacant and untenanted (*as it in fact, I believe, formerly was, before the guard was placed upon it;*) but they never, until they meet with some signal discomfiture, will consent to acknowledge it as ours. No local or partial failure or defeat would sufficiently subdue their spirit to compel them to relinquish formally an object about which there has been such discussion and contention. If, therefore, the Government decide on the measure of re-occupation, they must be prepared for an immediate rupture, and provided with the means of averting its effects.

In another letter on the same subject, he explains, that the Burmese agents all declared that "the force at Shahpuree alone was an obstacle to a good understanding;" and "all they required was a declaration on our part, that the island should be considered as neutral, and remain unoccupied by either." This the Bengal Government peremptorily refused, on the *new* ground that this proposition had not been brought forward *soon enough!* Yet the fact is, that the Burmese had, *from the beginning*, only desired us to withdraw our force; and since this more moderate request was peremptorily refused, with what truth can the British Government say it would have consented to a formal disclaimer of its right to the island?

Can any thing more be necessary to show that the Company's ser-

vants wantonly provoked this war, without the slightest plea either of justice or necessity? They refused to leave this disputed island unoccupied, as they confess it had formerly been, or even to settle the right of its property by negotiation. They proceed at the same moment, with a large force to support them, to mark out new boundary lines, without waiting for the consent of the other party; and this new line was avowedly to deprive the Burmese of part of the territory, from time immemorial, in their possession. Besides the evidence of the Company's own map, it is proved, both by the statement at page 67, mentioning the alarm which the movement of our surveyors in their territories had excited, and by the following remark of Mr. Robertson, in allusion to it, at page 65: "I fear (says he) that similar feelings will be excited by our progress in the discharge of our duty; it being, I conceive, impossible to draw any line of boundary, such as our Government could admit of, which would not exclude the Burmese from some of the ground upon which they have been progressively intruding." No proof, however, is given of their intrusion; but there is here proof positive of an intention to extrude them from the territory long in their quiet possession.

It was surely impossible to expect that any State, with the least sense of honour, would submit with patience to such usurping arrogance, such insolent dictation as this; far less could Lord Amherst, with any justice, expect it of the Burmese, knowing, as he states at page 20, that "they are by no means ignorant of the principles and observances which ordinarily regulate the intercourse between independent states," and "can feel keenly enough any supposed infraction of national rights and honour." Yet the Burmese seem to have been more impelled by a sense of danger, from seeing the magnitude of our hostile equipments; not believing it possible that a mighty state would take so much concern about so insignificant an object. But they formed an inadequate idea of the matter, having no conception that the possession of this miserable spot, (which ought henceforth to be called "Amherst Island,") was now considered absolutely necessary for the dignity of the Bengal Government. That for this momentous object any thing would be risked, and no point conceded, however small, and however just, which seemed to diminish this fond idol of the new Governor-General's imagination. So poor a triumph was not, surely, necessary to the dignity of the East India Company; for that could never be supported or increased by usurping possession of so miserable, so worthless a spot, seized under a mistake. But it was the dignity of Lord Amherst's administration that was to be maintained. Yes! the Burman monarch must be compelled to resign the island, or perform the *kou tou* to his Lordship, who now thinks himself as well entitled to this homage as the celestial Emperor of China did in days of yore; and the required prostration being refused, a destructive war must be undertaken to vindicate the unpardonable affront!

If Lord Amherst would have allowed the matter to end here, the Burmese might still have rested satisfied with merely planting a flag on the island, as an assertion of their claim; which simple operation they indeed performed on the 5th of February, and then walked quietly away. But the threatening attitude assumed on the other side, having fanned this small spark into a flame, new grounds of dispute arose which might otherwise have remained for ever dormant. They supposed that a

"traitor," as they call him, of the name of Hynja, a subject of the Burmah Empire, who had taken refuge in the Company's territories, must have been stirring up the English to seize upon the island, and assist him in committing aggressions upon the province of Arracan. (P. 42, 43, 72.) A police report states, (p. 42), that "the people at Chota Anuk say, the Burmese have heard that Hynja Surdar will attack the Arracan country. Therefore, the Burmese intend seeking for Hynja Surdar on the island of Shahporee, or at his own house, or wherever he may be found, and will carry him off in the same manner as a fowl is carried away." The English Magistrate states, that this Hynja is the son of a former vizier of Arracan, whom the Burmese had put to death; on which his son, whom they also declare to be a traitor, fled to the Company's territories about twelve years ago, and became a Talookdar. The Magistrate even admits it to be true, "that he has a set of followers who talk of his again getting possession of his former rights," although he himself says, "he does not think this at all possible;" but is his belief to satisfy the Burmese? We are not informed whether, on this occasion, they made a regular requisition for his being surrendered up; but if they had done so, they would, no doubt, have been met with the same answer that was given them, in respect to the Munnypoorian rebels, to whom we also gave protection; declaring, (p. 17,) that the British Government "could not with honour deliver them up, much less suffer them to be arrested in its territory."

This brings us to the consideration of the third cause of the war, which appears to us by far the most weighty of all. It appears, (p. 85,) that Gopee Govind Chund, now the Ex-Rajah of Cachar, was driven from his country by the chiefs of Munnypoor, called Chorajeet and Marajeet; and fled for safety to the Company's province of Sylhet. He then applied for the protection of the Burman Emperor; with what success is thus narrated:—

On the arrival of Gopee Chund, at the foot of the throne of the King of Kings, he represented the hardships he had endured; and his Majesty pitying his misfortunes, comforted him and said, "We will re-establish you in your kingdom of Cachar."

Accordingly, two armies advanced for that purpose, one from Munnypoor, the other from Assam. It might have been supposed, that no friend of legitimacy, which Lord Amherst no doubt is, would oppose so reasonable a proposal as the restoration of a lawful monarch dethroned by rebels; more especially, as his Lordship confesses, that Gopee Govind Chund's legitimate title is *unquestionable*; that there is no objection whatever to his being re-established; and that the Bengal Government is decidedly *friendly* to his pretensions. Why, then, does it oppose the just and benevolent views of the Burman monarch? The answer to this question is pregnant with illustration of the East India Company's policy. Among other objects of its monopoly in India, salt, opium, and tea, it has long usurped the trade of KING-MAKING, the most lucrative of the whole, as well as the most iniquitous. Their Empire has been raised by instigating servants to betray their masters, (as in the instances of Suraja Dowla,) children to betray the rights and honour of their family, (as in the case of the unfortunate Ali Hussain,) and, in short, making any one a prince who promised to allow them to share largely in the fruits of his treachery and crime. The justice or injustice

of Govind Chund's cause was, therefore, nothing to Lord Amherst; but he must be reinstated by the British Government *only*, the great monopolist of Indian king-making; on such conditions as it should choose to extort from his necessities. It appears that, evidently with this view, so far back as June 1823, when Mr. Adam acted as Governor-General, the Company's servants resolved (p. 22.) that Cachar should be taken "under their protection," on the "usual conditions of political dependence." Their policy is placed beyond doubt, by the fact developed at p. 79, that while professing the warmest friendship for Govind Chund, they are thinking of an alliance with Gumbheer Sing, and protect the rebels Chorajeet and Marajeet. But, although negotiations had been going on from that time to the end of the year for defining the terms, nothing, it appears, could be agreed on. From all we know of the Company's proceedings, we have a right to conclude, that its servants were employed during this interval in putting up the principality of Cachar to auction, between the Ex-Rajah and its actual possessor, that whoever bid highest might be made the nominal prince.⁵ The Ex-Rajah, probably alarmed at their rapacity, or conscious of his inability to compete, in the offer of bribes, with his rival, who was in actual possession of the power and wealth of the country, applied for help, as above noticed, to the Burman Monarch, who sent two armies to reinstate him. This would have put a stop to the auction, and completely defeated the Company's object of screwing the last farthing out of the principedom for its own behoof; therefore, Govind Chund *must* be secured, (p. 79.) and the Burmese troops repelled. The plea set up for the latter is, that Cachar is under the Company's protection; yet we are told, at the same time, that no treaty had been concluded with its rulers, nor even with its Ex-Rajah, who is confessed to have invited and implored the Burmese to assist him in the recovery of his rights. (P. 79.) Both parties are kept in suspense; and, in the meantime, the Company resolves to place its fangs upon the country, saying, "we have taken it under our protection."

An underplot of a similar kind was now carrying on with regard to the petty state of Jynteah. The Burmese Governor, in Assam, had made a

⁵ It is manifest, from the war in which we are now engaged, that the resolution lately formed by Mr. Adam and his colleagues, to take the state of Cachar under their protection, necessarily implies a violation of the interdiction laid by the British Legislature on any further extension of the Company's territories. Since it is a mere evasion of the law, to usurp the command of states, under the pretence of affording them protection, but really to govern them through the medium of a nominal Native Prince. This was the declared opinion of a former Government in 1809, regarding the same State, as mentioned by Hamilton:—

"In June 1809, (he says,) a letter was received by the Governor-General from Rajah Kisbone Chund Narain, of Cachar, stating, that he had commenced a pilgrimage to the holy places in the British dominions, and requesting that a guard of twenty-five Sepoys might be placed in his country during his absence, to prevent disturbance, and protect it from invasion, which salutary object he asserted would be attained by their mere appearance. His application, however, was not complied with; in consequence of which, in 1811, a second letter was received, soliciting most earnestly to be taken under the protection of the British Government, on condition of his paying whatever expense might be incurred—on account of the troops employed for the defence of his country. In reply to his application, the Rajah was informed that consistently with the principles which regulated the British Government, his overture could not be accepted; but that he would experience every office of friendship due to a friendly neighbour."—*Hamilton's Description of Hindoostan*.

call for the usual presents and offerings due, it is alleged, to the Chief of Assam, as his superior, but lately discontinued. The Rajah; therefore, apprehending a hostile visit, intimated his fears to the English authorities, who, of course, resolved to take him also under their protection. Lord Amherst states (p. 15), that this intelligence "suggested the expediency of including that petty state or chiefship, specifically, in our general system of defensive arrangements for the frontier." The Rajah was accordingly urged to throw off his dependence to the Burmah Government, and make an alliance with the Company; and the Burmese were forthwith *warned* not to trespass on his territory, (the territory of their own vassal!) because it is alleged that the Rajah's ancestor had received that country as a gift, after conquest, from the Honourable Company; and he himself had sought its protection. As to the first of these reasons, if it was a "free gift," without any reservation of homage or tribute, (and nothing of the kind else is alleged,) the pretence is quite futile. As to the second ground, it appears to be false; since only two pages back (88), it is stated that—

The Jynteah Rajah has, with the usual procrastinating policy of the Native Princes, declined entering into a treaty of alliance, until, as he says, the necessity may prove more urgent. I have pointed out the folly of this line of conduct in the strongest terms; and, with a view to prevent his being intimidated into submission by the approach of the Burmese army, I have, in the mean time, promised him the assistance of our troops, provided he himself makes all the opposition he can; and declared, that if he admit the Burmese into his territories without doing so, we shall treat him as an enemy.

Here is a specimen of the East India Company's justice and honour! It excites a Prince to revolt against his liege Lord; tells the superior, at the same time, his vassal has claimed its protection; and then threatens the unfortunate vassal with destruction if he do not prove himself a sturdy rebel! It is thus the natives of Asia are taught to believe (p. 82) that "the English are without faith; they do not understand what it is."

The total want of dates in many of the Papers leads to great confusion; but it is evident (from p. 81, 82, 83, &c.) that, although the Burmese were desirous, at first, of restoring the ex-Rajah of Cachar, finding we were opposed to it, they would have been contented with the surrender of the rebellious Munnyporean Chiefs, to whom we were giving our protection. The following is the declaration of the Governor of Assam on that subject:

The Doobah Rajah and the Muha Rajah were formerly the Rajahs of Cassay, and were tributary to the Burmese. They afterwards rebelled and fought against the King of Ava, who conquered and drove them out of Cassay: they then went into Cachar, and possessed themselves of the country.

The Cachar Rajah having been expelled his country, requested assistance from the King of Ava, and offered to become tributary.

Matta Sircar (supposed to be the Minister of Cachar) says he received Sepoys from the Company, and that he is not afraid of us.

If you deliver up the Maha Rajah and Doobah Rajah, we will not go into Cachar; we do not want the country, but have got orders from the King of Ava to seize their persons; if they are in Cachar we will go into it and seize them; if they take refuge in any other country, still we will follow and seize them; if the English fight with us on this account we cannot help it: nothing shall hinder us from apprehending them.

There might be some want of courtesy in declaring what would be the

consequence of the Company's refusing to deliver up the rebels, before this refusal was made; but it was, at least, candid and honest to declare a determination to have them at all events. The Assamese Governor is too polite, however, to say that war would be the consequence of a refusal; he rather seems to deprecate the displeasure of the British Government, because he is under the necessity of executing the commands of his Sovereign in apprehending these rebellious subjects. The Company's servants, therefore, by refusing to give them up, rendered war inevitable. The reason they assigned for this refusal could not be believed, unless it were given in their own words (p. 17). They say: "We could not with honour deliver them up, much less suffer them to be arrested in our own territory." Hear this, ye advocates of the Alien Bill, and the honour of the British nation, which ye will not suffer to afford an asylum to the persecuted friends of liberty in Europe! Even the East India Company's servants would think it a *dishonour* in Asia to refuse its protection to the rebels and traitors of every neighbouring state. And who are the men that declare this? The same who, within a few weeks, had demanded of the French Government of Chandernagore to surrender up an individual, Mr. Arnot, who was accused of no other offence than that of being a native of the United Kingdom; and for this mighty crime he was arrested by them in that foreign settlement. It is the same Government, too, which was prepared to insist on an "independent" Native Prince, the Nizam of Hyderabad, expelling innocent individuals, Sir William Rumbold and Mr. Lamb, from his territories, because they had lent him money cheaper than he could get it from any one else, and thereby saved his power from destruction, and the British Government itself from great danger. Yet now this same Government has suddenly acquired so delicate a sense of honour, so much tender mercy for the oppressed, that it cannot find in its heart to surrender the Burman subjects to the disposal of their lawful Sovereign! The plains of Bengal, under the meek, and mild, and moderate sway of Mr. Canning's "Lamb," must be an asylum for the injured of every nation, except for those who have the misfortune to be British born!

The more carefully we examine these proceedings, the more we are disgusted with the hollow and hypocritical pretences used to cloak and disguise the real character of the war against the Burmese, which we can now only regard as an unjustifiable and unprincipled aggression on the most absurd and iniquitous pretences. The Burmese showed constantly the greatest desire to promote an adjustment of the differences, proposing terms that appear to us perfectly reasonable, considering their circumstances. They said: "If you allow the frontier to remain *unaltered*, and surrender to us the bad men, *our subjects*, who are the cause of difference, there will be no breach of friendship." But the Company's servants would listen to nothing; determined to dispose of the fate of individuals and kingdoms at their own sole will and pleasure. War being rendered thus inevitable, it is unnecessary to detail the manner in which the first acts of hostility commenced.

One incident, however, deserves to be noticed, as further illustrative of the character of the Government in India. About the middle of January, when we were upon the point of coming to an open rupture with the Burmese, some of their local Officers, to show their zeal, perhaps, for the public service, contrived to entice on shore two British officers, Mr. Chew

and Mr. Ross; with some men belonging to the vessels stationed near the disputed island, Shahporee, and were treacherous enough to detain them prisoners, and carry them to the Burmese capital. Considerable alarm was, of course, felt for their safety in the hands of that barbarous people, goaded on as they had been, and strong remonstrances made for their liberation. In the Governor-General's despatch of the 23d of February, he thus alludes to the circumstance:

Accounts had, in the interval, been received from Mr. Chew himself, evincing a spirit unbroken by the calamitous situation in which he had placed himself and his companions, and stating that he had latterly been treated with humanity and even kindness. Mr. Robertson, however, remarks, "It is with deeper regret than I can express that I resign the hopes I have hitherto entertained of Mr. Chew's release. The high spirit evinced in his letters, and the elasticity of mind with which, under circumstances so depressing, he still keeps his attention directed to his professional pursuits, will, I am sure, excite the admiration of his Lordship in Council for the character of the individual, whilst it must deepen his regret at the calamity that has befallen him."

Mr. Chew, with his companions, was eventually released by the Burmese rulers, who condemned this act of treachery committed by their servants; and while among them, he generously saved the life of the person who had caused his detention; the superior authority having decreed, but for this humane intercession of the person injured, that the author of such an act of treachery should receive *condign punishment*. The reader may now desire to be informed how Lord Amherst testified his admiration of the character of this gallant veteran, who is confessed to have behaved so magnanimously, and had not shrunk from risking his life in the service of the East India Company, to which he had been attached for thirty or forty years. Instead of being rewarded with marks of favour, or even bare compensation for his sufferings, we have it on undoubted authority that, shortly after his return to Bengal, being engaged in the most arduous exertions to save one of the Company's vessels grounded in the river, through the fault of one of her Officers, and the fatigue and exposure which in that climate would have killed many less hardy men, having laid him up for a few weeks,—Lord Amherst took advantage of this temporary indisposition to DISMISS HIM FROM THE SERVICE, as *too old and unfit for duty*; thus consigning him, with his large family of a wife and ten or twelve children, to starvation, depriving them of their only means of subsistence!⁴ This is the way in which an East India Company's Governor "*evinces his admiration*," and rewards the gallantry of a British Officer! Well may the authors of such heartless cruelty detest that freedom of the press which would make known their infamous deeds, and rouse against them the indignation of a British public. This is the true reason why every upstart, "*drest in a little brief authority*," which he knows he can safely abuse, is so anxious to impose fetters on the human mind, and silence the tongues and pens of men; and in proportion as this end is gained, free scope is given both to the perpetration of private injury and the sacrifice of the public interests. This act, if not owing entirely to the private piques and jealousy of Com-

⁴ It was well known, besides, that this individual had been involved in large debts through former misfortunes; and nothing remained to him, therefore, but a small pension arising from deductions of his salary during the period of his service,—a pittance hardly adequate to support a single man in Calcutta.

modore Hayes, (Mr. Chew's superior,) can only be attributed to the dissatisfaction of Government, because his conscience would not allow him to represent the Burmese as being so hostilely disposed as the Government wished to have them believed to be: for which reason, while every flying rumour that breathed war is thought worthy of a place in these documents laid before Parliament, the evidence of this high-spirited British Officer is entirely suppressed, although, from being among them, he had opportunities of knowing the truth, which others had not, and he himself is sacrificed! This it is to serve a Government, the eulogists of which in England contend has ever been, still is, and, while the East India Company retain it in their hands, ever must be, an absolute and irresponsible despotism! If the Parliament of England do not remedy this evil, they will deserve to share with the despots of India the contempt and indignation of their countrymen.

NAPOLÉON.

Written while standing by his Tomb, in March 1824.

He sleeps in his lonely tomb,
And the ocean-surge,
And the tempest's gathering gloom
Are his pall and his dirge.
No martial trophies wave
O'er the rough grey stone,
Where lies, in an exile's grave,
Napoleon.

The hurricane shakes the rock,
But it wakes not him;
Nor the rolling earthquake's shock,
Nor the night-storm grim;
Nor the cannon's sound, which of old
Made the heart beat high,
As he marshall'd the free and bold
To victory.

And doth *he* lie so still,
Whose voice was the breath
Of battle—at whose will
Rush'd the nations to death?
Whose mandate swept away
From their ancient thrones,
Monarchs?—and where are they?
Ask Europe's groans?

He has vanish'd from the earth
Like a fiery star,
That hath its meteor-birth
'Midst the tempest's war.
And now, on the chain'd world lies
So drear a night,
Men weep for the stormy skies
Which *he* made bright.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

ANCIENT ACCOUNTS OF INDIA AND CHINA, BY TWO
MOHAMMEDAN TRAVELLERS.

IN our last Number (p. 73) was inserted a letter respecting Renaudot's Translation of the "Ancient Accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan Travellers." The writer of that letter had seen their genuineness and authenticity called in question, and was anxious to discover whether any thing certain were known about their origin. It is possible that many other persons may feel the same desire. While we endeavour, therefore, to satisfy our intelligent correspondent, we hope to afford a degree of pleasure to the majority of our readers also, and for that purpose, we shall not confine ourselves to a naked reply to his question, but shall unite with it a brief description of the work itself.

As it is almost impossible, however, properly to enjoy a Book of Travels suspected even of being a forgery, it will be proper to settle the claims of these "Ancient Accounts" to be considered genuine, before we advert to the nature of their contents. In doing this, we shall use the authority of M. de Guignes, the learned and laborious author of the "History of the Huns." The Jesuits Premare and Parennin¹ appear to have been among the first who disputed the authenticity of these "Ancient Accounts:" their doubts and those of many other learned men, induced De Guignes to examine the matter. He does not decide whether or not these two Mohammedans ever were in China; he only says that it is certain the Arabs traded to China in those times. They had a Musulman Cadi at Canton; and were become so powerful in A. D. 758, that they ventured to pillage and burn all the magazines of the city, which was then, as now, the principal port of China; after which they retreated to their ships. This event is mentioned in the Chinese annals. From the beginning, therefore, M. de Guignes did not think with the Jesuit Missionaries, that these travels ought to be neglected. He observes, however, that, both in England and Italy, many learned men doubted the existence of the Arabic MS., and considered the whole as a forgery. As Renaudot had not given either the title or the number of the Arabic MS. in the Seignelay collection, (afterwards purchased for the King,) M. de Guignes could not, by the most careful researches, discover the original, and from thence concluded that the Abbé had made a collection, from various Arabic writers, of passages respecting China, and put them forth as the travels of two ancient Mohammedans. In 1750, M. de Guignes communicated this opinion to M. Foscarini, Procurator of St. Mark at Venice, and to several others who had inquired of him whether any such MS. existed. Some time afterwards, the question was repeated by Mr. Morton, Secretary to the Royal Society of London, who observed, that in England the learned were persuaded it was a piece of pure fraud. De Guignes now renewed his researches, and discovered the original Arabic MS. He was guided in his researches by a remark of Renaudot—that the author had described the walls of Damascus at the end of the travels. The Arabic MS. was in quarto, No. 597, p. 161, of the Catalogue of the King's Library. Its Latin title

¹ Lettres Edif. Curieuses, Rec. xix. p. 420, and xxi. p. 158.

was 'Catena Historica, in qua Provinciæ diversæ, maria, piscium genera, mundi mirabilia, regionum et locorum situs, aliæque complura explicantur.' After this follows the title of the chapter, which is, 'Chapter concerning the Sea which lies between Inde and Sinde, Ghouz and Maghouz, the mountain of Cáf, and the island of Serendib, &c.' Then a few dozen lines relating to curious kinds of fish, which Renaudot did not translate. The handwriting of these two titles is not the same as that in which the MS. is written, nor does the general title appear to be that which the author gave to his work; for something on Astronomy is promised, after the words "piscium genera," the title going on, "et in eo doctrina cæli." Now there is nothing of the kind in these travels, and what is found in the volume relating to Astronomy is no other than Aristotle's book *De Cælo*. From this circumstance, De Guignes concludes that the general title was prefixed by the person who collected all these heterogeneous pieces into one volume. The MS. although mutilated in some parts, is clearly written, and contains two dates, which prove it to be more modern by thirty years than Renaudot considered it. He observes, however, that the Abbé had translated it with exactness, and like a great Arabic scholar; and that he considered it to be his duty, as it was in his power, to bear testimony to the excellence of his version; for, not contented with having found the MS., he examined the translation, and, with one or two exceptions of small importance, found it extremely faithful. Having cleared Renaudot from all suspicion, De Guignes observes, in favour of the Travellers themselves, that their work was mentioned and used by Arabian writers of their own times, as well as by those who wrote on similar subjects afterwards; and, among others, he names Masoudi, who flourished in the year of the Hejira 336, A. D. 947, contemporary with the second Traveller. This account of Renaudot's Translation and the MS. was communicated in a letter to the 'Journal des Savans,' in 1764.

Such are the proofs that these Travels are genuine and authentic. M. de Guignes considers them also as useful and important, but in this we do not perfectly agree with him. There are, no doubt, many singular facts to be found in them, but they are so loose, rambling, and meagre, upon the whole, that they cannot be considered as important travels. Nevertheless, they are very *curious*, and it is in this light chiefly that we look on them as worth notice. The love of the marvellous is apparent throughout; a hankering too after novelty is discernible; but the authors could not connect or arrange their materials. They skip from subject to subject without any regard whatever to propriety; and were evidently guided by some secret association in their own imaginations, which coupled things together in the order, perhaps, in which they had entered their minds, or as they were recalled by some name, or imaginary resemblance in their nature.

The first 'Account' is imperfect at the beginning. From the words in which the relation commences, we conclude that the author had described *two* Oriental seas, for he says—"the *third* of the seas we have to mention is the sea of Harkand," in which the Maldives are situated. These islands were governed, it seems, at that period, by a Queen, for Al Edrisi notices the same circumstance. The author adds—

"Among these islands, they find ambergris in lumps of extraordinary bigness, as also in lesser pieces, in form of plants forcibly torn up. This

amber is produced at the bottom of the sea, as plants are upon earth; and, when the sea is troubled, the violence of the waves tears it up from the bottom, and washes it to the shore, in form of a mushroom, or a truffle." "The wealth of the inhabitants consists in shells, (cowries,) and even the Queen's treasury is full of them. They say there are no artificers more expert than these islanders; and that of the fibres of the cocoa-nut they make whole shirts, all of one piece, sleeves, gussets and all, as also half-vests or jackets. With the same industry, and with the same tree, they build ships and houses, and they are skilful in all other sorts of workmanship. Their shells they have from the sea, at times when they rise up to the surface; at which times the inhabitants throw branches of the cocoa-nut tree into the sea, and the shells stick to them. They call them *Kaptage*."

The author then goes on to describe Ceylon, which he does in a very brief manner. Descending from Adam's Peak, he observes, "About this mountain are mines of the ruby, opal, and amethyst. This island, which is of great extent, has two Kings; and here you may have wood-aloes, gold, precious stones, and pearls, which are fished on the coast; as also a kind of large shells, which they use instead of trumpets, and which they much value."

The account he gives of the cannibals of the Andaman islands agrees, as nearly as possible, with the modern relations. "Beyond these two islands (of Rhamni) lies the sea of Andaman; the people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black; their hair frizzled; their countenance and eyes frightful; their feet are very large, and almost a cubit in length; and they go quite naked. They have no embarkations; if they had, they would devour all the passengers they could lay hands on. When ships have been kept back by contrary winds, they are often in these seas obliged to drop anchor on this barbarous coast, for the sake of water, when they have expended their stock; and upon these occasions they often lose some of their men, but most escape."

The following is his description of the water-spout, which is very common in those seas:—"In this sea there is often beheld a white cloud, which at once spreads over a ship, and lets down a long thin tongue, or spout, quite to the surface of the water, which it disturbs just after the manner of a whirlwind; and if a vessel happen to be in the way of this whirlpool, she is immediately swallowed up thereby; but at length the cloud mounts again, and discharges itself in a prodigious rain. It is not known whether this water is sucked up by the cloud which makes it rise, or in what manner so extraordinary an effect is brought to pass. All these seas are subject to great commotions, excited by the winds, which make them boil up like water over a fire. Then it is that the surf dashes ships against the islands, and breaks them to pieces with unspeakable violence; and then also is it that fish of all sizes are thrown dead ashore upon the rocks, like an arrow from a bow." "And now is ambergris torn up from the bottom, and particularly where it is very deep; and the deeper it is, the more exquisite is the amber. It is observed, that when this sea rages in this violent manner, it sparkles like fire."

Having despatched these matters, the author goes on to treat of China; but here the MS. is imperfect. However, we have a rapid sketch of Canton, there called Canfu; and this is followed up by an enumeration of the places touched at in a voyage from Siraf, in Arabia,

to that city. It may be worth while to place a list of their names before the reader. Most of the ships from China took in their cargoes at Siraf, which consisted of goods brought from Basra, Oman, and other places. From Basra to Siraf is 120 leagues,² and from thence they sail to Mascat, 200 leagues farther, on the extremity of the province of Oman. From Mascat, after having watered at that place, they sailed direct for India, and in a month arrived at a place which our author calls Kaicamnali; then they entered the sea of Harkand, and having sailed through it, touched at a place called Lajabalus; from thence they steered away towards Calabar, "the name of a place and kingdom on the coast, to the right hand beyond India." "Calabar is about a month's voyage from a place called Kankam, which is almost upon the skirts of the sea of Harkand." In ten days more they reached *Betuma*, and in other ten days, *Kadrage*. "It is worth notice," says the author, "that in all the islands and peninsulas of the Indies, they find water when they dig for it." From Kadrage to Senef is ten days' sailing, and the same from Senef to Sandarfulat. At each of these places fresh water is found; and from the former comes the aromatic wood which the Arabs call *Hud al Senfi*. "Here is a King; the inhabitants are black, and wear two striped garments." It took up another month to sail from Sandarfulat to China. The whole voyage from Siraf to Canton was performed in less than five months.

Having described the route of vessels sailing from Arabia to China, the author falls into his miscellanies again; describes Canton a second time, and then reverts to such wonderful things as he had forgotten to mention before. Among the rest he observes: "They say that in the island of Muljan, which is between Serendib and Cala, on the eastern shore of the Indies, there are Negroes who go quite naked; and that when they meet with a stranger, they hang him with his head downwards, and slice him into pieces, which they eat quite raw. These Negroes have no King, and feed upon fish, mousa, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes. They have ponds and some lakes." After this he speaks of the flying fish; a fish which climbs into the cocoa-nut trees; and another which turns to stone as soon as taken out of its element. The following miniature description of a volcano puts us in mind of the naïveté of the Arabian Nights: "*They say also, that near Zabage there is a mountain called the mountain of fire, which no one may approach; that, in the day-time, it sends up a thick smoke; and that, in the night, it throws out flames. At the foot of this same mountain are two springs of fresh water, the one hot, and the other cold.*" The dress, food, fruits, wines, and ornaments, of the Chinese, are then mentioned; and he characteristically observes, "The Chinese women appear uncovered, and adorn their heads with small ivory and other combs, of which they shall wear sometimes a score together. The men are covered with caps of a particular make." From these caps and combs, the Traveller digresses to the "four principal Kings of the world;" and he makes both Indians and Chinese acknowledge the King of the Arabs (the Caliph) to be the first, "and to be, without dispute, the most powerful of kings, the most wealthy, and the most excellent every way; because he is the prince and head of a great religion,

² M. de Guignes observes, that Renaudot should have said *parasang* instead of *league*.

and because no other surpasses him in greatness and power!" Among other wonders, he observes also, that the Indians do not "compute their years from the era of Mohammed, as do the Arabs, but only by the years of their Kings." This trait of nationality, and a few others of the same kind, ought to have convinced the learned, we think, that Renaudot did not forge the book—it is so truly Arabic!

His account of the rhinoceros, which he denominates the unicorn, deserves to be transcribed: "In this same country is the famous *Kar-kandan*, or unicorn, who has but one horn upon his forehead, and thereon a round spot with the representation of a man. The whole horn is black, except the spot in the middle, which is white. The unicorn is much smaller than the elephant; from the neck, downwards, he pretty much resembles the buffalo (buffalo); for strength he is extraordinary, therein surpassing all other creatures; his hoof is not cloven; and from his foot to his shoulder he is all of a piece. The elephant flies from the unicorn, whose lowing is like that of an ox, with something of the cry of a camel. *His flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it.* There are great numbers of this creature in the fens of this kingdom, as also in all the other provinces of the Indies; but the horns of these are the most esteemed, and upon them are generally seen the figures of men, peacocks, fishes, and other resemblances. The Chinese adorn their girdles with these sorts of figures, so that some of these girdles are worth two or three thousand pieces of gold in China, and sometimes more, the price augmenting with the beauty of the figure." The Chinese of those days, he informs us, had trumpets three or four cubits long, which might be heard a mile off. They kept the bodies of their dead a whole year in their houses, having previously dried them with quick-lime; after which they were interred. Persons of all ranks were taught to read and write. The following is his account of *Tea*:

The Emperor also reserves to himself the revenues which arise from the salt-mines, and from a certain herb which they drink with hot water, and of which great quantities are sold in all the cities, to the amount of great sums. They call it *Sah*; and it is a shrub more bushy than the pomegranate-tree, and of a more taking smell, but it has a kind of bitterness with it. Their way is to boil water, which they pour upon this leaf, and this drink cures all sorts of diseases!

By these specimens the reader will be able to judge in what manner the ancient Arabs wrote their travels. There is no continued narrative. there is no order; all you know is, that the author mentions his having been in India, where he noticed the extravagant practices of the *fakirs*; but how much of what he relates was gathered from personal observation, and how much from hearsay, it is not possible to conjecture.

'The Second Account; or the Discourse of Abu Zeid al Hassan, of Siraf,' is something longer than the preceding, and arose out of an examination and review of it. There were persons, it seems, who charged the author of the first relation with exaggeration or incorrectness, and Abu Zeid had been "ordered," perhaps by the Caliph, to peruse his account, and to make such additions and corrections, as he might be enabled to do by his intercourse with the merchants of Siraf, who had visited China and the Indies. This second part is founded, therefore, on very miscellaneous testimony. However, it contains a good deal of curious matter, and there is no reason why we should not believe as much of it, at least, as is not inconsistent with the relations of later and

superior travellers. Abu Zeid appears, indeed, to have been a very inquisitive man, who collected from the merchants of Irak whatever observations they had made on those various countries to which their "auri sacra flammæ" had conducted them. In common with all his countrymen, he felt the most violent curiosity on the subject of China; which was very natural, as it was the most remote region the Mohammedans had ever visited, and abounded in riches, and the productions of arts which were unknown in the west of Asia.

He commences his "discourse" with the account of a revolution which had just happened in China, and had cut off all communication between the people of that country and the Arabs. From this he passes on to supply some deficiencies in the first relation. As a specimen of his manner, we will extract what he says on the common women of China:—

There are women in China who refuse to marry, and choose rather a dissolute life and perpetual debauchery. The custom is, for these women to present themselves in full audience before the commanding officer of the garrison in the city, and declare their aversion to marriage, and then desire to be numbered with the public women. They then desire to be registered, in the usual form, among these prostitutes, and the form is such: they write down the name of the woman, her family, the number of her jewels, the several *items* of her attire, and the place of her abode; thus is she admitted a public woman. After this they put about her neck a string, at which hangs a copper ring, with the King's signet; and deliver to her a writing, which certifies that she is received into the list of common prostitutes, and entitles her to a yearly stipend of so many *talus*, to be paid her out of the public treasury, *and threatens with death the person who should take her to wife!* They every year give notice of what is to be observed with regard to these women; *and turn off those who are too barren of charms.* In the evening, these women walk abroad in dresses of different colours, *without any veil*, and prostitute themselves to all new comers that love debauchery; but the Chinese themselves send for them to their houses, whence they depart not till the next morning. *Praised be God, who hath rescued us from the like infamy!*

The Chinese have always enjoyed a decided pre-eminence over most other nations, in the barbarity of legal punishments; but the consummation of the penalty decreed for murder, adultery, and theft, as it is given by Abu Zeid, seems to display a peculiar trait of national character, if our relator be correct in his statement:—

They execute the criminal in this manner: they bind both the hands together, and then force them backwards over the head till they rest upon the neck; they then fasten the right-foot to the right-hand, and the left-foot to the left-hand; so that both hands and feet are strongly bound behind the back; and thus bundled up, it is impossible for the criminal to stir, nor wants he any body to hold him. This torture disjoins the neck, makes the vertebrae start from their connexions, and dislocates the thighs; in short, the party is in so miserable a condition, that were he to continue therein but for a few hours, there would be no need of any thing else to make an end of him. But when they have bound him, as we have said, they strike him with a staff (*bambou*) which they always use upon the like occasions, and which alone were sufficient to kill the criminal. With this they give him a certain number of blows, a number they never exceed, and then leave off, when he is at the very last gasp of life, *and forsoke the body to people who eat it!*

In the 'First Account,' also, the author observes, that "in general it may be said that *the Chinese eat all those who are put to death:*" and Abu Zeid asserts, on another occasion, that the laws of China

"permit human flesh to be exposed to sale in the public markets." Whether this was true or not, in those times, we have no means of knowing; the probability, however, is, that it was a *mieste* tale of wonder, patched up out of misapprehension and exaggeration.

From what we have said, and from the extracts we have given, the reader will be able to form some idea of the 'Ancient Accounts of India and China:' that some information and much amusement may be obtained from them we have no doubt; but it seems highly necessary in perusing them, to bear in mind the author's spirit of credulity.

The *Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, the other work referred to by our learned Correspondent, will be noticed in a future Number. It is not less singular, and perhaps more interesting than the one above described.

THE LOVER.

WHEN first thy beauty beam'd upon my soul,
Like morning darting on the misty deep,
Indifference, like a cloud, broke up, and stole
Away; and passions numberless from sleep
Awakening, o'er the trembling heart-strings sweep
Their fiery fingers, and my peace consumed,
As some wild vassailers their revels keep,
While dumb Night nods without his sable plume,
Or whispers with pale Death, who piles their early tomb.

Little, ah! little did I then surmise,
While all my heart had dreamt of loveliness
Played on thy cheek, that those enchanting eyes
Could shute undimm'd upon my soul's distress,
Because, perchance, my heaps of coin were less
Than others boasted who thy heart assail'd
And gain'd, despite the well-feigned tenderness,
The ready syren tears, that never fail'd
To moisten our press'd cheeks when I at fortune rail'd.

But go thy way into the merry world,
And shine thy hour upon the painted scene,
Whence sorrow seems to nether darkness hurl'd,
While joy smiles in each face where she had been;
Yet aye remember that the laughing Queen
Of Love ne'er visits the brown vale of years,
Nor e'er has been to herd with wrinkles seen;
But, as the frosty head of age appears,
Turns back, and leaves life's thread to Grief's or Clotho's shears.

And when thou stand'st deserted in thy age,
On the last sands of ebbing life alone,
Try then thy fierce repentance to assuage,
By recollecting that the only one
Who lov'd thee for thyself, perchance, is gone:
To join the cohorts of the grave for thee;
Or, if he live, fly to him, he will moan
Thy fate, when all have fled thee, and will be
Thy guide to that sad realm where all sleep silently.

ON THE PRINCIPLE OF UTILITY.

ALTHOUGH these four words, "The Principle of Utility," would seem as easy to be comprehended, and as clearly to be understood, as any other four words in our language; yet, it may be safely said, that few things have been more generally misunderstood than the meaning which those, advertent to the principle in question, most frequently attach to it. To prevent a repetition of this evil, and to avoid all possible ambiguity, we shall begin with a definition, taken from the venerable writer who has made it the chief test of moral and political good, in his Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation:—

"By the principle of utility," (says the author of that work), "I mean that principle which approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question; and not only of every action of a private individual, but of every measure of government."¹

To make Utility the ground of approbation for any species of action, it is not necessary that every one who approves of it should have perceived its usefulness; or that every one who disapproves of an act, should have perceived its mischievousness. It may often happen that one man will perceive the evils inseparable from certain acts, and express his disapprobation of them, while no other person having any motive to approve of them, his decision is universally adopted, and a general opinion prevails that the action is really bad, and ought to be disapproved accordingly. The evil qualities of any one act being thus established, some one person may have occasion to consider whether he shall do it or not. He concludes not: and why? Because it occurs to him that it is already disapproved; and to do an action that is esteemed a bad one in the general estimation of his neighbours, would draw upon him the ill-will of the persons who disapproved of it. He, therefore, abstains from doing it. Is it because he himself perceives it is mischievous? No: he never thinks whether it is so or not: he has no occasion to look so far. If he endeavoured to see whether there were mischiefs in it, perhaps he might not find it of himself. It was the general disapprobation of the act, and not a clear sense of its mischievousness, that was the ground of his decision. But what was the ground of that general disapprobation? Certainly not particular experience of its mischievousness; for that, even if recognized, would not be the immediate cause of his conduct. His motive would be—the idea of pleasure and pain, as about to arise from it: in other words, the pain he might incur in consequence of the ill-will of men, which would arise upon his committing an act marked with their disapprobation.

Every thing concurs to make this train of reasoning so habitual, so rapid, as to assume the appearance of instinct. It is a lesson we are learning almost every moment of our lives; for the occasions for prac-

¹ Bentham—Introduction to the Principle of Morals and Legislation, 8vo. vol. i. p. 3.

tising it perpetually occur. Nor need we wonder at its being familiar, when we see what practice will do in the operation of the most difficult arts.

The Principle of Utility contains in itself the solution of all questions whatsoever in morality, politics, and jurisprudence: questions we mean of *right*, provided the *facts* be settled.

Take, for example, the question about the cup or the ship, mentioned by Mr. Hume.² The cup is made by one man from the metal of another, innocently we will suppose. The question is, which it should belong to—the maker, or the owner of the materials? to him who found *form*, or to him who found *matter*? To the first, says somebody: to the latter, says another: to, I know not which, says Mr. Hume. “For my part,” says that candid and ingenuous philosopher, “I know not from what principle such a controversy can be certainly determined.”

Mr. Hume considers justice and injustice as having nothing to do with pain and pleasure. The reasonableness of giving a man a property in a thing, arises, not from the effect such gift will have upon the pains and pleasures of himself and others, but from, we know not what, strength of relation those others as well as himself are disposed to imagine between himself as owner, and the thing as property.

Where, in the case of two competitors, some circumstances induce men to conceive this relation as being stronger between the thing to be possessed, and one of the parties claiming exclusive possession, while certain other circumstances operate with a force not assignably different, to induce them to conceive it stronger between the same thing and some other party putting in an equal claim, there is no knowing from these “principles of human nature,” laid down by Mr. Hume, to which of them it *ought* to belong, whose property of the two it is, or which of them in justice is entitled to its undisturbed possession. Here, then, says Mr. Hume, is the proper business of municipal laws, to fix what the principles of human nature have left undetermined. Here, on the contrary, say we, is the proper business of municipal laws, to pronounce according as the principles of human nature—that all sufficient principle, which we denominate the Principle of Utility, has determined.

It is certain, that *happiness* is largely concerned in the line of determination which the law takes upon questions of this and of every other description. No question can be worth deciding on any other account: if the contrary could be supposed, the whole business of law would be of less importance than a game at chess. On every legal decision, a certain quantity of happiness is at stake. In questions concerning property, a certain allotment of the instruments of happiness is put into the hands of the Judges, out of which they return a certain quantity of happiness itself: a quantity, which is greater or less, according as the decision has disposed of them. A decision concerning property, is an adjustment of the happiness which the possession of it may produce. A decision concerning a contract, is an adjustment of the happiness which depends upon the performance or non-performance of its conditions.

“What will be the state of happiness in the community if I decide in this way? what, if in that way? what, if in such another?” These are questions which the judges seem scarcely ever to have thought of put-

² B. 3. section 3. p. 96.

ting to themselves. What has been the consequence of this neglect? Every thing in the law that the subject finds reason to complain of: every thing that excites his alarms, every thing that awakens his suspicions, every thing that lights up his indignation and contempt.

What is it that a man means, when he asks for a reason why he should do a thing? Some consideration, from which it may appear, that the doing of it will conduce to his happiness. What is it that a statesman means, when he asks for a reason why such a thing should be done? Some consideration, whereby it may appear, that its being done will conduce to the happiness of the state.

Few men, now a days at least, scruple to acknowledge Utility, that is, conducibility to human happiness, to be the end of law: few there are who do not, when called upon, join in homage to this all-commanding principle. Meantime, satisfied for the most part with a vain and verbal recognition of it, they prostrate themselves before other gods: while, with their lips, they proclaim this the one Jehovah, their constant devotions are paid to a thousand Baals, who have no commission, or none that is recognized from the one legitimate sovereign. One principle is consulted on one occasion, another on another; the jarring inconsistency of whose decrees, proves sufficiently the illegitimacy of their title.

Whatever principle or maxim is not in subordination to this of Utility, is in opposition to it. It admits of no compromise: it endures none that does not bear in its countenance the point of its commission. It is the unceasing voice of this sole monarch of the moral world, "He who is not under me is against me." It endures no one that pretends to be its own sufficient reason. It and it alone is itself the sufficient reason of them all. How fair and well-sounding soever, it admits no principle to pass current, that is not legitimatised by its image and superscription.

The same persons who, with their lips, and in general terms, will recognize its verity, will, in the detail, for expediting the ordinary business of their inquiries, resort to others, which, being unsubordinate to it, are inconsistent with it. In the business of assessing punishment, for example, they will resort to the principle of vengeance or retribution; a principle, which, not being checked by that of Utility, is adverse to it: for, when there shall be a demand for punishment in satisfaction of vengeance, which shall be beyond and without Utility; or, in other words, an intentional mischief meditated by the agent, confirming him in the supposed propriety of retorting punishment on the patient, at the same time, that such a punishment, when duly represented, would appear plainly (in direct opposition to the Principle of Utility) to give rise to an augmentation, and not a diminution, of the sum of unhappiness in the whole: when this shall take place, the dictates of the two principles are incompatible.

Happiness is the end of law. Punishment is one of its means; a small allotment of pain, fabricated and stationed to keep out a greater. What room is there for vengeance? None. Revenge or vengeance (for they are synonymous) is the gratification of an appetite for another's pain, as such, and not as a means of greater pleasure; namely, of any pleasure of the concupiscible class, either to the avenger, the victim, or any other.

Vengeance, to be spoken of as a distinct principle, must have dictates

different from those of the Principle of Utility. The pain it requires must be either greater or less than utility would, in a given case, require. If greater, then its dictates run counter to those of utility; if less, turning its dictates, does not take happiness for its end. It requires a pain to be inflicted, over and above that which appears sufficient to keep out the evil apprehended; in other words, it requires pain in surplussage or waste, which is what utility forbids. If less, then are its dictates merged in those of utility. Whatever be the punishment it prescribes, the principle of utility requires that punishment, and no more: less would not be sufficient to keep out the greater pain which it is appointed to keep out.

Upon one supposition, indeed, the principle of vengeance could not, in any case, be at variance with that of utility: I mean, if the pain of the victim were no greater than the pleasure of the avenger; but this is what is manifestly not true. To reprobate, therefore, the principle of vengeance as a principle at once illegitimate and indistinct; that is, as a principle that it can never be of use to recur to, is the first and most general application of the Principle of Utility.

Illuminated by the Principle of Utility, the field of law will assume a new appearance. The parade of wisdom, the solemn mootings, the cobweb reasonings, will vanish into nothing; the quirks and quiddities, when stripped of the mystery that envelops them, will show themselves in their genuine colours, as fit objects of ridicule and lamentation: ridicule, considered in themselves; lamentation, when considered in their consequences. Separate from this principle all those high-sounding words, which make such a figure in political and moral writings, and religion, right reason, the king's glory, the peace, the good order, the morals of society, are but bubbles; empty names, unless thus filled, which have been used, and which will still be used, were the insignificance of them demonstrated ever so plainly, as a mask to absurdity and oppression.

It is curious to observe what a variety of phrases men have invented, as so many clouds to cover their ignorance and pertinacity from themselves and those around them. "It is against the obvious suggestions of reason to suppose" so and so. "Reason forbids" so and so. "Reason pronounces" so and so. These, and numberless others of the same stamp, are at bottom nothing but so many fictions, by putting *reason* in the place of *self*, to get more respect and attention to an aphorism than what belongs to it. "Reason forbids" to do so and so; meaning, in truth, neither more nor less than, "I am fully persuaded such a thing ought not to be done; but I cannot tell why." Just as "reason pronounces" so and so, means, "I pronounce so and so; but if you ask me why, I know nothing of the matter."

It is not uncommon to meet with a string of arguments tipped with an aphorism of this sort, reserved for this purpose to the last, as being the most forcible and convincing of the whole bunch; "Even natural reason teaches us," and then we are presented once more with the very proposition which was to be proved. All these high-sounding, showy, but unsubstantial aphorisms (of which the bulk of many a grave performance would, if thus examined, be found to be composed) are nothing at bottom but so many contrivances to let in *self*, under different names, to be both judge and party. The discourser, the dupe commonly as well

as the artificer of his own cheat, succeeds the better in putting it upon others.

It is scarcely to be expressed how much the science would gain, if men would but inhibit themselves this license: the quantity of what is called *learning*, belonging to it would indeed shrink in the same proportion; for a great part of many books consists in nothing else but the ringing of the changes upon these phrases. It should, therefore, be carefully borne in mind, that all those *formulae*, in which are introduced the phrases, "*law of nature, natural justice, natural equity, right reason, the reason of things,*" and others of the same leaven, without end, are not reasons, but only contrivances to avoid a reason; or, at any rate, are but awkward substitutes to the principle of utility.

By the *state of nature*, if we mean any thing, we mean the condition of mankind in general, or any number of individuals living without laws. We know of no other intelligible explication of the term. From this plain and seemingly obvious observation, let any one judge of the propriety of the term, "*law of nature.*" What becomes then of the "*law of nature,*" upon which so many volumes have been written? There is no such thing existing: the very expression involves a contradiction. What are, then, those laws of nature, those natural laws, those dictates of natural justice, of which we hear so much and understand so little? They are a collection of propositions, concerning the conduct of human life, coupled with an "*ought,*" or "*ought not,*" a "*should,*" or a "*should not;*"—propositions for the most part gratuitous, and unsupported by any argument. For their truth (such of them as are true) depend upon their coincidence with the dictates of general utility: either upon this, or upon none.

Whoever considers attentively the propositions that are delivered by moralists, under the denomination of laws, will perceive that they are nothing more than so many particular applications of the maxim of general utility; or else they are some visionary conceptions hatched under the influence of the different prejudices that occupied the mind; and he will constantly find, either that this reason is to be given for ranking the maxim in question under the catalogue of the laws of nature, viz. that the observance of it is conducive to the happiness of society, and the non-observance of it productive of misery; or that no intelligible reason can be given for it whatever; and that it stands there upon no better foundation than the bare imagination of the writer.

Let any person examine any one of the variety of propositions upon which this title has ever been bestowed, and he will find that the reason assignable for his preference of the law in question to its contrary, is either none at all, or this: that the former is most conducive to the general utility of mankind. If, then, instead of being protected from examination by the imposing appellation of *laws of nature*, they had been delivered under the name of maxims of general utility, the authors, guided and restrained by the title, could not have slipped in so many chimeras of their own, of which no utility can be assigned, under cover of the indiscriminating respect which mankind are apt to pay to whatever they find invested with so sacred a title. Writers would then have entered upon the examination with their eyes open; nor would they have had any other question to discuss, relative to any one that should be proposed, than this standing one; namely, is it, in fact, or is it not, con-

ductive to general utility? or, (what is the same question, though comprised in terms still more palpable,) does it, or does it not contribute to the happiness of mankind?

The student and the legislator would not then have had to lament the confusion, on this head, in a work calculated for the instruction of both, which the beauty of the style palliates without being able to dispel. We should not have read in one page ² of that celebrated performance, that *the Creator has laid down* "certain eternal, immutable, laws of good and evil, founded on the relations of justice, existing in the nature of things;" among others of which are these principles: that we should live honestly, should hurt nobody, and should render every one his due dispensations; to which, it seems, the Creator himself conforms.

Nor, in the next page, ⁴ should we have read, that "he has not perplexed the law of nature with a multitude of abstracted rules and precepts, referring merely to the fitness and unfitness of things, *as some have vainly surmised*: but has graciously reduced the rule of obedience to this one paternal precept, 'that man should pursue his own happiness.'"

We should not have been told in one place, ³ that, "in a state of nature we are all equal;" and in another, ⁵ that "obedience to superiors has its rise from the law of nature, and is the doctrine of revealed, as well as natural religion." These, and numberless other errors and contradictions, which this writer, in common with his ablest predecessors, has fallen into, might have been avoided, if the Principle of Utility had been kept steadily in view.

By what process of the imagination, the appellation of *law* came to be transferred from a really existing subject to a nonentity, it would be transgressing too far the design and limits of the present article minutely to inquire. We must content ourselves, in this place, with reminding our readers, that, in strictness of speech, there is no such thing as a law of nature; and that to set up any such law, as controlling and opposing any regulation that shall be proved to produce a clear happiness in society, must be a pernicious fallacy. What, then, are those aphorisms which writers, flattered by the title of legislators of mankind, have ushered into the world, under that imposing appellation? Clearly, either so many propositions void of meaning, and undeserving of regard; or else propositions, concerning the conduct of human life, indicating the influence of various species of actions and forbearances upon the happiness of mankind, and which, for the sake of shortness, may be called "*Maxims of General Utility*:" maxims, to which, by whomsoever, and with what confidence soever laid down, no deference is owing, any farther than their title can be made out to the appellation they are made to bear.

Their meaning and authority being thus ascertained, if any body chooses rather to call them by the title of *laws of nature*, as we bear no antipathy to words, we have no objection. Whatever regulation, therefore, that can be proved to contribute, upon the whole, to General Utility, will thereby be proved conformable to the laws of nature; and saying that a law ought not to contradict any one of these, is saying, neither more nor less than, that a law ought not to be a bad one.

² Blackstone's Commentaries, p. 40.

³ Ibid, p. 43.

⁴ Ibid, p. 41.

⁵ Ibid, p. 55.

The only differences between the two expressions, and which makes us prefer the one before the other, are, that the one seeks to rest the matter upon bare assertion, whereas the other refers every thing ultimately to the tribunal of experience : the one overawes by its mysteriousness, while it confounds by its equivocality the other. The one represents all questions alike as already answered and decided ; the other exhibits each question under that particular form of doubt and difficulty, which really invests it. The one seeks to constitute the writer, whoever he is, and his party, sole judges ; the other refers every thing to the equal suffrages of mankind, as far as they have data whereon to found them. The one invites to, while it holds up an apology for, peremptoriness and obstinacy ; the other indicates the necessity of caution and examination. The one confounds all transgressions and mismanagements, by representing one uniform unsurmountable barrier, carried along everywhere to separate right from wrong ; the other, looking around on all sides, for the means of distinguishing them with accuracy and precision, makes the degrees of guilt in offences as various, as may be conceived the number of quantities in the sum of public happiness. The one envelopes every question in one common shade ; the other places each in its peculiar light. There are different degrees of utility ; but there is but *one right* and *one wrong*.

If it should be said, that there are laws of nature, of different degrees of importance, that is falling off into the system of utility ; for if it be not different degrees of utility which give them their difference in importance, what is it ? The one tends to exasperate and perpetuate parties ; the other to extinguish and reconcile them. The one stimulates to hatred and animosity, by representing those who take the contrary side of every question, whatever it be, to which it is applied, (and it is applied to the most momentous and most numerous kinds of questions,) as rebellious to a certain sovereign authority, with which this phantom is invested ; the other invites all men to sit down calmly and amicably, to unite their experience and observation.

By some, it is asserted, that the Principle of Utility is adverse to the principle of Theology. But this is not the case. A displeasure of the Deity, at the possession of any the least portion of *clear* happiness which he has given a man the physical power of attaining, is to put a negative, if admitted, upon his attribute of benevolence. For this attribute to exist in perfection, must exist at least in as high a degree as it does in man. There is scarcely any man so brutal and so unfeeling, but that, far from taking any thing away from the stock of happiness of another (not his enemy), would refuse to make any addition to it, could it be done without any pain or trouble to himself.

These are the considerations that have offered themselves to our understanding, in considering the question of the standard of right and wrong, and we can see no way to overcome the force of them.

If they are just, they point out an universal and consistent method for the solution of all questions that can be put, concerning the rectitude of any measure or maxim, as far as *principles* (the facts being given) are concerned. If we are in error, he who will point out to us wherein it consists, shall have our unfeigned gratitude.

THE WIDOW OF THE MYSOOR HILL.

A Fact.

THE way was rough, the night was chill,
 Darkness was falling on the hill,
 When I heard a woman making moan :
 Bitterly, bitterly wept she,
 Sitting upon a cold grey stone,
 By a blighted banyan-tree.

In the monsoon's drear cloudy sky
 The lightnings glimmer'd silently ;
 The hot breeze with the day had died,
 The thunder slumber'd on its throne ;
 No sound was on the mountain's side
 Save this poor woman's moan.

"He is fallen!—he is gone!
 In the world I am left alone.
 Ah! would I *were* alone, for then"—
 Darkly she glanc'd at the pool which lay
 Dim and deep in a rocky glen,
 Then, shuddering, look'd away.

"Alas! my helpless babes!" said she,
 And rose, still weeping bitterly :
 "I am selfish in my lonely grief ;
 But the bright Moslem host, from thrones
 Beyond those clouds, will send relief
 To my bereaved ones.

"Even now their father greets the bold
 Who battled by his side of old,
 When, o'er the land, the burning star
 Of Islam pour'd its glorious light,
 And conquering Hyder to the war
 Rush'd with a tempest's might.

"Poor children! they will never more,
 At sunset, by our cottage door,
 In mimic combat learn to wield
 Their father's glittering scimitar.
 Ah! dun will be the round black shield
 Of my poor Sillahdar.¹

"His lance hangs idly on the wall,
 His steed stands lonely in the stall ;
 And those brave boys who were to rein
 His gallant horse, and draw his bow,
 Gaze on them sadly, and in vain—
 They have no father now!

"Even now they weep, and wonder why
 Our cot is dark, and I not nigh :
 Oh! it is hard to bear!" she cried ;
 Then slowly through the sullen gloom
 She glided down the mountain's side,
 Like a spirit to its tomb!

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

! The Mysoor horsemen.

LABOURS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PARIS.

Second Article.

IN a former Number we presented the reader with some account of the papers already produced by the learned Orientalists of France, and of the continent of Europe generally, and embodied in the accounts of their transactions presented to the world. We now resume the subject, at the point at which it then closed, in order to complete our review of what has been already written on the various departments of knowledge connected with the Chinese Empire.

On the subject of the RELIGION of China and its dependencies, we meet with four articles:—a Life of Buddha, according to the Books of the Monguls, translated from the German, and extracted from the 'Asia Polyglotta' of M. Klaproth; an Abstract of a Memoir on the Origin of the Lamaic Hierarchy, by M. Rémusat; an Exposition of the principal Thibeto-Mongul Doctrines, extracted from M. Morris's unpublished Translation of Bergmann's Nomadic Incursions; and an Extract from an unpublished Treatise on the Religious Sects of the Chinese and Tonquinese, by Brother Adrien de Saint Thiele, a missionary at Tonquin, about the middle of the last century. In the first of these papers, the history of the great reformer of the Hindoo faith, whose religion has spread itself over the greater part of Asia, extending from the sources of the Indus to the coasts of the Pacific, and the empire of Japan, is given at considerable length. After enumerating the various dates which have been assigned to his birth, and which range from the year 619 A. C. (the Cingalese era, according to Dr. John Davy,) to the year 2099 A. C. given in the Bhagavad-Amrita, a Sanscrit work quoted by Sir W. Jones, M. Klaproth gives the preference to that of the Chinese, which places it in the year 1027 before our era, because it corresponds with the chronology of his successors, as preserved in the Chinese books. This date is also adopted by the Japanese, and approaches very nearly to that of the Monguls. The Mongul authorities consulted by the author divide the History of Buddha into twelve principal epochs: 1st, His origin from the empire of the Gods; 2nd, His divine conception in the womb of a mortal mother; 3rd, His birth; 4th, His growth and progress in wisdom; 5th, His marriage and regal splendour; 6th, His retreat from the world; 7th, His solitary life; 8th, His appearance under the fig-tree, where, after having completed his penance, he is recognized as the saint *par excellence*; 9th, The commencement of his preaching in the temple of Warchi (Benares), where the first instructors of the human race had lived; 10th, His victory over the six chiefs of the *Ters*, or fire-worshippers; 11th, The close of his terrestrial career; and, 12th, His obsequies. On each of these subjects the author enters into an interesting detail, in which we regret that we cannot follow him, and terminates the article by a few observations on the supposed identity of Buddha and Odin, an hypothesis which he considers quite untenable.

We next come to M. Rémusat's article, which treats of the successors of Buddha, and of the singular species of theocracy established by them in Eastern Asia. The early missionaries of modern times, finding in the

centre of Asia an established religion, bearing a strong resemblance, in many points of church government, and in many of its rites and ceremonies, to the Romish Church, were immediately led to conclude that Lamiism was a sort of degenerated Christianity, and that the monasteries, processions, pilgrimages, and feasts, the Pontifical Court of the Lama, the colleges of superior priests electing their chief, who became *ipso facto*, ecclesiastical sovereign and spiritual father of the Thibetans and Tartars, were so many vestiges of the Syrian sects, who formerly spread themselves over those countries. Many learned men, on the other hand, who had taken as little pains as the missionaries to investigate the real cause of this striking similarity, and who were besides infected with the system so much in vogue during the last century, which referred the origin of mankind, their languages, arts, and creeds, to the mountains of Thibet, the most elevated on the surface of the globe, maintained that these institutions, instead of being derived from the Christian sects who formerly settled in the East, were in fact the primitive types after which all those of a similar nature in other parts had been modelled. The desire to ascertain which of these hypotheses was most deserving of confidence, has induced M. Rémusat to investigate the origin of the Grand Lamas, the period of their institution, and the changes which it has since undergone; and for this purpose the Japanese Encyclopædia fortunately contains the most copious materials.

In pursuance of the Hindoo belief in the transmigration of the souls of men and even of the gods, it appears that the divine reformer Buddha, who was born near 3000 years ago, in the person of Chakia-Mouni, had no sooner quitted the body which he then animated, than he appeared under another form, and thus became his own successor. For a period of 1700 years, during which he died but to be born again, the Japanese Encyclopædia furnishes the elements of a singular and unparalleled sort of genealogy, by tracing him through all his successive reappearances. Now, as we know from other sources that in the opinion of the Buddhists this regular succession has been continued down to the present day, and that the God Buddha is in actual existence in the capital of Thibet, under the name of the Grand Lama, we are enabled, by combining together these various sources of information, to complete the chain of his transmigrations, and to ascertain the changes which have taken place in his human condition; for, although his divine nature has undergone no alteration in the course of thirty centuries, his earthly fortune has suffered many revolutions.

The first patriarchs who inherited his soul, lived in India, and were the spiritual counsellors of the kings of that country; they were born in various parts of the peninsula, and often from among the lower castes, in pursuance of their primitive intention of abolishing the distinction of castes, and of inculcating sounder ideas of divine justice and the duties of men. But in the fifth century of our era, Buddha, who then animated the son of a king of Malabar, named Bodhirdharma, thought proper to quit Hindoostan, never to return, and to fix his abode in China. This prudent resolution was doubtless taken in consequence of the predominance and persecutions of the Brahmins; and the consequence was that his followers in India were speedily reduced to a very small number, while, on the contrary, China, the country of his adoption, and the neighbouring states of Siam, Tonquin, Japan, and Tartary, in which he

had before counted but few adherents, became almost wholly converted to his doctrine. The princes of these countries were proud of having at their courts, pontiffs who were supposed to be animated by divinities of an inferior rank, and subordinate to Buddha, who still lived under the title of patriarch; but the rank of these divinities was usually regulated by the power of the state in which they dwelt, and the preponderance of his protector could alone secure to Buddha himself the enjoyment of his imaginary supremacy.

For the space of eight centuries, during which the patriarchs were thus reduced to dependant and precarious existence, the thread of their succession had hitherto escaped the researches of history; the masters of the doctrine, however, who resided at the courts of China and Tartary, clearly form the connecting link between the ancient patriarchs of India and the modern pontiffs of Thibet; and it is to the conquests of Jenghiz Khan and his successors that they are indebted for the rank which they attained in the thirteenth century, when the empire of those conquerors had become so vast as to threaten, at the same moment, Japan and Egypt, Java and Silesia. It was at this period that Buddha was raised to the rank of a king, and as the first who obtained that dignity was by birth a Thibetan, domains were assigned to him in his native country, and the name of Lama, signifying priest, began in him to acquire celebrity. To this entirely fortuitous circumstance the pontifical seat of Pontala owes its foundation. As the conquests of the successors of Jenghiz proceeded westwards, they brought together to the Tartar court a vast number of foreigners from all parts of the world, and among these were Georgians, Armenians, Russians, French, Musulman ambassadors from the Caliph, and Catholic monks charged with important missions by the Pope and Saint Louis. These latter, who soon perceived the indifference of the Tartars in matters of religion, and their readiness to embrace any new mode of worship to suit their convenience, provided no conviction were expected and no restraint were imposed, did not hesitate to celebrate the ceremonies of their religion before the Tartar princes, and even ventured to boast of their conversion.

It was while these events were passing at the court of the monarch, and while the surrounding countries were filled with Christians converted by the Nestorian monks, that the new seat of the Buddhist patriarchs was established in Thibet. It is therefore not at all surprising, that in their anxiety to increase the number of their followers, they should have adopted some of those liturgic rites and pomps which possess so great an attraction for the multitude, and that they should even have introduced some of those institutions of the West, which they heard equally vaunted by the ambassadors of the Caliph and of the Pope. Since this period the spiritual authority of the Lama has been held in the highest veneration, but his temporal power has gradually become more and more limited, until, at length, the frequent quarrels between the provincial patriarchs affording a fair pretext for the Mandchou emperors to take possession of the country, they placed garrisons in the most important places, and intrusted to a military commander the preservation of the peace of this earthly Olympus; thus reducing the Supreme Chief of the Lamas to the same temporal rank with the lowest vassals of the empire. Such is the present condition of the divine Buddha's existence upon earth; but it would appear that the signs by which his transigrations are recognized

are not altogether unequivocal; "for," says M. Rémusat, "they are at the present moment the subject of dispute between the sacred college and the court of Peking; the former affirming that the last Grand Lama has bequeathed his soul to an infant of Thibet, while the Tartar ministers are positive that he has reappeared in the person of a young prince of the imperial family,—a circumstance which they consider exceedingly fortunate for the interests of religion, and which is certainly very conformable to the policy of the reigning dynasty." In such a dispute it is easy to see on whose side the question will be decided.

From the history of Buddha and his successors, we naturally turn to the tenets of the religion of which they were the patriarchs, and the extract from Bergmann is well calculated to give a general idea of its doctrines, more particularly with respect to the creation of the world, and its final destruction. Derived, in the first instance, from the Brahminical system, it retains many of the most striking absurdities of that fantastic faith, and to these it has added many superstitious observances, if possible, of a yet more ridiculous character; but it is greatly superior to its original in the systematic combination of its doctrines, in the poetical elevation of its principles, and above all, in the infinitely purer morality which it inculcates. Indeed, it is deeply to be regretted, that it did not obtain the ascendancy in India, as it cannot be doubted that its principles would have effected a great improvement in the moral and political condition of the natives of that degraded country. After pointing out the circumstances in which it resembles, and those in which it differs from the Hindoo system, M. Bergmann goes on to explain its dogmas relative to the creation, &c. but of these our limits will not allow us to offer even a sketch; we must, therefore, proceed at once to the last article in this division.

The Treatise on the Religious Sects of the Chinese and Tonquinese, is divided into six chapters, each of which is subdivided into sections. The first chapter treats of the sect of the learned, of Confucius their founder, of their studies, books, doctrine, religion and mode of worship; the second contains the doctrines of the Chinese with respect to spirits, &c.; the third relates to the sect of enchanters, and treats of Lao-tseu, the chief of the sect, of their increase, enchantments, religion, &c.; in the fourth we have an account of the diviners and observers; the fifth treats of the worshippers of Phat or Foe, of the foundation of this sect among the Indians, and its propagation among the Chinese, its doctrines, principal idols, priests, and ceremonies; and lastly, the sixth contains an account of the state of the Christian religion in China and Tonquin, and of the persecutions under which it has suffered. The extract here given consists of the sixth and seventh sections of the second chapter, and treats of the tutelary spirit called Thanh-hoang, and of the examination of spirits, and their promotion to a higher rank. With respect to the tutelary spirit, we are told that the learned and others adore the protecting and governing spirit of the house or town in which they dwell, which is commonly the spirit of a man who has been raised to this dignity for his merit or his services. Sometimes, however, it is a man celebrated for his impiety; or an animal, as a tiger or a dog; or even an inanimate thing, selected for some reason or other, by the inhabitants, for the tutelary spirit of the village. After relating the circumstance from whence this custom is supposed to have originated, and expressing his doubts of the

truth of the story, the pious father proceeds to give his own theory on the subject :

"It is certain," he says, "that these tutelar spirits of places, adored by the Chinese and Annamese, were invented by the devil, in opposition to the guardian angels and local patron saints revered by holy church." He then describes the feasts and sacrifices of these tutelar spirits in a manner which forcibly reminds us of the way in which the festivals of the "local patron saints" are celebrated and profaned, in some of the dark and half barbarous countries of Europe; and more especially in Spain. The ceremonies used in the promotion of the spirits are ridiculous enough, but they seem to have gone out of fashion, for we are assured that they have not been practised for a long time; they appear, however, greatly to have scandalized our author, who thus concludes his description of them: "Finally, in this examination and promotion of the spirits, we behold the extreme *finesse* of the devil; for, in the invention of this custom of raising them in rank, and putting their names in a catalogue, he wished to ape the holy church, which, after a previous examination, grants the title of Saints, or Blessed, to men celebrated for their piety and virtue, and afterwards places them in the list of the blessed or of the saints." This quotation, and another which we have made above, forcibly illustrate the saying of a Catholic missionary, "that the devil had run a race with the jesuits to China, and, having got the start of them, had contrived these things for their mortification."

We may here notice, as closely connected with the same subject, the Relation of the Tien-Bing, or Feast of the Dead, by Messrs. Hooyman and Vogelaar, translated from the sixth volume of the Memoirs of the Batavian Society, by M. Coquebert de Monthret. This appears to be one of the most important festivals of the Chinese, and is celebrated immediately after their new year. Those of Batavia assemble together at Gounoung-Sarie, where they have a cemetery and temple, and proceed to make their offerings upon the tombs of their relations, all, even the poorest among them, endeavouring to vie with each other in the costliness of their gifts. The authors give a minute description of the ceremonies which they witnessed on this occasion, but as they were entirely ignorant of the language, and derived all their information on the subject from a few of the most ignorant among the Chinese, their impressions of what passed before them do not appear to be deserving of implicit confidence.

There are but two articles connected with GEOGRAPHY: a Relation of the Expedition of Houlagou, the Founder of the Mongul Dynasty in Persia, across Tartary, translated from the Chinese by M. Abel-Rémusat; and a Description of Soungnumin, in the western part of Thibet. The latter of these, although inserted among the Original Papers, is in fact extracted from the Calcutta Journal; we shall therefore pass it over, as we are desirous, as much as possible, to avoid repetitions. The translation of the Expedition of Houlagou forms a very curious addition to the geography of Upper Asia, during the middle ages. The Relation appears to have been written by a Chinese officer who accompanied the expedition, and kept notes of the route which it followed, and of the information which he was able to collect relative to the neighbouring countries. It was in the year 1253, that Houlagou, a younger brother of the Emperor, was charged with the task of subjugating the nations of the west; and having assembled a vast army, set out from Ho-lin, in

which place M. R. recognizes the celebrated city of Kara-Moroum. We have not space to follow the relator in the route which he has given of this famous expedition: we must, therefore, confine ourselves to the following extract, which will probably suffice to give a tolerable idea of the character and authenticity of his narrative.

"In the year Ting-sse (1257) the kingdom of Pao-tha (Bagdad) was reduced. This kingdom is 2000 li (about 500 miles) from N. to S.; its king is called Ha-li-fa (Caliph). The capital city is double, or divided into two cities, one to the east, and the other to the west, separated from each other by a great river. The western city is without walls, but the eastern is surrounded by fortifications. (This description of Bagdad, as M. Saint Martin remarks, is perfectly conformable to truth.) The army having arrived before the city, a battle was fought, in which the troops of the Ha-li-fa, to the number of more than 400,000, were defeated, and he himself fled in a ship. This kingdom is extremely rich; the palace is built of sandal-wood: the walls are of red sandal, incrustated with black and white jasper. The gold and precious things found there surpass belief; there were large pearls, called globules or balls of the planet of the year (Jupiter,) azure, diamonds, &c. There were soldiers who carried off as much as a thousand ounces of gold. This kingdom has had, during 600 years, forty princes, down to the one under whom it was destroyed. (This prince, Mortazem-billah, was the thirty-seventh of the race of the Abbassides.) The inhabitants are more polished than in other countries. Their horses are excellent and famous, and they have guitars with as many as seventy strings."

The only paper on NATURAL HISTORY, is an article on the Tapir of China, by M. Abel-Rémusat, in which he proves, from the Chinese dictionaries and treatises on natural history, that the Oriental Tapir, which had even been treated as fabulous, but which has lately been discovered in Sumatra, Malacca, is also a native of China, in the western provinces, of which it appears to be common. The descriptions of this animal in the Chinese books, are filled with the most extravagant fables, but they agree in too many particulars to leave any doubt upon the subject; and the figure, taken from a Chinese collection of medical natural history, which M. R. has lithographed, would alone suffice to demonstrate its identity.

Under the head of POETRY, we have only the Translation of an Ode from the Chi-King, or Book of Verse, by M. C. Landresse. This ancient collection of poems, which would be almost wholly unknown in Europe, were it not for the fragment, published by Sir W. Jones, in one of the early volumes of the Asiatic Researches, is one of the principal productions of Chinese literature, and all the poems contained in it bear a more or less direct relation to the manners and history of the Chinese. Almost all the odes are allegorical; in some, the names of the persons are disguised, while in others they are given entire, as is the case in the one here translated, in which the poet bitterly complains of the pride of Chi-in, prime minister of the emperor Hoan-Wang, about the year 780 A. C. As well as a French translation, in which M. L. has endeavoured to retain the brevity and conciseness of the original, he has given a Latin version, word for word with the original, which is also printed at the foot of the page, in Roman characters, and with its French pronunciation, in order to give an idea of the character of Chinese prosody.

With respect to **PHILOSOPHY, GENERAL LITERATURE**, and subjects of a **MISCELLANEOUS** nature, the contributions are more numerous, and some of them highly interesting. They consist of one article by M. Remusat, two by M. Stanislas Julien, two by M. Fulgence Fresnel, and one by M. Landresse. The first of these is an Extract from a Memoir on Lao-tseu, an ancient philosopher, who lived 600 years before our era, and who has hitherto been known in Europe only as the founder of a sect, who justify, by a thousand extravagances, the pompous title of Doctors of Reason, which they have appropriated to themselves. But a careful examination of his book, which has come down to us under the title of the Book of Reason and Virtue, and which, on account, perhaps, of the obscurity of its style, appears to be as ill-appreciated, and almost as little read in China as in Europe, has shown M. R. that, instead of being the worthy patriarch of a sect of jugglers, magicians, and astrologers, he really deserves the character of a true philosopher, a judicious moralist, an eloquent theologist, and a subtle metaphysician.

"His style," says M. R. "has the majesty of Plato, with some of his obscurity; he expresses similar conceptions in almost the same terms, and the analogy is no less striking in the expressions than in the ideas. It is thus, for example, that he speaks of the Supreme Being: "Before the chaos which preceded the birth of heaven and earth, a single Being existed, immense, silent, motionless, yet always in action. This Being is the Mother of the Universe; I know not her name, but I designate her by the word Reason;—man has his model in the earth, earth in heaven, heaven in reason, reason in herself alone." The morality which he inculcates is worthy of such a beginning; he teaches that perfection consists in an exemption from passions, the better to study the harmony of the universe. "There exists," he says, "no greater sin than untrained desires, nor any greater evil than the torments which are their just punishment."

The whole tenor of his philosophy breathes mildness and benevolence, and his whole aversion is directed against cruelty and violence. Of conquerors he says, "the least glorious peace is preferable to the most splendid successes of war. The most brilliant victory is but as the light of a conflagration. Whoever adorns himself with laurels, is fond of blood, and deserves to be blotted from the list of men. The ancients said, Pay to conquerors none but funeral honours, receive them with tears and cries, in memory of the murders which they have committed, and let the monuments of their victories be surrounded by tombs." With respect to his metaphysics, M. R. affirms "that his opinions on the origin and constitution of the universe, offer no ridiculous fables or shocking absurdities, that they bear the impress of a noble and elevated mind, and in the sublime reveries by which they are distinguished, they present a striking conformity with the doctrines professed, not long afterwards, by Plato and Pythagoras." One of the clearest doctrines in his works is, that the universe was created by a triad, and to add to the singularity of this idea, he actually gives to this triad, almost without alteration, the Hebrew name, which in our scriptures designates him "who was, and is, and is to come." This last trait, combined with the well-supported tradition of a journey which he made into the west, is almost decisive of the origin of his doctrines, which he most probably received either from the Jews of the Ten Tribes dispersed over Asia by the conquest of Salma-

nazar, or from the apostles of some Phenician sect, to which the masters and precursors of Plato and Pythagoras also belonged. It may perhaps be difficult to persuade a modern philosopher that a Chinese and an ancient Greek actually studied at the same school, but, says M. R., "we are perhaps too much disposed to charge upon the ignorance of the ancients, what is really the effect of our own. In this respect, the saying of one of the most celebrated disciples of the sage Lao-tseu, might fairly be applied to us." A brilliant light illuminated the most remote antiquity, of which scarcely a few rays have descended to us. It appears to us, that the ancients were enveloped in darkness, because we see them through the thick cloud from which we have just emerged. Man is like a child born at midnight; when he sees the sun rise, he imagines that it is for the first time."

The extracts which M. Julien has given from Meng-tseu, another celebrated Chinese philosopher, a Latin translation of whose works M. J. has announced for publication, exhibit some skill in reasoning, and much metaphysical subtlety. They appear to form part of an inquiry into the nature of man, his external or accidental, and internal or inherent qualities, carried on in the form of a dialogue between the philosopher himself and Kao-tseu, representing, we presume, one of his scholars. The following quotations will exhibit the manner of reasoning in which he seems to delight. "*Kao-tseu*. The nature of man is like the willow, and justice like a cup; the philosopher obtains from the nature of man justice and humanity, as a skilful artificer obtains a cup from the willow.—*Meng-tseu*. Could you leave the willow in its primitive condition, and fashion a cup from it? Must you not first mutilate and destroy it? And is it necessary to destroy man to obtain from him justice and humanity?"—"Kao-tseu. Life is nature, and a common existence assimilates together all sensible beings.—*Meng-tseu*. Is it said that life is nature, as it is said that a white object is white?"—"Kao-tseu. It is.—*Meng-tseu*. A white feather is then like snow, and snow is like white jasper?"—"Kao-tseu. Undoubtedly.—*Meng-tseu*. Then the nature of the dog is the same as that of the ox, and that of the ox is the same as that of man." From this deep argument (which only requires to be altered a little in its form, and to be invested with the technicalities of the Aristotelian school, to form a complete counterpart to the profound syllogisms, on which the learned schoolmen of the dark ages of Europe wasted so much invaluable talent,) we turn to another paper by M. Julien, which offers a more inviting exterior.

This article is headed, "Tales and Bons-mots, extracted from a Chinese book, entitled Siao-li-Siao," but we must confess that we have been sadly disappointed in its perusal. We anticipated a choice selection of the best specimens of Chinese wit and humour, and we find ourselves put off with some dozen of the most "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable" *bonsmots*, that ever were palmed upon us under that insinuating title. We must suppose either that Chinese wit is at an exceedingly low ebb, or that it is of such a nature as to resist all attempts at translation, for we entertain but little fear that the specimens before us could ever have succeeded in discomposing the solemn gravity of a mandarin's physiognomy. The first and last of the selection are perhaps the best, and as the one may pass muster for a tolerable joke, although not altogether new, and the other affords no bad illustration of the power

of the ruling passion, we shall transcribe them for the satisfaction of the reader.

"An habitual drinkard having found in a dream a cup of excellent wine, set himself to warm it, in order to make it more delicious; but just as he was about to regale himself with the delightful liquor, he awoke. 'Fool that I am,' exclaimed he, 'why was I not content to drink it cold?'"

"A certain rich man was very curious in objects of antiquity, although unable to distinguish the true from the counterfeit. A man having imitated a varnished cup of the time of the Emperor Cheun, the thundering *bâton* of Tcheou-Koung, and the mat on which Confucius sat in the Hing-tang, he could not refrain from purchasing them, though they cost him a thousand taels a piece. When his coffers were emptied, he took in one hand the varnished cup of the time of the Emperor Cheun, and in the other the thundering *bâton* of Tcheou-Koung, threw over his shoulders the mat of Confucius, and in this plight, reduced to beg alms, solicited the passers-by in these terms, 'Give me, gentlemen, I entreat you, some of the ancient pieces of money coined by Tai-Koung.'"

The most important of M. Fresnel's papers is that in which he treats of the process of Chinese Education, but as this is a subject of a very complicated nature, and M. F.'s analysis, though of considerable length, is very concise, and will hardly admit of further abbreviation, without becoming almost unintelligible, we are reluctantly compelled to leave it untouched, and to proceed to the remaining articles from his pen, consisting of a series of scenes from a Chinese romance, entitled Hloa-thow-onan, or the Mysterious Book, which he proposes shortly to publish entire. In the mean while, these scenes may assist in forming juster notions with respect to many Chinese customs, which have hitherto been but imperfectly understood, and particularly with respect to that excessive politeness in their mutual relations, which their ancient civilization has introduced, and to the degree of liberty with which their women are indulged. In this particular, the three Chinese novels lately published by Mr. Davis, are said to be deficient, inasmuch as, to judge from other works of the same nature, the dialogue, which forms their principal charm, and in which the Chinese are fond of developing the characters and sentiments of their personages, is almost entirely retrenched, for the purpose of rendering their perusal more agreeable to European readers. M. Fresnel, on the other hand, declares his intention of following as nearly as possible in the steps of his master, M. Rémusat, whose version of *The Two Cousins* is on the point of making its appearance in four vols. 12mo. and who is of opinion, that in order to give a just idea of Chinese literature, translations from it should be as literal as possible, consistently with the genius of the language into which they are made.

The notice on Gold, and the manner of using it, translated by M. Landresse, from a Chinese work, entitled, "Description of the arts of the Empire," shows that though the Chinese possess but little knowledge of chemical processes, their well known ingenuity has not failed them in turning this precious metal to the best account. It contains an enumeration of the several qualities of gold, and of the principal mines and rivers in China, by which each quality is produced, together with an account of the various processes through which it passes, and of the uses

to which it is applied. These details, however, do not possess sufficient interest to require more than a cursory mention.

Having thus completed our analysis, as far as relates to China and the countries dependent on it, which occupy about one third of the whole number of papers contained in these volumes, we must here break off for the present, and return at some future opportunity to a review of the remaining articles, which offer many highly interesting subjects well worthy of consideration.

PRESENT STATE OF FEELING OF THE ARMY IN INDIA.

IN several of our preceding Numbers we have given extracts of authentic letters from different parts of India, the tenor of which leaves us no room to doubt the existence of great and well-founded dissatisfaction in the army of that country. There are some shallow and unreflecting persons, who may perhaps conceive that such a disclosure, however warranted by facts, ought not at any time to be made. We are not of the number of those who augur so much evil from what they call "pernicious publicity." On the contrary, we feel persuaded, that the best way to treat public evils, of almost every description, is to meet them boldly with appropriate remedies, instead of going on from day to day denying their existence, until they acquire, from being unredressed, such an irresistible force, as to burst in thunder on the heads of those who refused to listen to their earliest whispers, and overwhelm them in destruction. We conceive, therefore, that we are discharging a duty to our country and to mankind, as well as to the sufferers under an obnoxious system, by giving publicity to the feelings and sentiments of those who write from the spot, and who are therefore entitled to some consideration. We shall give the communication of one of these writers, in his own language, and leave it to his brethren in arms to dispute or confirm the accuracy of his opinions as their own experience may direct. His letter is as follows:—

'Discontent is making hasty strides in the Bengal Army, nor is it to be wondered at; there are reflecting minds amongst us which cannot help seeing and feeling the entire want of consideration with which we are treated by the Government of this country, every act of which tends to degrade and sink us, as individuals and a body, in the estimation, not only of the Native Powers, but of the men whom we command. They have formerly been taught to look up to and respect their officers, but this is no longer the case, and they are now mere mercenaries. I have heard them say, there is no *hoormut* (honour) in the service, that even their commanding officers have no authority beyond their parade, and that the Government place no confidence in them, but in every situation place them under the entire control of the civilians. We cannot now get men of respectability and high caste to enter the service. The Commander-in-Chief even is rendered almost a cypher through the influence of a Secretary. No consideration is shown to length of service, but interest carries every thing before it. We are sadly in want of officers. I do not believe there is a battalion in the service that has an officer to each com-

pany; and most of them have only five or six, the majority of whom are boys, who have been two, three, or four years in the service. The duty falls upon the few seniors; the advantages arising from the absence of the others, are equally participated by those who from their rank and standing in the service cannot do the duties of the absentees. The boasted new arrangements will leave us as badly off as ever, for they give no increase of those for duty, and what can be expected from an army thus officered?

'This country requires a military governor, and one who will not, from any idea of expense, hesitate in calling forth, and making use of the resources it possesses. The present war with the Burmese was occasioned by the impolitic temporising measures of the predecessor of our late Governor-General, Lord Hastings, and it will involve the Company in an expense they little dream of; but it is very certain the Burmese never would have showed their hostility, whilst such a man as the Marquis of Hastings governed India. This country cannot be governed in peace by a civilian, unless a second Marquis of Wellesley could be found. It is appalling to think what would become of this Government and country should Russia make an attempt upon it, with the assistance of Persia. We have scarcely enough troops to protect our own provinces from insult; and, in that event, we should have enemies, by millions, rising up in every direction around us, and should be swept, before overwhelming armies, like mist before the sun, till, in the space of a few short months, the name of the British Government would be no more known in Hindoostan.

'Many years will not elapse ere the boasted advantages of this service will be better known in England, and many a poor wretch saved from disappointment and misery; the bubble will burst, and it will be seen in its true light, when very few indeed will sacrifice (as they now do) their birthrights as Englishmen, their health, and their happiness in such a destructive climate, for the distant prospect of a miserable pittance, under the denomination of a pension, which is all they can ever expect in this service. The King's is in every respect better than this; there the officers have some provision to look to from the Government for their widows, and an increase of pay after length of service; here we have none but what we subscribe for. There is not a subaltern, and scarcely a captain in the service, who can possibly look beyond that rank at the end of 25 years, when he may retire upon a pension of 180*l.* per annum. In those ranks it is impossible that he should save money; and he will be a lucky man who is not in debt. In fact, the sacrifices a man makes, (and they are found out when it is too late to retract,) in coming to this miserable destructive climate, demand for us a little more consideration than we experience from our masters. Our prospects are bad indeed, and we begin to be sensible of it. Things cannot go on many years longer as they are; the string is drawing tighter and tighter round our necks, and it must either be loosened in some way or other, or we shall be strangled by its pressure.

'The Company have most unaccountably neglected their interest at the Court of Persia, and they will find their error when too late. If ever our territories are invaded from that quarter, innumerable will be the hosts that will rise up against us from the Western and Northern Powers. It is quite a mistaken idea, that the British influence in India is so strong, that we could command the assistance and co-operation of our neighbours

against an invading enemy. The fact is quite the reverse; we are looked upon with such jealous eyes, that there is not a Chief who could raise fifty men, who would not gladly use his endeavours to deprive us of the power we have gained. There is, however, another and more serious cause of apprehension; constituted as this army is, without officers, without zeal, and without confidence, the soldiers never will cross their bayonets with those of an European enemy, let their eulogists say what they will, such is the fact; and though I would willingly uphold the character of the Bengal Army, of which I am a member, yet I am not so prejudiced as to be blind to what I know must be the result of such an extremity. Properly officered, they will do as much as any troops in the world; but, without leaders, they are like a flock of sheep, who may be driven wherever their pursuers please.

‘The British dominion in India hangs by a thread; and, whenever a crisis comes, its fate will be decided almost in a moment. We require a strong and tenable position (such as Fort William) on our western frontier, with a sufficient force to maintain it. But economy is the order of the day; and the sort of absurd economy now practised will one day lose the British dominion in the East. We perform our duty as a matter of necessity; but disgust has taken place of the zeal which used to animate us. One of the ameliorations which we require is, the filling up the vacancies in corps, occasioned by the absence of officers on the General Staff. At present, those who have no interest, are obliged to do the duty of the absentees without deriving any benefit from their absence. We are, indeed, in the worst of all possible states of slavery; our masters may lash us as they please, and we have no channel through which we can make our grievances known; nay, we are prohibited from complaining, under the penalty of losing our bread! Can the despotism of Turkey, of Russia, or of any other absolute Government, surpass this?’

INTENDED REMONSTRANCE OF THE BENGAL ARMY ON THE
LATE REDUCTIONS IN THEIR ALLOWANCES.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Bengal, Dec. 1824.

I beg you will have the goodness to publish to the Officers of the Bengal Army, now in England, that measures are in agitation in this country, for a strong remonstrance against the late breach of contract on the part of the Court of Directors, in the late reductions of our allowances. What may be the result, Heaven knows; but it is to be hoped we shall not be driven to the extremity of throwing ourselves into the arms of others: yet this is very possible, and would be much better than becoming slaves to the apparent inclinations of our present masters. I have before apprised you, that the chain was drawing tighter round our necks; if we break it, we go to those who forged, and put it on us.

MILES.

THE ARCOT FAMILY.

From Geo. Arcot, Esq. to Wm. Littlecraft, Esq. Civil Service, Madras.

My dear Littlecraft,

St. James's Square, April 15, 1825.

I HAVE been so overwhelmed by business of various kinds since I reached England, that I could not find a spare moment to write to you. My return to Parliament, the settlement of private affairs, and a visit to my uncle in Dorsetshire, have kept me in a constant bustle, and much bodily exertion, neither of which in the same degree (however hard the work) attends the transactions of life in India.

I found Lord Stare a complete martyr to the gout, and submitting to the evils of declining age with all the impatience of a man to whom any kind of check or opposition was for many years wholly unknown. He expressed much pleasure at seeing me, and has shown by his arrangements that he had prepared for my arrival. The retirement of Mr. Aywell, who sat as Lord Stare's Parliamentary Punch for nearly twenty years, has put into my hands the family borough of Medlare. I come in, of course, under no other restraint than my own conscience, and no other adviser than my own judgment. Lord Stare's support of Government has been unintermitting and unvaried. Lord L—— has held his proxy, in the upper House, ever since he has been disabled from attendance by growing infirmities; and he has never allowed his representative in the House of Commons to give a single vote with the Opposition. On the Catholic question, Aywell said to the old Lord, "I cannot make up my mind on this subject; we are left to our consciences by the Treasury." "Never be at the pains to make up any thing so useless, my dear Aywell; it is certainly bad behaviour of the Treasury to leave you in such disagreeable company as your conscience; but cut your conscience, my friend, and vote with the Foreign Secretary, whichever way it is."

Lord Stare, like the late Sir J—— B——, has always voted with Ministers, whether Whig or Tory. He maintains that this is true consistency. Property, he says, should be divided in nearly equal amount, between both sides of the House. His pattern is the celebrated Philosopher C——, who always took his seat upon the Opposition benches, because the preponderance of wealth was, in his day, with the Ministers. For the like reason, Lord Stare has been a constant supporter of Government, because, for the greater part of his life, the Whig has been richer than the Tory party. Nothing, in his opinion, is so contemptible as the independent Members. "They are like," he exclaims, "the Duke of M——'s bills, always in the market, scarcely saleable, and almost worthless. They only sit to be angled for, and bite at the richest bait." There is more to be said in justification of this argument than at first sight appears; but I certainly do not intend to be my uncle's political as well as his family representative.

I have reached this country at the best possible time for my views both public and private. As regards the latter, I am at hand to overlook Walter just as he is entering into life. What indeed is more bewildering than our first struggles in the whirling mass of London society. The

intricacy of the streets is nothing in comparison with that moving labyrinth. They at least stand still, and proclaim themselves at their corners. Lose yourself in London, and you may still recover your path; or get a hackney coach, with a coachman who will show you the way; but lose yourself in London society, and you are lost for ever. People's names will not help you on your road like the names of the streets, nor will they sell their experience at a call, like the hackney-driver. At present Walter is all that I could wish him to be, sensible and modest; but always at his ease. His face and figure are such as few men would desire to change; his health appears to be perfect, and, which I greatly value, his bodily strength and activity much above what is common. I hold, that a strong bodily constitution is necessary to strength of intellect.

I am puzzled about what I shall do with Frank; he is too old for a public school, and too young for college. Private tuition is a dangerous experiment. It is risking a boy's happiness and success on the chance of one man's character. At public schools, the station of the masters is a voucher for their respectability and talents. But what do we know of the Rev. Mr. A. or B. except that they want income, which they cannot obtain in their profession. They have testimonials; but if given by those who know them intimately, they must be partial; and if given by those who know them not, they are false evidence, and worse than useless. If I have a private tutor for Frank, I shall not send the boy to live with him, but require the tutor and his pupil to live with me. This is the least objectionable mode of private tuition.

With regard to Emily, I am still more puzzled. Of Lord Stare's natural children—four girls, all respectably married, and the youngest child, now a young man of twenty-five, are the present survivors. My Uncle and Madam Salvetti are doatingly fond of him, "*d'une longue union qu'il soit pour eux legage.*" He is singularly handsome, agreeable and accomplished; and Emily, you know, is seventeen, and not a monster. The youth, who is in a public office, lives chiefly in London; and, as I have known him from his infancy, and have a great regard for him, he naturally comes to us whenever he is disengaged; and suddenly he seems to have no engagements. Lord Stare, with much consideration and good taste, took lodgings for him before our return; he used to have apartments in this house. I perceive that Emily has discovered that he is handsome and accomplished, and, more than all, agreeable. It is true that she has not yet seen any thing of London society; but I have—and unfortunately must own on my experience that she will scarcely find any body with superior natural endowments to Ferdinand Salvetti. The tyranny of custom and fashion obliges me to discountenance what my moral feelings as a human being cannot disapprove. For the present I can only watch, and counteract without opposition. But enough of myself and family—let me say something of India.

The great object of my public views is India, and the moment of my return to this country is one of high interest for all who are so concerned. There is a widely extending spirit of inquiry abroad upon Indian subjects. Even the conversation of the dinner-table often turns upon India, although the persons taking part in it are unconnected with that country. That this spirit has arisen so lately is chiefly attributable to the shameful ignorance and indolence of the Anglo Indians. Many of them have known

less of the places where they have resided, and of the people among whom they have lived for the principal part of their lives, than a young man, who has been a year on the Continent, of the several provinces which he has run through, and of the inhabitants whom he has observed on his road. But public attention is not only more generally directed to our Eastern possessions; public opinion also has undergone a complete change on the question of their management.

When I left England, there was scarcely a more popular corporation than the East India Company, and their Directors; and now there is not one which stands so ill with the people. The cause of this change is obvious. The spirit of the age is opposed to the spirit of monopoly. The Directors are not less liberal, individually, than other men, but they have sworn to support, and have identified their interests with, a monopoly. It is not their fault, but the fault of the system of which they form a part, that while all classes of the nation have been adopting more liberal views of Government and society, the Directors, merely by maintaining their old position, have appeared to be advancing in an exactly opposite line. It is not that they have actually progressed another way, but that they have been left behind like a direction-post—useless as soon as past. We may date the downfall of the Company's popularity, and, we shall soon see, of the Company itself, from the partial opening of their trade. Their Directors opposed themselves to the smallest concession—to the slightest abatement of their exclusive commerce. Hence, by refusing every thing, they lost more than they would have done. But the effect of their uncompromising resistance was of more importance, and involved larger consequences, than they then foresaw. The selfish principle of monopoly was exposed—the curtain of false pretences drawn aside. The nation began to suspect that it had an interest not only separate from, but opposite to, that of the East India Company. The people naturally imagined that what was guarded with such extreme jealousy must be some valuable advantage, in which they were not allowed although they had a right to share. Unhappily for the Company, resistance provoked inquiry, and inquiry produced discoveries. The majority of thinking and influential men appear now to have decided that the Company's charter is equally injurious to British commerce, and to the provinces which it alienates for a time from the British crown. The Directors and Proprietors are themselves so well aware of this fact, that a strong party among them is exerting itself to secure, by all possible means, a return of Members in their interest to serve in Parliament; and I am quite sure that a man can bring no stronger recommendation of himself as a Candidate for the Direction than a seat in the House of Commons.

I am convinced that the same exclusive spirit, which so happily aided in throwing open the Company's trade, is unconsciously preparing the way for the transfer of their army to the crown. The Directors suffer from two singular kinds of jealousy: first, of their military as compared with their civil servants; and, secondly, of the King's officers as compared with their own. Hence they will never find a single supporter among the King's or Company's officers; a large body of men, who will assist in a thousand ways, direct or indirect, in destroying the political power of the East India Company. By a strange blindness, the Court have constantly, perhaps without any such intention, provoked and sustained a lively jealousy between their civil and military servants, and

between these last and his Majesty's officers. The question of exclusive commerce is again coming up on the Company's China trade, and I am venture to stake my credit against an insolvent debtor, that, by experience, they will repeat their old blunder, and suffer a million from similar folly.

It is impossible just now to name the Indian Army without saying a few words on the late affair at Barrackpore. The number of men I believe to have been grossly exaggerated; the real amount I suspect to be the smallest which I have seen stated in my letters from Calcutta, namely, 180. Every body cries out at the dismissal of the Native officers. The General Order announcing this measure is curious enough. We are told that the Native officers, by their habits and connexions, by identity of caste, and the ties which bind together Natives of the same village, are so intimately mixed up with the Sepoys, that they must have been privy to their disaffection. Yet hence surely we must draw a proof of the fidelity of these officers to the Government. They find their men determined on open mutiny, and *then* (could it have been expected sooner?) they break the bonds of old acquaintance, family connexion, kindred blood, and caste itself, to keep their faith with foreign rulers, who have established no other claim upon their duty, than the claim of the strong upon the weak. It is almost absurd to talk of policy. Their sincerity could not be doubted. They left their men at the risk of their lives. Common justice demanded that they should have been well-received; policy, that they should have been recompensed with rewards; perhaps, even that they should have been allowed to save the number of their Regiment on the Army List. Let us see: 46, —, 48. Is not the mind more immediately directed to the mutiny of Barrackpore, by being led to inquire what is become of 47, than if it had stood 46, 47, 48; and the associations belonging to the middle number left to the unassisted power of memory? Buonaparte wisely remarked, that the blank of a cancelled name attracts more attention than the name itself.

I think also that it was injudicious to conceal the force brought against the mutineers till the signal was given for slaughter. It is the opinion of many excellent officers in this country, and of our old friend Tiffin, (I will tell you a story about him presently,) that if the men had been desired to lay down their arms unconditionally, while the troops destined to act against them were drawn up in their sight, no resistance would have been made to the order. Even robbers try the effect of a threat before they proceed to murder, and would rather, by the sight of a pistol, extort your money, than blow out your brains.

Perhaps you have not heard of the odd notion which the Natives have taken up concerning the cause of the Burmese war: it has an equal mixture of simplicity and ingenuity. Lord Amherst, they imagine, is making his way through the Burmah country to the frontiers of China, in order to chastise the Emperor for the unceremonious manner in which he gave the British Ambassador his congé. I must confess, that I have not yet heard any better cause assigned for the War. The rashness of this large enterprize appears to have infected poor Thackeray, since Mr. Elphinstone turned the heads of the civilians by the success of his warlike exploits. Ever since, the Residents, the Collectors, and their Assistants, have been looking out for some happy opportunity of showing themselves fitted for the only duty in which they are not wanted. I sincerely lament the loss

at Kittere; but the example may not be thrown away on young civil servants.

Pray let me know what your Madras officers think of the loss they sustain in their allowances under the new regulations, by the conversion of the rupee. If I were not a civilian, the state and constitution of the Indian Army would greatly engross my attention in this country. But the subject is dry and complicated, and I have little experience in it. I shall chiefly devote my exertions to explaining the condition and growing value of the half-caste population in India, and examining the errors of our Indian internal administration. I feel convinced that the resources of India are ill-managed and ill-understood. The principle on which our system proceeds is erroneous. It is adapted to a rich, not to a poor, country; and India is undoubtedly a poor country, capable of being made superabundantly rich, but requiring to be carefully nursed before it can yield the vast benefits which its possession ought to confer on Great Britain. All our territorial finance measures should be taken for an impoverished but highly improveable country. The expediency of colonizing India must in a short time become a question for the consideration of the legislature. It is a matter of deep interest to ourselves, as well as to our Eastern Provinces. Whenever the question is agitated, it will first be necessary to remove entirely out of the way the separate and peculiar interests of the East India Company. What an unconnected thing a long letter necessarily is! I must now give you a sort of melodramatic scene—a mixture of tragedy and comedy, which I witnessed at Salisbury.

I slept at Salisbury, having to execute a few commissions for Lord Stare, which kept me in the town till it was too late to go on the same night. Being companionless, I rose soon after dinner, intending to stroll out, and look again at the cathedral spire by moonlight, as I had often done with much delight many years before. But passing a room, the door of which stood half open, I heard a voice, very familiar to my ears, poured forth in a cracked peevish tone, and charging a waiter, not only with his own sins in arranging the table, but inflicting also the abuse which belonged to the cook for his or her delinquencies, on the same unhappy familiar. The catalogue of grievances ran much in this order: "There's no attendance in this house—rang the bell three times—Waiter! Cayenne pepper." "Fetch it, Sir." "What, the devil! no Cayenne in the room! I won't have it at all—I dare say it's red sand. Give me some Mangoe pickle." "Yes, Sir." "Why this, you block-head, is a pickled walnut." "Haven't got any Mungo pickle, Sir; walnuts is the only black pickle we have." After a pause—"Beastly curly! Curried rabbit, indeed! curried cat.—Rice wet and soft as pap.—I should like to fling it in the cook's face." The waiter who stood near the door, with his back towards it, murmured, "I don't think you would if you saw her." Interrupted grumbling continued: "Soup—soup was nothing but bone water, and salt as beef-pickle.—Salmon all white except the bone, and that was black; broke its back at a leap, perhaps, last month, died a lingering death, and the body was fished up a week ago. Waiter! haven't you got some wine fit to drink?" "Best sherry we have, Sir." "Sherry! as much perry as sherry! Are you the only waiter I can have?" "Very sorry, Sir;—a large club dinner in the house to-day."—"Damon the club—club law, I suppose. My money's not as good as

the club's, eh?" I could no longer resist advancing a step, and taking a glance at the querulous gentleman and the patient waiter; when I saw our old friend, Major Tiffin, his small black eyes flashing fiercely above his sallow cheek-bones; but not all his rage could call a flush into his cotton-coloured face. His person, always small, seems to be shrunk up to half its size. As he sat there, pale, bald, emaciated, and angry, he looked, as the waiter described him in an undertone, like a corpse in a passion. I now walked in, and shook the Major by the hand, and found him sitting before a better dinner than he ever gets or gives at home. I fear we must allow that it is characteristic of an old Indian to find fault. In England they are somewhat like tragic actors off the stage; they have so long acted the parts of great captains in war, and statesmen in peace, of Eastern nabobs and European princes, that they forget their intrinsic obscurity when they return to this country. An inn, therefore, is too tempting an opportunity of resuming lost importance to be overlooked. There alone their money can give distinction, and the want of other claims to notice pass unobserved. Tiffin congratulated me on the shortness of my Indian career, and my excellent state of health. Poor fellow, as he gave me one hand, he pressed the other on his right side. We soon fell into conversation, and he seemed to be even more disquieted in mind than in body. Mrs. Tiffin, on the plea of health, came back to England two or three years before her husband. I remember that people used to hint that Mrs. Tiffin's health left her when Lieut. Bowyer embarked for Europe on his private affairs. However it may be, the Major, like another Agamemnon, found on his return an Egisthus in his house. Already, alas! Mr. C. Feelips is retained for the prosecution. I strongly dissuaded the outraged husband from bringing his cause into court. Poor fellow! a little patience would save all this expense and exposure, and bury his wrongs for ever. Death will shortly give him a divorce from bed and board, without the forms of the ecclesiastical court.

"I could support this misfortune," said Tiffin; "and only wish that I could rid myself of the liver complaint as easily as of a bad woman; but I am sadly vexed about my son Tom. He has been only a year at Haileybury, and two orders of affiliation have already been made upon the young rascal. I shouldn't mind even that; but he has lost 60*l.* in gambling and betting on pony races; and the College Council are consulting about expelling him. Oh, Arcot, never send a boy of yours to Haileybury!" I contrived to lead the conversation at last to old times and pleasant recollections, and sent the Major to bed in good spirits, at least till a chance-turn on the right side reminded him of his liver. I left Salisbury at eight o'clock the next morning; but expect to see Tiffin at Cheltenham. Dr. Warren advises Mrs. Arcot to drink the waters. You have been intimate with the Major for so many years, that I thought you would sympathise in his vexations, both frivolous and serious.

Mrs. Arcot and desire their love to your wife and Louisa, and I am, always, dear Littlecraft, yours, sincerely,

GEORGE ARCOT.

ON THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE MODE OF EDUCATING
CIVIL SERVANTS FOR INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Every reader of your excellent Miscellany must have perused with great pleasure, and not less profit, the series of Essays under the signature of B. M. V., on the subject of the Education of Youth for Civil Offices in India. If anonymous praise were of any value, I should not be backward in bestowing a humble mite of applause on the calm good sense and freedom from prejudice, which are so remarkable in these Essays. As it is, I shall content myself with pointing out what appears to me a blemish, and not an inconsiderable one, in this able writer's schemes for improving the Indian civil service.

The felicitous conception of setting up the Indian writerships as prizes in the great English seminaries of education, was Lord Grenville's. That it should not have made a deep impression on the public mind, might seem strange, if we did not advert to the fact that nine people out of ten in England, take no more interest in the affairs of India than in those of Crim-Tartary, while the remaining tenth consists of persons who take too near an interest in Indian affairs—namely, the givers and takers of patronage—both of them equally concerned in supporting the present system of bestowing appointments—equally disposed, therefore, to stigmatize and put down any plan which, proceeding on enlarged and statesman-like views of policy, would put an end to their days of good things.

Your correspondent has done a great public service, in calling general attention to my Lord Grenville's excellent speech on the last renewal of the Company's charter. His Lordship's proposal for distributing the writerships was, in every respect *but one*, unexceptionable: it went to secure for India the greatest quantity of the highest talent: it obviated the popular objection against transferring the Government of India into the hands of the King's Ministers derived from the increase of patronage devolving to the crown;—it promised to eradicate so much of that fatal corporation-spirit, remarkable in the Civil Service, as arises from their being brought up together as a separate Indian *caste* in this country—but, it was by far too honest and virtuous a project for an age which is *not* that of self-denying ordinances, and therefore by common consent of all party spirits, it was rejected and laid aside as something too romantic and visionary for the “practical men,” whether of Leadenhall or Whitehall. I wish Lord Grenville himself may not *now* have begun to look back on his own Indian day-dreams (while in opposition) with diminished favour. *Tempora mutantur, &c.* Mr. Wynne is an humble retainer of that party whereof the Grand Duke is chief, and Lord Grenville the Nestor. It may not be just to infer from Mr. Wynne's thick-and-thin applause of every possible act of every possible functionary at home and abroad, that Nestor has changed his opinions, and *now* sees nothing in the system or the men who administer it, which requires amendment of the one, or better training of the other. But even if he has cooled down a little, it does but prove, as our Church friend Dr. Southey would say, that

a man has lived to be wiser to-day than he was yesterday—that Lord Grenville at 75 is better authority than Lord Grenville at 60. Your correspondent has enforced his positions against the present gregarious education of the future Indian rulers, with much acuteness and sense; but he suffers himself to be led away by natural and to a certain point laudable partialities, into the support of a position entirely at variance with the expanded views and liberality of sentiment manifested in many parts of the letters.

It would seem that he proposes limiting the competition for writerships to the two English Universities. Now laying out of view the moot point, whether the system of education and discipline pursued at those seminaries be better or worse than that followed in Trinity College, Dublin, or the very different methods of the Scotch Universities, I would ask, if the writer is seriously prepared in these times to add to the exclusions under which his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects have so long suffered, and to prohibit them from becoming *writers* in India? The gentlemen from the north, would not, perhaps, let their love of Calvinism stand in the way of their preferment; so at least one of their own favourite writers in Blackwood's Magazine plainly intimates; but with us, Sir, this is really a scruple of conscience, and a point of honour to adhere invariably to our creed and our forms; a thing, in short, not to be got over for any temporal advantage. Your Correspondent's proposal, would, therefore, have the effect of shutting us out altogether from employments that, until now, have been supposed open to us. It may not be thought safe or proper that conscientious Catholics, whose scruples to take certain oaths have so long kept them out of offices of public trust, should be allowed any share in the deliberations of a body so pure, devout, and disinterested as our legislature; but one is rather at a loss to see exactly in what way particular opinions concerning the Real Presence—the advocacy of saints—or doctrinal supremacy in the Chief Priest of a hierarchy, disqualify the holder from administering justice to Hindoos or Mahometans; or from collecting land-tax and customs for the East India Company. I confess I do fear, notwithstanding the tender consciences of my brethren in spirituals, they would be found quite as apt engines for screwing out of a miserable population the "*entire nett produce of the soil*" according to Sismondi,¹ or the uttermost farthing of a *thousand per cent.* Salt-Tax, as their Protestant rivals in such good works. They show themselves apt enough in their own country.

Perhaps the public may not be aware, that when the present College for the Company's servants was set up, that Institution was viewed with some pain and even jealousy by the Catholics, as having a tendency to exclude them from Civil employment in India. There was much affectation of the forms and discipline of the intolerant English Universities; and the religious reputation of the influential Director, who had so large a share in setting up this College, and putting down Lord Wellesley's, was not likely to lessen our apprehensions as to the meditated bearing of Hertford Seminary, on the interests of our oppressed and excluded body. It was not until very lately that our uneasiness was removed. The singular circumstance occurred last year, of a Catholic young gentleman obtaining a writership. He and his parents of course demurred to his

¹ Revue Encyclopedique, Decembre, 1824.

being compelled to attend the religious exercises of the establishment ; an appeal followed to superior authorities, and after some discussion the point was liberally conceded to the scruples of the student. This precedent has therefore settled the eligibility of Roman Catholics to public employment in India ; yet the right thus obtained, your Correspondent would now defeat, by restricting the competition for writerships after the demise of the East India Company, to graduates of his favourite English Universities.

I fear he would be terribly startled at any such heterodox suggestion as that of giving a fair proportion of these great prizes to MAYNOOTH, though that be a *Royal College* ? Should the times not be ripe for such a proposal, when the arrangements for the new charter are under consideration, our youth will have to resort to the Scotch colleges, and there try their chance for whatever portion of the yearly number of Indian prizes would be allotted to those northern seminaries, where no one thinks of requiring religious tests or qualifications from the candidate for Academic honours. Your Correspondent can scarcely be serious in meditating the exclusion of such Universities as Edinburgh or Glasgow from the competition. He may value a profound acquaintance with the intricacies of longs and shorts, above the study of political economy ; and the knack of writing as faultless Greek as an *old Athenian*, above the art possessed by the men of "*Modern Athens*," of expressing their thoughts with precision and elegance in plain English ; but I put it to him, whether the demerit of possessing *these* inferior philosophic attainments only to the exclusion of *those* superior classic accomplishments, be a sufficient ground for utterly disqualifying the unfortunate individual for distributing justice or squeezing revenue among the semi-barbarians of Hindoostan.

The importance of the general subject discussed by your Correspondent is so great,—of such infinite moment is it to the interests of our vast empire, to have for administrators of India able, pure, patriotic and liberal-minded men,—that you cannot too often recur to the subject, and familiarize the public mind here with its bearings. The advantages of governing a great and remote Colonial dependency, densely peopled by rude tribes of alien language, religion and feelings, by means of one particular order of men, sent thither in very early youth, expecting to rise to high place and fortune by gradation, yet taught to consider themselves not settlers connected by fellow-feeling with the country, but sojourners in a foreign land, whence they seek to hurry away with their accumulations ;—the advantages of governing India by such a class, strict monopolists of all office and power, unchecked by any but their own order, uncontrolled by any independent political institutions, protected from all scrutiny of public opinion, or any privilege of free complaint, must at any time be matter of grave doubt. The balance of good has, perhaps justly, been thought to preponderate in favour of such an arrangement, partly because of the facilities with which a youth acquires the languages and becomes Indianized ; partly because of the evils which were seen to spring in the early days of our conquest from the influx of adult spoliators ; but still more from the fear entertained, that if Civil employment abroad were thrown open to general competition in England, India would be inundated with lazy lordlings and idle honourables—aye, and dishonourables too—who had tried their fortunes in the field of Par-

liamentary corruption at home, and betook themselves to India, to mend matters how they best could.

It would not, perhaps, be impossible to hit on something between both of these plans; some scheme which, without breaking down the frame and constitution of the Civil Service, should now and then transfuse a little English health and vigour, by admitting a limited quantity of competition, in particular cases, from *without the pale* of the Company's Service, and so infusing some circulation into the mass. But admitting it to be good on the whole for India, to be governed by this exclusive corps of placemen by profession, it would seem only the more necessary that we should discourage every aggravation of that co-operative spirit beyond what must unavoidably arise from the nature of the employment. If we cannot help their being a "*separate caste*" when they get to India, let us at least avoid encouraging that gregarious feeling before its time, by bringing up all the youths together, instead of letting them imbibe the high tone and feelings of freemen, and from early attachments to philosophy, literature, and varied accomplishments, by associating with the mass of their fellows at the various Colleges of the United Kingdom, until they shall be of *full age* and discretion.

If any one doubt the strength of the *esprit de corps* of the Civil Body, as now constituted and educated, let him but look to the late disgraceful debates at the India House, and the more disgraceful transactions from which they arose. Here is a series of acts of violence—precipitation—jealousy—manœuvring and cruelty—perpetrated by the Company's servants in different grades of stature and power, and stopping nothing short of the utter destruction of a mercantile house which had done the state no common service in no ordinary times of peril—the proscription and banishment of obnoxious individuals—the confiscation of their acquired property, and the ruin of multitudes of dependent creditors. Yet see how the Company's servants, one and all, stand by and defend each other, right or wrong. Ask almost any one in private, if he justifies a Resident's womanish intemperance or implacable vindictiveness? Ask if he defend a temporary Governor's breathless haste to complete the abominable work of destroying the prostrate and helpless firm, in three days, that the new Governor, who had arrived, might be too late to save if so disposed?² Ask if he approve of a Member of Council's insinuating in private, to the injury of an absent public servant, that which he shrunk from recording in public, the while he claimed credit as a fearless doer of painful duty in the worst of times? Few of them will deny, between man and man, that they disapprove of such things; yet in public, all defend each other, and they form a phalanx—bristling forward to shield, and reciprocally to protect, one another, with a constancy, zeal, and courage, which show their strength and their means of defence; but which tempt the spectator to ask, if that system can be politic and good which generates such a combination and such a spirit, in a body virtually possessing the undivided authority of the state, in an empire like India?

Such circumstances as these give a double value to the labours of writers who endeavour to draw public attention to the defects, not to say

² The "*Lamb*," described by Mr. Canning, however, had *speedily* undergone the described process of conversion into the "*Tiger*." A few days sufficed, and he reached Calcutta quite prepared to acquiesce in, and confirm all, the ferocious doings of his *locum tenens*, ADAM.—EDITOR.

vices, inherent in the present system of rearing and appointing youths to Civil office in the Indies. I hope your able Correspondent will not drop a subject, the investigation of which becomes more deeply interesting to the philanthropist as the time approaches when India will again have a chance of exchanging her present sordid and selfish masters for others more actuated by liberal and sound principles.

Stratford, 10th April, 1825.

Yours,
A ROMANIST.

LETTER OF THE EMPEROR OF THE BURMESE TO THE EMPEROR
OF COCHIN-CHINA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR

Singapore, November 1824.

THE departure of a ship from this place for London direct, affords me an opportunity of inclosing, to your address, a copy of a letter from the King of Ava to the Emperor of Cochin-China, upon the occasion of Mr. Gibson's mission. I had translated this document from the French (in which language I received it) for the purpose of obtaining its insertion in the *Singapore Chronicle*; but as it was not considered proper for an editor of any Eastern newspaper to meddle with matters of a political nature, it could not be admitted. I therefore forward it to you, for the unshackled pages of the *Oriental Herald*. I must, however, do the head of the Government at this place the justice to say, that the press enjoys more freedom here than in any other part of India; and that the Bengal regulations of Mr. Adam and Sir Francis Macnaghten are the only cause of there being any restrictions on it here at all.

Wishing you every success in conducting the *Oriental Herald*, several Numbers of which have reached this island,

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

A SINGAPORE MERCHANT.

Copie d'une Lettre adressée en 1822, par l'Empereur des Birmans à l'Empereur de Cochinchine. Portée par Mr. Gypson, Ambassadeur.

DE la grande ville d'Amarapura, au pays où règne la religion du vrai Dieu, où l'on trouve réunis les trésors les plus précieux de la terre, l'auguste monarque, protecteur de cent rois ses tributaires, maître du glorieux et célèbre éléphant blanc Schadam chien Men, et de tous les autres éléphants blancs, possesseur de l'arme volante et invisible, des mines les plus riches, dominateur des eaux et de la terre, défenseur de la vraie religion, Empereur juste et tout-puissant, dont les pieds sacrés commandent à tous les pays soumis à sa domination écrit en ces termes, par l'entremise de ses ministres, généralissimes et grands dignitaires, à sa Majesté l'Empereur de Cochinchine.

Au commencement du monde, lorsque le soleil, la lune et les étoiles furent créés, les peuples se réunirent pour élire un roi, et ils élurent le juste des justes, le plus fidèle observateur des dix commandements

sacrés du gouvernement des peuples; fils du soleil et des raras, il est nommé Maha Samadâ, c'est à dire, l'auguste Roi élu à l'unanimité. Descendant de lui en ligne directe, l'Empeur du lever du soleil, respecté comme cet astre, règne aujourd'hui paisiblement, en récompense des vertus et des bienfaits qu'il a pratiqué pendant toute la durée des transmigrations successives de son âme sur la terre.

En arrivant à la suprême grandeur, il a conservé, comme ses ayeux et son prédécesseur, la gloire du trône et des sombres royaumes. Aimant et chérissant ses peuples comme ses propres enfants, il les a exemptés de tous tributs, et ils se sont réjouis, à son avènement, comme dans une belle nuit que la lune éclaire de ses rayons argentés. Conformément aux doctrines de la religion, il fait de nombreuses aumônes, et s'efforce, en suivant tous ses préceptes, de mériter les jouissances du paradis. En reconnaissance de ses bienfaits, ses peuples prient pour que leur bon roi soit exempt de toute infirmité et jouisse d'un long règne. Sa Majesté possède les royaumes de Suna Paranta, Sampadipah, Duracca, Yamiaha, Sirih Kitterama, Geya Vuddana, Camboza, Yodih Nagara, Kehmayatha, Maha Nagara, Sivik, Chein, Alavipura, Yazengala, Lavayatha, Harimirenzha.

Tous ces pays, suivant leur grandeur et leur puissance, payent à sa Majesté tributs et hommages depuis les temps les plus reculés, le royaume de Maha Vihica Yecapura, où résidait le Dieu Maha Mouny, et qui contient les quatre provinces de Denhavady, Duciravady, Mégavady, et Kamavady; le royaume de Nagachantha, dont la capitale est Manipura, et celui de Asama Seccadera, qui a pour capitales Goracon et Ramapura, sont aussi soumis à son Impériale Majesté et lui payent tribut et hommage. Au delà des mers sont encore des îles et des royaumes qu'il protège, et dont il reçoit comme hommage des jeunes vierges, des armes, des chevaux, des éléphants et d'autres présents précieux.

Au loin, comme près de lui, il aime à accorder sa protection à tous les princes qui la sollicitent et à leur faire des présents conformes à leur grandeur. Il accorde honneur et protection à tous ceux qui servent fidèlement sa personne, dans son armée et dans son gouvernement. Il est l'ami de tous les rois sacrés ou non sacrés. Les Brame, hommes et femmes, et les gens puissants par leurs richesses, jouissent aussi de sa protection, ainsi que tous les habitants du royaume, étrangers ou indigènes. Il surveille tout ce qui concerne la religion et les bonzes, et récompense ces derniers suivant leur mérite, imitant en cela le grand roi Cheekiyade, qui, dans un instant, se transportait où il voulait aller.

Il pratique les aumônes et la bienfaisance, les mortifications, la charité poussée jusqu'à l'oubli de soi-même, la droiture et la justice, la délicatesse et l'affabilité; il oublie les offenses et n'en conserve jamais le souvenir; il désire le bien de tous les hommes et même des animaux; son cœur ne connaît ni la haine ni le ressentiment; il observe les jeunes avec scrupule; il tolère et respecte les religions et les usages de tous les peuples, et leur accorde sa protection, car tel est le décalogue sacré des rois. S'efforçant d'imiter les vertus et de suivre en tout la conduite de Maha Samadâ, notre auguste monarque pratique encore huit lois de la reconnaissance. Il en reconnaît sept pour la moralité et quatre qui concernent les devoirs envers les morts; fidèle à cette règle de conduite, il

empire, suivant des desirer, voir fleurir et prospérer les quatre parties de son royaume.

C'est pour les confirmer à l'un des sept commandements qui régissent la conduite réciproque des rois et leur enseigner à s'aider mutuellement, toutes les fois que les circonstances le requièrent, que son auguste ayeul envoya des ambassadeurs à S. M. l'empereur de la Cochinchine.

Par terre les difficultés du chemin, par mer les vents contraires, purent seuls les empêcher d'arriver jusqu'en présence de sa Majesté.

Après la mort de notre vieux monarque, qui a laissé son royaume et ses trésors dans l'état le plus florissant, son petit fils étant monté sur le trône, à songé, dès son avènement, à tenter de nouveau d'établir des relations avec la Cochinchine.

Sur ces entrefaites, Ong dôi Lam et Thu hap Trinh, étant arrivés à Pulo Pinang, y rencontrèrent un chinois habitant de notre pays, et chef de nos isles et montagnes aux nids d'alcyons; ils lui firent part d'une mission dont ils étaient chargés par le gouvernement de Cochinchine, et ce dernier connaissant les intentions du souverain à cet égard, les conduisit jusqu'à Tavai; le grand ministre Menghi Maha Senabady était alors à Martaban, en commission de généralissime; celui qui gouvernait la province de Pegu Anhsavady et residait au port de mer, était Menghi Sado Menla Noratha.

Par les soins de ces deux ministres, les Cochinchinois furent conduits jusqu'à la ville de Chagain sur les galères et bateaux des cérémonies; de Chagain ils furent conduits sur les bateaux dorés, et au son d'une musique harmonieuse, à la ville de Shuegui Yet, située au N. E. de la capitale; on leur bâtit une fort belle maison, où, malgré qu'ils ne fussent porteurs d'aucunes dépêches de leur gouvernement, ils furent logés et gardés avec les plus grands honneurs. Ce fut alors qu'on leur fit demander officiellement s'ils étaient envoyés par le ministère Cochinchinois. Sur leur réponse affirmative, ils furent conduits dans la partie sud de la ville d'Amarapura, au jardin Maha Siri Nandavan, où nous leur continuâmes les traitemens les plus honorables. Alors les cadeaux du ministre, qu'avaient apportés Ong dôi Lam et Thu hap Trinh, furent présentés à l'Empereur; ces présents consistaient en armes et soieries. Aux différentes questions adressées à ces Cochinchinois, ils répondirent: que l'Empereur Gialong avait eu longtems l'intention d'envoyer une ambassade à l'Empereur du lever du soleil, et n'en avait été empêché que par sa mort; qu'après cet événement son fils Minh Mang étant monté sur le trône, qu'il occupait depuis deux ans, le gouverneraient de sa Majesté les avaient envoyés au Pegu, et qu'ils venaient aux pieds de notre Empereur pour s'informer de l'état actuel du royaume et de ses relations. Ong dôi Lam ajouta que les Cochinchinois avaient quelques difficultés avec les Siamois au sujet du Camboge, et que si nos deux royaumes s'unissaient contre Siam, nous pourrions les vaincre sans peine, et dès lors établir entre nos deux pays des communications faciles; ces affaires, disait-il, avaient été prises en considération dans le grand conseil de l'état.

Du temps des ayeux du présent monarque, et même longtems auparavant, le royaume des Siamois était notre tributaire, dans l'ère 900 des Birmans; c'est à dire, il y a plus de 200 ans, le roi de Siam, Biàza Diraza, était dans notre capitale, où nous le gardions avec grand honneur dans une maison blanche. Nous avions donné le gouvernement du territoire Siamois à son fils, qui payait annuellement un tribut de trente

éléphants et trente mille tikaux ; mais bientôt il se rebella et refusa le tribut accoutumé. Le frère de l'ayeul de notre présent monarque, qui régnait sous le nom de Chen Bin Shih, et contraignait alors la capitale Yatana Pura Ava, envoya des armées commandées par des chefs choisis dans la noblesse pour reprendre le royaume de Siam. Sur ces entreprises, le chef des Siamois mourut ; et notre armée, ayant détruit la ville se retira ; de ce moment les Siamois sont devenus brigands et pirates à la mer ; jusqu'ici nous avons tout souffert avec patience. Ong doi Lam et son compagnon nous ont fait savoir que pour cette même raison ils avaient dû venir comme de simples marchands ; en étant lui-même bien convaincu, et pesant ces raisons dans l'intérêt et la dignité des deux nations, notre auguste Monarque a pensé qu'il ne convenait pas qu'un tel obstacle entravât nos relations ; en conséquence des personnes de confiance sont envoyées en Cochinchine et autorisées à négocier et recevoir toutes les décisions de sa Majesté l'Empereur et de ses ministres d'état. Ce sont :—Nemio Siri Sura Noratha, Nemio Tazaon, Nemio Siri Raja Gounnarat, Nemio Tederat Kio, Seidi Noratha, Nemio Sira Kijua, Siri Cheinda Noratha.

Que nous avons envoyés, avec Ong doi Lam et Thù hap Trinh, en leur remettant pour être offerts en présent à sa Majesté l'Empereur de Cochinchine,—un sceau secret de l'Empire en or, vingt anneaux de rubis, vingt anneaux de saphir, trois sacs de rubis bruts, une couverture en soie de fabrique du pays, quatre pièces de soies unies, un chapelet de pierres jaunes, un bloc de pierres verts, quatre bourses dont une très petites, trois boîtes-vernisées de différentes grandeurs, une boîte à bétel avec ses pieds, quatre garde-mangers, un bandège en vernis, une coupe à thé avec son couvercle, dix-huit lignes crayons blancs, trente panneaux d'huile de naphthé.

Investis de toute notre confiance, et attachés à la personne de l'Empereur, nos Envoyés ont connaissance de tout ce qui est relatif à la destruction des Siamois, ennemis communs de nos deux nations, et nous les autorisons à agir pour cette affaire, suivant ce qui a été conclu à cet égard.

Nous souhaitons qu'il plaise à S. M. l'Empereur de Cochinchine et à ses Ministres, de rédiger par écrit leurs décisions à ce sujet, et de nous les transmettre sans retard, par l'entremise de nos Commissaires, accompagnées de quelques personnes de confiance.

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED POEM ON BIGNOR PARK, THE SEAT
OF THE LATE MRS. CHARLOTTE SMITH.

Thy mountains, Bignor ! fringed with beechen shades,
Thy verdant meadows, thy impurpled glades,
Brown hamlets, sheltered by the pendant wood,
And ancient oaks, that crown the watery flood ;
Scenes which my mother's artless strains inspired,
And the ill-fated muse of Otway fired ;
Nor sacred less is Herting's cottaged vale,
Where Collins¹ breathed his ever-pensive tale,

¹ Otway, Collins, Hayley, and Mrs. Charlotte Smith, were not only born in the same county, but in the same neighbourhood.

Roused Echo from her sylvan bed of sleep,
And bade the groves and mountain shepherds weep.²
On Arun's banks, where Flora's treasures throng,
In the deep vale, through which he pours along
His restless stream, to meet his parent flood,
Winding 'twixt meadow, purple heath, and wood,³
Oft has my sainted mother, sorrowing, sighed
To the low murmurs of his sullen tide;
And Echo still, from his cold oozy cave,
Repeats the tale, that charmed his wandering wave,
Bears her sad history into distant deeps,
And with his willowed banks, responsive weeps.

No more, ye sacred haunts! in spring's attire,
Shall sounds of sweetest harmony inspire.
Or the chaste empress of the starry night,
The muse's meditating steps invite
To the wild pathless copse, or flowery dell,
Or where the sheep-fold's melancholy bell,
Awakes the solemn silent ear of night,
Or shepherd's boy in vernal dreams delight.

What time the hoary owl incessant weals,
Winnowing with labouring wings the misty fields,
And clamorous rooks, in black battalions meet,
Slow verging homeward, to their dark retreat,
Now hovering pause, above the tufted trees,
And wake to Gothic sounds, the evening breeze,
Whilst still is heard, from distant vales among,
The mournful woodlark's curfew-pealing song;
That time:—How oft upon thy utmost brow,
When evening's beams enriched the vale below,
With secret joy the farewell sweet I 've seen,
As the sun lingering kiss'd each parting scene,
The humble village, and the gayer town,
Ocean's blue waste of waters, woodlands brown,
Beachy's⁴ sea-worn immeasurable steep,
Which frowns with pallid horror, o'er the deep,
Aruna's⁵ modest, meadow'd, winding vale,
Where magic sounds of minstrelsy prevail,
Brightened by turns,—as his last glimmering ray,
Down western waves, still loitering, stole away.

² See Collins' beautiful lines on the death of Colonel Ross:—he says,

The muse shall still, with social aid,
Her gentlest promise keep,
Even humble Herting's cottaged vale,
Shall learn the sad repeated tale,
And bid her shepherds weep.

³ The river Arun, which gives the name to Arundale, empties into the sea near Chichester.

⁴ Beachy Head, in Sussex.

⁵ The river Arun.

As I was one day contemplating in idleness the title-page of mine edition of Shakespeare, (published by divers metropolitan bibliopols, A. D. M DCCCXIX,) I noted a certain peculiarity therein; my comment upon which I hereby communicate, for the delectation of all your gentle readers.

Touching the peculiarity itself, it was this: that, instead of setting forth that what followed was a volume of "the plays of William Shakespeare," the laconic title-page abbreviated it into "the Plays of Shakespeare," setting the aforesaid William aside. For the which, I cannot but laud the man of types who adjudged the said William to be an impertinent superfluity: for this terraqueous globe hath had but one Shakespeare, and will have no more. Wherefore, he needeth not these futile distinctions. He standeth unique, solitary, unapproachable. Like Achilles, he doth *shake a spear*, which no inferior hero can poise. He was, in verity, a phoenix in all things save one—he did leave no heir in those odorous embers, which have sweetened, as it were, the atmosphere of our being. What mattereth it unto any man, whether he were nominated William, or Thomas, or Nicholas, or Peter? Who talketh of Julius Cæsar by his prænomen of Caius, or designateth Virgilius Maro by that cacophonous, Publius? Of a surety, it belongeth unto such men as a prerogative, to drop all these ungraceful appendages; and albeit, like chicken, they commence their career with fragments of the aboriginal egg upon their heads; yet in time, it is to be hoped, yea, and it is to be expected, that they will leave these unseemly periwigs behind them. Wherefore, I would ask, by seeing the name of William appended unto that of Shakespeare, must I be reminded that such a man ever was a child? Wherefore must I have him obtruded upon my phantasy, "mewling and puking in the nurse's arms," or lifting up his voice at the baptismal font? Wherefore must I hear him invoked by his pedagogue, by the familiar diminutive of his preposterous name? I wax wroth in the retrospection of these prosaic indignities; and—*iterumque, iterumque*—I laud the man who ventured to omit thy prænominial appellation—

Dear son of memory! great heir of fame!

When, as it were, he floateth as a spirit around and above us, why must these and such like reminiscences be inflicted upon us, to make him incarnate again? Why must he again be enforced—*volens volens*—to

Soil his pure ethereal weeds,
With the rank vapours of this sin-worn mould?

Away with these importunate remembrances! As the royal Lear did say, touching his princely haud, "they smell of mortality." They are all musty and superannuated nuisances, wherefore I will none of them. The name of Shakespeare perisheth not; but let oblivion eliminate the prænominial William.

The mention of these unsavoury reminiscences, putteth me in mind of certain other things, as I opine, of similar characteristics, which I shall set down for the further benefit of your above-mentioned gentle readers.

Primally: Mr. Williams, of the city of Edinburgh, (one of the not many boreal limners, whose reputation hath performed a trajection of the Tweed,) did, some time since, make a pictorial crusade into strange lands, uncounted with pencil and pen, instead of sword and shield: from the which adventure he brought home divers optima spolia, which he did exhibit unto the public in goodly volumes of letter-press, adorned with comely copper-plates. Among the sculptures, there was one *horresco referens*—presenting the skull of Raffaello de Urbino! Before this, the said Raffaello had dwelt, as a spirit of the past, in my phantasy; he had hovered, as a living glory, over the ruins of olden years. Wherefore, then, should I be reminded, by this indecorous portraiture of his skull, that he had ever been any thing, save a bright intelligence? Of what utility could it be to uncharnel his cranium, if no exorcism could evocate the soul which did inform it? Could it produce another Transfiguration, or imagine a new Madonna? No, certes! Wherefore, away with these obscene mortalities! Is not the grave the place of the defunct? There, I pray, let the reliques of the mighty rest. *Gave thy fill upon their goodly immortalities*; but have thou nothing to do with their bones. For mine own part, I would be oblivious of all, saving their handiworks and their glory. I will, that they be nought, unto myself and unto the world, but golden shadows, and floating melodies, and perennial rainbows. I will, that Shakespeare be not called William, and that Raffaello de Urbino have no skull.

Again: some time since, I perambulated, with infinite delectation, the interior of St. Peter's Cathedral, at Exeter—a place, in which he who feeleth no emotion, can scarcely, I opine, have much emotion to feel. Having given us a conspection of the “long-drawn aisles,” the “storied windows,” the monuments antique and hodiernal, and the other leonine adjuncts of the fabric, it pleased our conductor to open unto us a case, in which was deposited the skeleton of a personage who had been strangled for murder! Now, it did amaze me, (firstly,) that any skeleton whatsoever should be deemed ornamental to a Christian church; (secondly,) that the skeleton of a *murderess* should be preferred to all others for ecclesiastical exhibition; and, (thirdly,) that a *cathedral* should be elected, beyond all inferior churches, to contain these interesting remains! Concerning myself, I will acknowledge that the sight of these respectable relics did somewhat interfere with the train of cogitation, which all (saving them) was fitted to induce; and that it hath connected an association with the august edifice, by no means pleasing, and eke somewhat durable. The mortalities of the noble and the fair of ages departed, were crumbling under the pavement of the magnificent pile; they shrunk from the eye of man, and from the light of day. Yet *they* (videlicet, the owners of these mortalities) had died pacifically in their beds; and, though some of them were rather homicidal in the field, they polluted not their domestic localities with blood. *One* only did seem to *contend* the light in all that place of tombs. And what were *her* claims to this distinction? She had been executed for murder! Truly, it is an honour she doth not seem to have merited, to be taken from the scaffold to de-

¹ When this was written, the author was not at all aware of the important purposes which these relics may answer in relation to *phrenological science*. He now cordially wishes, that the skulls of all departed worthies whatsoever, could be procured for the facilitation of these interesting inquiries.

rate the cathedral; and, when Falstaff did say that he had "forgotten what the inside of a church was made of," he would have been blameless, did it contain many sanctities of this kind.

Moreover, I well remember me, that, passing up the Thames, in the autumn of A.D. MDCCCXX, as I was contemplating all the marvels of that Imperial River, I was in a slight degree disconcerted at discovering, upon the sinister marge thereof, three sundry gibbets, whereunto eight specimens of humanity were appended,—videlicet, four upon one, three upon another, and the solitary eighth monopolizing the third. Whether or not there were any more I cannot determinate; but for me (who am a moderate man) eight did suffice. Before I made this discovery, I had been in, somewhat of a poetical mood; but there was something in these carnifical realities rather unpropitious unto the visions of Parnassus. Briefly afterwards we did pass his Majesty's Yacht, cycleped the Royal George, which, certes (albeit rather small of stature) did look princely in mine eyes, with her gilded prow, and the royal standard floating over her stern. As we passed her, I could not but think with what gratification his Majesty, in going down the river, must ruminate on the spectacles which we had left behind us. How must he gratulate himself on these ocular evidences, that he hath such conscientious and excellent hangmen,—and that this important function of the executive Government is discharged with such loyal and laudable precision! But, whatever his Britannic Majesty may feel, in the conviction that he hath such dutiful officials, upon me the spectacle had a very contrarious operation. It did make me melancholious at the time; and, methinks, the retrospection of it is any thing but delectable. Nor can I opine, that an intelligent foreigner would think more highly of insular civilization, when he findeth that, to approach the metropolis of the land, he must see eight of his Majesty's dead subjects, (though not, I allow, the very best of the lieges,) swinging in chains to the zephyrs of the Thames.

Assuredly, these things may be veraciously intituled *Ungentle Mementos*. There are many others in this fantastic world; but of these I only purpose, for this present, to castigate one. I allude to the unseemly practice of sculpturing upon grave-stones the likeness of a skull, with cross-bones for its supporters. I like not such armorial bearings; wherefore should the heraldry of the dead be a nuisance to the living? Is it not enough to know that such sad realities are beneath, but we must see them likewise in effigy above ground? Sufficeth it not to see them "quietly inurned" that "the sepulchre" doth, after this ungraceful fashion,—

—— Ope his ponderous and marble jaws,
To cast them up again?

The grave is the place of rest and hope; and, being so, it ought to be a place of beauty. The very poetry of the heart should envelop the dead and fling, as it were, a silvery mantle over the turf, or the tomb, of faded love. There is more pure affection in one handful of flowers, than in all the skulls and bones that ever were engraven. Wherefore, I do reiterate away with all these obscene mortalities! And know ye all, whom these presents may concern, that we do hereby forbid, under penalty of our high displeasure, that any such resemblances be engraven in future, or the ornaments of any place of sepulture whatsoever,—we deeming it right and fitting that the defunct should cause as little pain as may be convenient to them, after they have been consigned to their decent repose!

Crediton.

CORRECTION OF TWO REMARKABLE ERRORS—ON THE SUBJECT
OF OATHS, AND OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,—I am persuaded that you will receive no communication more readily than one designed to correct any misstatement, which may have accidentally occurred among your pages. In this view, I beg leave to notice two passages in your last volume.

At p. 163, "the Independents" are described as agreeing with "the Quakers," in refusing to "yield to what they deem the unchristian practice of swearing." Now, an inquiry into the practices of that numerous class of English Nonconformists will show, that equally with those called Presbyterians and the members of the Church of England, Independents readily take the customary oaths, whether when serving on juries, appearing as witnesses, or for purposes of commerce. Thus the Quakers are the only religious community yet known in Britain, who refuse to "swear every hour, if oaths are required." Whether they should be required, at least so frequently, may justly demand from Church and State that grave consideration which the subject is not likely soon to receive, though much may be expected from the progress of general education, and, as an acquaintance of my earlier years, Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, remarks, in his *Life of Claude*, "duration would be ill-bestowed on the world, were the last of mankind to govern themselves wholly by the reveries of the first."

There have, however, been reflecting individuals, unconnected with the Quakers, yet entirely according with them upon this subject. An eminent instance was afforded in the last century, by M. Herport, "a celebrated divine of the canton of Berne;" where, I regret to add, he was "persecuted and imprisoned" for his liberal sentiments, or, rather, for the fearless declaration of them: a fate less to have been expected from the equity of a Republic, than under the despotism of a *Grand Monarque* or a Governor-General; a *Louis le Grand*, or (if you can endure the *bathos*) an *Adam*, not unworthily succeeded by an *Amherst*.

This injured confessor, Herport, appears to have suffered for his detestation, in the spirit of the Christian's great *Exemplar*, as described by Milton:—

At least to try, and teach the erring soul,
Not wilfully mis-doing, but unaware
Mised.

His work is now before me as "translated from the German," and published in 1768, after the author's decease. It is entitled "An Essay on Truths of importance to mankind; wherein the doctrine of Oaths, as relative to religious and civil government, is impartially considered: the whole submitted to public examination." The following axioms adorn the back of the title page:—

"The meanest subject, who, of his own accord, without any hire, clears the streets of loose stones, is, in his sphere, a patriot.

"That member of society, who does not make his liberty to consist in

licentiousness, but uses it subordinately to the laws, and in the love of his neighbours, is a patriot in a higher sphere.

'The ruler, who makes the public welfare his constant object, and lays himself out in promoting the safety and happiness of his subjects, is a glorious patriot, worthy of all respect and love; a gift of heaven!'

'Thus every one, whatever his station be, may acquire the name of patriot, than which none is more honourable.'

The original of this work is noticed in the *Monthly Review* for 1768, (xxxiv. 547,) and the translation in xxxix. 191. The following commencement of "the author's preface," is all which a due attention to the numerous occupations of your pages will allow me further to quote; yet, after 60 years, during which judicial abuses have been aggravated rather than reformed, this passage contains such materials for reflection as will, I am persuaded, secure its ready admission from you. "Many eminent statesmen, sensible of the abuses of oaths, allow that, under the most reasonable form, the duties implied in them are of such extent as to render the performance of them extremely difficult. Indeed, they are so numerous, that to keep a clear conscience, is next to impossible; and so enormous are the present abuses, that every one must necessarily be convinced of them. Whoever obtains an office, civil or military, must swear to so many particulars of various kinds, and confirm his oath with such imprecations on himself, as if it was on this oath, and not the coercion of the laws, that the good behaviour of the subjects depended; and this is a mistake common to all governments. Some considerate men in power, indeed, have not been wanting in nervous and affecting representations to remove the stone of offence, but without effect; and we have still some who would be thought men of virtue, but they are ashamed of being such. The appellations of precision, humourist, innovator, so discourage them, that their zeal for reformation of abuses cools; and what totally quenches it is, that without taking the oath, they must not think of any preferment. Thus they conform, and swear, along with the unthinking vulgar."

The other passage of your *Oriental Herald*, to which I had reference, is at page 468 of the Supplemental Number for March; where, in an able disquisition 'On the recent discussions respecting Ireland,' are the following sentences: "Toleration, in its widest sense, has never been followed by mischief. In Carolina, the constitution of whose government was originally prepared by the great Locke, to form a church protected by law, it was only necessary that seven fathers of families should assemble for public worship." Now any reader would suppose, that the constitutions of Carolina were formed of principles worthy of "the great Locke," and such must be the wish of every friend to his fame, so justly acquired by the general tenor of his writings. *Sed magis amica veritas*; and it cannot be denied, that if he were known only by those constitutions, which were abrogated after twenty years of troublesome experiment, the epithet *great* had never been justly appended to his name. Of this assertion, you will fairly expect some satisfactory proofs.

At the close of the 97th constitution, the abovementioned *toleration* is thus expressed: "Any seven, or more persons agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a Church or Profession;" and it is afterwards ordained, (No. 102,) that "no person of any other church or profession

shall disturb or molest any religious assembly." It is, however, provided, (No. 100,) that "no agreement or assembly of men, upon pretence of religion, shall be accounted a Church," unless they declare "that there is a God." 2. That God is publicly to be worshipped. 3. That it is lawful, and the duty of every man, being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear witness to truth." It is also determined, (No. 101,) that "no person above seventeen years of age shall have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honour, who is not a member of some church or profession." It had been previously declared, (No. 95,) that "no man shall be permitted to be a free man of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God; and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped." Thus, instead of the establishment, by these constitutions, of "toleration in the widest sense," as the connection of the passage (p. 468.) appears to suppose, not only every avowed Atheist, however peaceable as a citizen, but also every Theist denying the obligation of public worship, was forbidden to possess property, or to dwell within the limits of Carolina; while every inhabitant was subjected to the penalties of *outlawry*, who, at the early age of seventeen, had not either decided, or at least affected to decide, between the jarring pretensions of rival religions, by becoming "a member of some church or profession." You will, I think, now agree with me, that "the great Locke" does not appear in the Constitutions of Carolina.

It will confirm this opinion, to quote these Constitutions on other subjects. Thus, as to the "vassal or leet-man," who entered himself "voluntarily in the registry of the county court; any lord of a manor may alienate, &c his manor, with all the privileges and leet-men thereunto belonging. Nor shall any leet-man, or leet-woman, have liberty to go off the land of their particular lord without license." He was, indeed, on their marriage, to give them for their lives ten acres, for which he claimed one-eighth of the produce. But the most indefensible Constitution, respecting *leet-men*, is the 23d, which proposes to form a *caste*, in a manner worthy of Hindoo superstition, for it determines that "all the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations." Thus, as to the *whites*, these Constitutions depressed the great majority, according to the purpose expressed in the preamble, to "avoid erecting a numerous democracy;" as if a people, however numerous, could not act peaceably, and with the happiest effect, by the simple and rational contrivance of an equal representation.

Respecting the *blacks*, it is determined, (No. 107,) as no West Indian legislature would ever propose, that "it shall be lawful for slaves, as well as others, to enter themselves, and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman." It is added, that "no slave shall hereby be exempted from that civil dominion his master hath over him." Of what value, or, rather, how worthless, would this religious liberty prove to a negro, who should dare to assert it against the will of a cruel or exacting master, sufficiently attested from the Constitution, (No. 110,) which thus defines *civil dominion*: "Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever." I cannot find, after some inquiry, that Locke, in any other part of his writings, contemplated negro slavery. It must, therefore, have been an

the credit of this 110th Constitution, that he had the misfortune to be claimed as an ally by Lord Eldon, in 1807, when that learned peer, a determined foe to *emancipation* in every form, and, it may be feared, to every improvement, except of Chancery-fees, vainly opposed, in the House of Lords, the abolition of the African Slave Trade. Nor could Lord Eldon be reasonably suspected of examining Locke for a more liberal purpose. He might, otherwise, have observed the first sentence of the 'Treatises of Government,' where, in the maturity of judgment, the author declares that "slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of the English nation, that it is hardly to be conceived that an Englishman, much less a gentleman, should plead for it."

Yet so much has Locke's reputation, as a great political sage, suffered by an unaccountable inattention to dates, that Mr. Adams, in his 'Defence of the American Constitutions,' assumes, that the 'Treatises of Government' preceded, instead of following after more than thirty years, the 'Constitutions of Carolina.' He then gravely concludes, that a person "may defend the principles of liberty and the rights of mankind, with great ability and success; and yet, after all, when called upon to produce a plan of legislation, he may astonish the world with a signal absurdity." Happy, "past the common lot," is the man or the author whose "riper years shall not upbraid his green." Nor ought it to be untold, in justice to the memory of Locke, that these *Constitutions* were framed by him, at the suggestion, and, probably, with the assistance of one of the *Proprietors*, that versatile and profligate statesman, Lord Shaftesbury, to whom he had been introduced as his physician, and under whose patronage he had just left the practice of medicine for the study of politics. It should be added, that Locke appears not to have designed their publication, as they formed no part of his works, presented by his will to the University of Oxford, but were first printed, 1720, in the *Collection* by Des Maizeaux.

N. L. T.

LETTER OF A BENGAL OFFICER, ON CERTAIN GRIEVANCES OF
THE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—You will do a favour to a great number of Bengal Officers, (almost all who have been appointed since 1809,) if you will be pleased to take notice of the General Orders issued by the Indian Government on the subject of Brevet Commissions.

It must be well known to you, that the Company originally bestowed the Brevet on their officers, *both* to preserve an equality of rank among themselves, and to prevent his Majesty's officers from superseding them. It is almost unnecessary to mention, that the rise in the Company's army is purely by gradation. The first three grades in their regiments, being the field-officers in a gradation list of the whole army; consequently, when an officer has obtained a majority, he can no further su-

persede or be superseded." As a Subaltern and a Captain, his advancement depends on the fortune of his regiment. To equalize, however, as much as possible the whole army, the Brevet rank of Captain was given to all Subalterns of fifteen years standing. A Brevet Captain received no additional pay in his regiment; he was still a Subaltern, but his rank was preserved; and though others might be more fortunate in obtaining regimental rank, and thus coming upon Captains' allowances, yet, in the event of new regiments being raised, references were made to the Brevet rank, in filling them up, and not to regimental standing—the Brevet being dated from original appointment and actual service. This arrangement, in bringing forward the unfortunate, was most equitable, and was considered one of the most *inestimable privileges enjoyed* by the army. An unfortunate officer looked forward to the period, when, by an augmentation in the army, the Brevet rank he held might restore him to an equality with those who entered the service at the same time with himself; and even, should there be no augmentation, the King's Brevet of Major took cognizance of the Company's Brevet of Captain, and he received rank as a field-officer from it; and thenceforwards it led to the superior grades of Colonel and Major-General. In every way in which the Company's Brevet was considered, it was of vital importance.

In his Majesty's army, the path of advancement is open in many directions to a chosen few, and by purchase to all, in a much speedier progress than by the gradual promotion of the Indian army. But though it is within the compass of possibility and patronage for an officer to advance in his Majesty's army to a company, in half the period of service a Brevet of Captain can be obtained in the Company's army; yet, from the number of officers who could lodge their money for a company, (the seniors having priority,) the promotion in his Majesty's army is generally much retarded beyond the period fixed by the regulations for the service of an officer in the rank of Subaltern, before he has even the choice of the purchase of a company. And, in India, when it has happened that a King's Subaltern was not promoted after fifteen years service, he has been also entitled to the Brevet, to place him on an equality with the Company's officers. In fact, the fifteen years of service was calculated from the æra of a Cadet's engagement to the Company's service, a period of some months often before he left the country. This, in 1819, was altered by order of the Court of Directors, and the period of service calculated from a Cadet's embarkation. Such a step was manifestly unjust: an officer was bound to their service from the former period; and had he entered the King's army, his rank would have proceeded from that date.

This was represented to the Court of Directors, but passed over with their wonted heedlessness, which has ever induced them to be blind to a very obvious truism,—that the interests of their army are their own, that they are inseparable; and as surely as the Court has risen to the rule of a mighty Empire, by the zeal and attachment of its army, so by its lukewarmness and disaffection will it fall. That postponement of the period, from whence an officer's fifteen years of service was to commence, could not have originated with the Court of Directors, for the Brevet rank of Captain gave no additional pay; and on this score, the only way in which they could be affected, in fact, the only way in which they feel

it, must have been a matter of indifference to them. Why, then, was the period altered? Ask at the Horse Guards. Inquire of the Company's Privy Councillors. The reason can only be guessed at, which induced the Company to give up the privilege of their officers. In this manner proceeded the Brevet for five years, when the General Order to which I allude was issued. It had been discovered by the vigilance of the King's officers, that in calculating the period of fifteen years, as before stated, the Court of Directors had included the time of Cadetship,—some months of probation to the most fortunate of their officers; two, three, and four years to many of those who were unfortunate.

In sending Cadets to India, the Company have paid little regard to the demand for officers. In the seasons of 1808—9—10—11—and 12, they kept, as should always be the case, a number of officers supernumerary to the establishment of their army, sometimes amounting to 150 or 200, at the Bengal Presidency alone. The consequence to those officers was, that for two and three years they were on Cadet's pay, waiting for vacant Ensigncies: but this was no loss to the Government; for when an Ensign joined his corps, he was fully equal to the duties required of him, and a tolerable linguist; he had been first learning the languages, and been drilled at a seminary for that purpose. Having passed the examinations at that institution, he was ordered to join a regiment at some station where officers were scarce, performing all services in common with King's and Company's Subalterns at the station. The time thus spent, as far as concerned the Cadets, was not the most comfortable; they were on very reduced allowances, and were yet called on to perform as many and as important duties as those who had both rank and liberal salaries to soften down the hardships of their exile. The Cadets so situated considered themselves unfortunate in promotion; but little did they think, that by the quibbling at the Horse Guards, they should be deprived of the time thus spent, in calculating the period of their Brevet. They were surely officers, in effect, spending the most precious part of their lives on scanty allowances; and could it have been possibly foreseen, that it would be objected to them by his Majesty's officers, with whom they, nevertheless, partook every duty, that they had no commissions, there was an easy remedy. The Company were at liberty, from the first moment of their passing at the India House, at the age specified by Act of Parliament, to have given them commissions as Ensigns, although they might be supernumerary to the strength of the army, and put them on what pay they pleased. But this objection could scarcely have been foreseen, though the lynx-eyed jealousy of our brethren in the King's was no secret.

The Brevet had gone on from 1796 to 1819, without alteration or open objection; but then, in a weak moment, the Company were prevailed on to strike off a period of our service, and the blow has been well followed up; the easy Majesty of Leadenhall has been further persuaded to place *their own officers* BELOW those of *his Majesty*, by the whole length of their service as Cadets; which, to *some*, was four years, and to *many*, three, two, and one. It might have been expected, that when such a proposition was transmitted from the Horse Guards, our Honourable Masters would have interceded for their servants; that *that* Honourable Director, who was expressly nominated by the Proprietors to give counsel on military subjects, would have informed the Horse

Guards, that the men thus situated, had done their duty as officers in cantonments and on service, and that it had never been objected by an officer of his Majesty's army, when relieved by a Company's Cadet, that he held not a commission, and was therefore not his peer, and could not salute him; that when participating duty from 1796 to 1824, no Subaltern had thought it beneath his dignity to see Cadets placed on the roster of duty; and that, therefore, it could not be argued, that individuals, who had thus fulfilled every duty incumbent on an officer to perform, were not entitled to rank from the commencement of their service; that such a proceeding would nullify the services of 400 or 500 officers, for one, two, three, and even four years; of officers who had entered the army under the pledge of the Company, that their service should be calculated from the season of their appointments; who had already patiently submitted to the loss of several months by the Court's laxity in 1819, in altering the period of reckoning to the date of their sailing; and that such a measure, in operating upon officers who had entered the service under the regulations then existing, would have a retrospective effect, and would therefore be unjust.

It might have been expected, that for the feelings of their army, an army not surpassed for high honour and able exertion by any army on earth, the honourable Court would have replied to his Royal Highness, who directed the proposition, in some such strain as this, and at least have endeavoured to soothe the ire of his Royal Highness, with the assurance, that if he would graciously deign to pardon the men who had already done the duties of officers on Cadet's pay, the rule should hereafter prevail. We might have expected this from gratitude and from policy; but the General Order comes "*most positively*" at the close of a long and successful series of campaigns, accompanied by a long list of clippings, which even Lord Amherst would not carry into execution. So much for the gratitude of the Court! It was their policy not to sow the seeds of dissension between the King's and Company's armies; it was their policy to court the good affections of their own army, and not to cringe at the Horse Guards from pecuniary motives: but whatever expectations might have been entertained, from their policy or their gratitude, have been built on a quicksand. Money is the idol which the Court have erected in Leadenhall-street; and to it they are offering up in sacrifice the interests of the Proprietors, and the interests of the people of England, the interests of India, and of Christianity!

I have little leisure or patience to write more, but I must say a few parting words on the Court's views of policy. You are aware that the regiments of India are composed of ten companies each, and it has seemed fit to the wisdom of our rulers, that ten companies should be commanded by five captains; of course five companies must be held by the five senior Lieutenants: and the propounder of this anomaly might have had the wit to clothe it with some semblance of similitude to the footing of other armies, by calling the five first Lieutenants second Captains, or Captain-Lieutenants, with a mere trifle of increased pay. But not so: no measure has been suited to the feelings of the army; these, it has never been thought necessary to consult. Further, each regiment has only ten Lieutenants and five Ensigns, including the Adjutant and Quarter-Master. The total inefficiency of this number, even were they *all present*, I need not descant on: and your readers have only to turn to an East

Indian Directory to see how many officers of this small establishment are absent on staff and other duties.

In the King's army, on the contrary, we see at least one-third the number of officers employed in a regiment, doing the duties appertaining to the efficiency of 1000 men; and we see, at the same time, these men taken into the field, and from their high state of discipline and courage, brought out victorious in every campaign in which they are engaged. Most rulers would have been proud of such an army as that of India. Many would have rewarded it. But mark! In 1814 and 16, instead of having a full complement of officers, (and Cadets ready disciplined and drilled, to step into vacancies as they occurred,) the Honourable Court discovered, by the infallible rules of Cocker, that for each Ensign kept short, they saved per mensem 200 rupees; and, at one time, they kept back *all* the Ensigns of the Bengal army, and even some Lieutenants! Now, on the strength of the army at that time, there should have been 310 Ensigns present, $310 \times 200 = 62,000$ rupees saved monthly; or 7,44,000 rupees annually in Bengal alone! But they did not choose to discover that, by so doing, they doubled the duties of the other officers; and that officers harassed in this manner could not but reflect, and with deep pain and contempt, that for the paltry saving of seven lacs of rupees, at a time, too, when the Directors and their Governments abroad were declaring to the world their fast increasing revenue,—when the army were employed in many arduous campaigns, of no ordinary nature,—the officers could not but feel that the time was as ill chosen, as the reduction was unjust. The army had *always* laboured under a want of officers; and lately, from the immense increase of country secured by its valour, the Staff had been very greatly increased, and many officers drawn off to act as magistrates and collectors in the new territories, from the insufficiency of the Civil List to meet such demands. At the very time these drains were making upon the army, the Company, in one of its economical fits, which ague-like have been on it for years, kept short the number of officers; and, not content with this, they attempted a reduction of military allowances. I say *attempted*, and abortively; for *either through fear or indignation*, the Bengal Council carried not their orders into execution!

Owing to the circumstance of officers being kept short, the Cadets who came out were made Lieutenants and Ensigns, from the date of their sailing from England, there being vacancies at the time. These were fortunate men, both in respect to promotion and to pay; and these men fortune still favours, for their Brevets will be dated from the period of their leaving their Mammas. But the Cadets, who were sent out without any reference to vacancies, and who, in consequence, were, on first landing, from six to eighteen months, on a salary of 100 rupees a month; and thereafter, one and two years, on 150 rupees per month, till they were promoted to Ensigns, and who served four and five years and upwards in that rank,—these are still followed by misfortune, and the time they served as Cadets gives them no title to the Brevet. From one injustice to another injustice, the advance is always certain, though progressive; and we are prepared to see this General Order followed up by another,—that the period of our Cadetships shall form *no part* of the twenty-one years service that entitles us to our pensions.

I will only stop one moment to ask what are the prospects of India?

The Indian Governments lay the great seal of Solomon on their councils. The Proprietors of India-stock, by hopeless indolence, and the admission of no proxies to the vote, have made the Direction—have made the Empire of Akbar and of Aurungzebe, a little family and mercantile affair. The Board of Control, a fat seat for Welsh country gentlemen, organizes the Princes of Leadenhall to perform the wishes of the Minister, who transfers Java, transfers Sumatra, islands and kingdoms, our own and not our own, to our good and liberal neighbours the Dutch, by one single stroke of his wand. And really, by what but magic could all these wonders be so well performed? By what other power than magic would a gentleman of Northumberland, or of Pembroke, become at once qualified to preside over the Board, especially instituted to control the management of the affairs of India? I call on you, Mr. Canning, from your abilities, from your patriotism, from your independence, to put a stop to this misrule, this corruption, this thuldom. I call on you to cast your eyes on India, while disaffection *as yet* is but a spark, to save 250,000 men from despair and ruin; to prevent *avarice and injustice* from breaking that tie which has so long bound the native troops to their officers, and their officers to the Government. Pause, ere you permit that spark, which has been created by ingratitude and the most miserable parsimony, to be fanned into a flame. For, be assured, that the Native Army once detached from its officers, and its officers from their *affection and zeal* for the Government, our Indian Empire, the wonder and admiration of the world, will vanish, and, “like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wreck behind.”

Bengal, Nov. 1825.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A SUBALTERN.

OLD ENGLISH OPINIONS ON PROSCRIPTION FROM THE COLONIES.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—In the reign of Charles II. Colonel Farmer, who led the Opposition party in the House of Assembly of Barbadoes, “forfeited his claim to the protection and countenance” of the Governor, Lord Willoughby, and was “transmitted to England” under charges of treason, &c. When he appeared before the King in Council at Oxford, the question was, what to do with him? Some were for making sure work of it by keeping him in prison; others, for discharging him forthwith. Lord Clarendon says, “*My opinion was that he should be sent back a prisoner TITHER, THAT HE MIGHT BE TRIED BY THE LAW AND JUSTICE OF THE ISLAND, and receive condign punishment for his offence.*” So incapable was Lord Clarendon of understanding how simple *proscription* could ever be practically known to Englishmen.

AN INDIAN.

THE TIME FOR THOUGHT.

Down the bee delight him more
 From his honied hive to fly,
 As along heaven's morning floor
 Dawn comes forth so silently,

Than the bard, his nook of dreams,
 In some little twilight room,
 To leave, what time the amber stream
 Ripples in the evening gloom?

Sweet it is to bare the brow
 To the dews and winds of night,
 When the earth is still below,
 When above the stars are bright:

When the distant city's din
 Painter every moment grows,
 And nodding Sleep is thrond within
 Ten thousand fanes in dusky rows;

Then, oh then, 'tis sweet to rove
 By the stream and by the brake,
 Dreaming o'er our youthful love,
 Rousing thoughts which seldom wake:

While, perchance, the nightly bird,
 From her painful throne of thorn,
 Is chanting her lone ditty heard,
 Sweeter than the perfumed morn.

And Fancy's ear in every note
 Doth catch the mingling voice of Time,
 Telling that the same did float
 Of old in the sweet Attic clime:

Where wander'd oft Electra's bard
 By Ilyssus' winding wave,
 Or sat him on the dewy sward,—
 Perchance some ancient hero's grave,—

To drink the sounds which Night doth boast,
 And stop her dusky steeds to hear:
 Nor does our bleak and broken coast
 Want this magic of the ear.

Silence, too, itself is sweet,
 While we read the storied sky,
 And watch the mighty Hunter's feet
 Trace their old round quietly:

There Andromeda for ever
 Rescued sits, a peerless maid;
 There cold Cynthia's diamond quiver
 Doth the shades of heaven invade:

All I think, and all I see
 On the cloudy brow of Night,
 Makes the midnight hour to me
 Dear as Dawning's golden light:
 For then I stand beside the throne
 Of Mind, and make its stores my own.

BRON.

ON NOBILITY AND WEALTH.

IN the affairs of the world, men find both instruction and delight from returning to the same topics again and again; because a well-disciplined understanding is not inclined to regard any thing as common-place, the consideration of which can afford useful and agreeable employment, or tend in any degree to mitigate the vehemence of those desires which disturb so often the tranquillity of life. We are aware that we might often select more fashionable and attractive subjects for speculation; but as the whole pageant of authorship is moving towards the merely agreeable, or the "*taking*," as it is termed, it appears to us that we could do but little good by mingling with the rear of this vast procession. It may be more useful to take, not only a separate, but a higher and a bolder path, and leave the frivolous and the subservient alike at a distance. It appears to be a prevailing opinion, that the pith and marrow of all old subjects has been long exhausted: but what subject is not old? Has there been any new attribute added to humanity since the creation? Is it not the same thing now that it was six thousand years ago? And is it not undeniable that all we can say regards the same unfeathered biped that Plato defined to the Athenians two thousand years back? It is no less certain that "Man and Happiness" are topics which cannot be worn out: the human race will think, and write, and discourse of themselves and their concerns as long as the species continues, and therefore, "Nobility and Riches" are not likely to become obsolete for a long while to come.

The blessings which are said to accrue to a people from the institution of an hereditary nobility, and from the enormous accumulation of wealth in certain families, have long appeared, for many reasons, extremely doubtful to us. If to enjoy honour be a good, and to be excluded from such enjoyment, an evil, (as it has hitherto been admitted to be,) then an hereditary nobility is a system of hereditary rewards and punishments, transferred from the father to the children, from generation to generation! The legislator who admits an hereditary nobility into his system, excludes justice, excludes, as far as in him lies, the spirit of enterprise. He perpetuates his mistake by making that hereditary nobility a part of the legislature. For will they ever annul their own privileges? Will they ever prefer the benefit of the whole state to that which accrues to them from the state's detriment? Will they ever bow the knee to that which Aristotle calls the "Statesman's idol,"—utility? Will they, can they, ever look on merit without envy; since whoever stands still, as Lord Bacon observes, ever envieth him who advances? Are not the privileges of their order built up about them like battlements, from whence they may contemplate at their ease the toils, and struggles, of the rest of mankind? They, no doubt, often exclaim with the Epicurean,—

Suave, mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
 E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;
 * * * * *
 Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri,
 Per campos instructa, tui sine parte periculi.

For what is it to them if in these "*certamina magna*," the bosom of genius go bare? They sit out of the reach of the arrows.

It is difficult to understand in what point of view a hereditary nobility could appear useful to a lawgiver, or to any man of plain sense, who should consider that the good of mankind is the object for which men unite together in society:—for it is scarcely to be imagined that his mind could be dazzled by such flowers of rhetoric as Bacon brings into his ironical eulogium on nobility. "It is a reverend thing," says he, "to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time?" Now lawgivers, with whom these privileged orders originate, cannot be supposed to contemplate with any such feelings the reverend appearance of old trees or castles, and to infer from the pleasure which such objects afford, that it will greatly delight the descendants of those for whom they make laws, to behold among them a number of ancient families who have for centuries helped to make them miserable. There must be other reasons. All founders of states perceive that new power is slippery, because men are not accustomed at once to the yoke of authority; it is therefore thought prudent to confine its exercise as much as possible to those who are called the monarch's personal friends, who reside chiefly at court, who are under his eye, who are in consequence suspected by the people. The prince's children mingle with the children of these men; it would be unsafe to permit such persons to sink down to the level of the multitude: honours must, therefore, be invented, which may be transmitted to heirs and descendants; and that they may be enjoyed by children, must not demand any exertion of intellect. What so proper as titles? It was a consequence flowing logically from the premises; and a hereditary nobility was instituted.

Were titles raised up like stars glittering on the heights of honour, to be reached and worn by merit alone, nobility would exert a beneficial influence in the body politic; it would be changed into a loadstone to draw up the scattered particles of genius from the dust of obscurity; and would marshal them in one bright phalanx in the fields of renown. Glory is to genius as the breath of its nostrils; it is the light of the soul that still twinkles before it even in adversity, and in evil and in good report darts in a bright ray upon the heart, that makes toil easy and disappointment a trifle. Who would consent to "pass sleepless nights and live laborious days," were it not for the splendour of this "exceeding great reward?" And in what shape could glory be more advantageously embodied than in the *insignia* of well-earned honours? Were nobility thus changed into a wreath for the temples of genius, it would be the pride and interest of a nation to see its magnates increase; for they would then be nothing more than the blossoms bursting forth upon the branches of its own happiness, and bespeaking the richness of the soil and vigour of the trunk that produced and upheld them. As it is, great men are avenged by fame for the neglect of fortune:

Nor want they lots, nor judges to review
The wrongful sentence, and award a new!

A great writer of antiquity, himself a favourer of aristocracy, has the following passage on the inevitable decay, or increasing unworthiness

of noble families:—"Noble birth is a thing altogether different from genuine native nobility of character. The former rests solely on the glory of our ancestors; the latter is our own work, when, by upholding that glory, we have rendered it appropriate and personal. This, indeed, seldom happens; for noble races are exhausted like luxuriant soils. During a certain time the sons will emulate, perhaps surpass, the virtues of their fathers; but at length the current of honour dries up, or is turned back; and families decline, fall, and sink from one degree of degeneracy to another still deeper." It is, therefore, an evil that the signs of nobility should remain longer in a race than the virtues, if they were virtues, which originally procured them.

The persons judged worthy of honours by Virgil, and whom he placed among his heroes in the Elysian fields, were warriors, who had suffered wounds and death for their country, chaste priests, bards, whose strains were worthy of Apollo, those who adorned life by new invented arts, or who, by deserving well, left their names behind them:

Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta!

The ills arising from the immoderate accumulation of riches in a few families, are more numerous than can be believed. We are careful, in considering this subject, to keep our minds clear from all disposition to satire; it is necessary, indeed, to soften the truth, if we would not have it bear the appearance of exaggeration; but after all, the mischief wears so threatening an aspect, that we doubt whether it ought not to be considered the parent of all political evil. Riches, when possessed to superfluity, have, as all know, a natural tendency to corrupt the understanding; they are sure to engender pride and over-confidence, by appearing to put a man out of the reach of accidents; and the mind is very soon led by them to mingle with none but persons of like habits of thinking, or indigent flatterers who consent to serve as a foil to the great man's vanity. In a free state, this leads to the most pernicious consequences; every rich man becomes surrounded by a legion of dependents, who imbibe his maxims, catch a reflected pride from his manners, begin to think themselves somebody, and the less wealthy people who surround them nobody; are ready to second his views, to sell their parents and their country. Nothing can prevent this from taking place wherever the laws permit indefinite accumulation of riches. We know what is commonly thought of this view of the subject; we have heard it denominated "antiquated theory"—"worn-out common-place"—and what not; but we have never observed that those who hold contrary notions have ever turned them to the advantage of mankind. It is true that every man is born with a natural love of himself, and that, for the most part, men will always do what appears to promote their own interest: we are aware, that as long as they can do so with safety, men will grasp perpetually at self-advantage, and neglect their neighbours; but we know also that laws were invented expressly for repressing this inordinate cupidity, and that, if they do not effect it, the greater number of men would be benefited by their total overthrow. This, too, may be common-place, trite, stale, &c. in the opinion of certain individuals; but it is a common-place that makes them shudder! There is a school of politicians very fashionable at present, who hope to regenerate mankind by setting up *money* as the supreme good, and there is no doubt they consider their opinions extremely new

as well as useful : but they have merely moulded into distinct propositions for men's good, what every profligate politician, for these thousand years past, has worshipped in secret as oracles of tyranny. It is certain that money never did, and never can, procure happiness to an individual or to a nation ; what is wanting is industry, sobriety, simplicity of manners, and, the parent of all these, as much equality as is consistent with good government. The way to spread those heaps of riches, which now lie useless, so as to manure and enrich the political soil, would be to do away at once with the law of primogeniture, in respect to fortunes and estates ; or, if any better method could be found, to put it in practice, for the effectual prevention of immoderate accumulation, whether it were by fixing a maximum, or otherwise. It is urged sometimes, indeed, that the law could not, with justice, fix any maximum for private fortunes ; that is, define the limits of that portion of wealth which a citizen ought to possess. But the law does actually fix such a maximum in regard to the power of the first magistrate ; it says, " hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther : " within these limits is lawful power, and beyond is tyranny. The principle is therefore acknowledged as it regards power. A little reflection seems to render the distinction between limiting power and limiting wealth ridiculous ; for wealth itself is power, and power, too, of the most dangerous kind. To divide, to spread it abroad upon the surface of society, to prevent it from accumulating into heaps from which, as from some commanding positions, a small number of men may awe the minds of the crowds beneath them,—is therefore the business of legislation.

Those who have familiarized themselves with the jargon and contemptible logic of corrupt law, or who have never reflected upon what principle society was constructed in the beginning, may shrink from following the footsteps of mere reason, and prefer taking shelter in some nook of sophistry. There is no living thing in nature so timid as the vulgar mind. But whoever meditates upon man's original condition will perceive that in submitting to regulations for the distribution of the gifts of nature, every man did, and had a right to, expect that something should be distributed to himself in particular.

When the progress of society has conducted man to that station of his political journey, in which the majority find themselves to have been stript of every thing by the way, and observe a few of their companions bending beneath the weight of the general spoils, and shutting themselves up within the enclosure of a little *imperium in imperio* of their own, from the battlements of which they laugh their naked brethren to scorn ; when this happens, we say, the laws should take care to open pretty wide channels for riches to flow out from this narrow enclosure into the general lap, lest the people should be seized with the resolution to make a fresh partition, and so do that irregularly which Justice herself should perform.

It would be a most instructive study to note the ways by which enormous wealth is generally acquired, by which titles are gained, and honours perpetuated. We should thereby perceive the complete economy of those moral qualities that make up a *thriving character*, and might, with a little trouble, construct a correct chart of the *moyens de parvenir*. The best elements of such a study are to be found in our own history, where favourites, pimps, spies, buffoons—the Cavendishes, the Empsons, the Dudleys, the Somersets,—abound in every page, showing more forc-

bly than "thousand homilies" the virtues that recommend a man to the rulers of this world. In Lord Bacon's 'History of Henry VII.' the reader may find also, how princes contrive, for the most part, to fill their coffers. "That sage King," his lordship observes, "having tasted the sweetness of confiscations, could not withhold his hand from the property of his mother-in-law, but put her into perpetual confinement, that he might convey her wealth into his insatiable treasury." Mr. Burke likewise tells a very curious story, from Osborne, of the way in which royal bounty operates for the good of mankind, and of the ebbs and flows to which it is subject:—"James the First having ordered a present of 20,000*l.* for one of his favourites, his treasurer, a wary and prudent minister, well read in human nature, and knowing how little the general expression of things operated, and that the words twenty thousand pounds were as easily pronounced as twenty thousand farthings, contrived to place the whole sum, in a vast heap, before the King's eyes, as he passed to his levee, in good Jacobuses: when the King was taken out of his generals, and saw the money itself spread out before his eyes; he was frightened at what he was about, and threw himself in great agony on the mass of gold; and scrambling up a handful or two, 'there,' said he, 'ge'en that, that's enough.'" But for this treasurer, then, those twenty thousand pounds might have gone into the pocket of the favourite, in spite of the avarice and narrow spirit of the prince; and there were a fortune bestowed with a word.

This story may serve to reconcile the avarice and extravagance which history ascribes to some monarchs, and which Sallust attributes to the princely Catiline. The historians of Charles V. relate, that when he resigned the crown of his vast empire to his son Philip, it was stipulated that the latter should pay him a certain salary to subsist on. The possession of the throne, however, made Philip forgetful of his father's salary; and, it is said, that the old man first repented his abdication on coming to Burgos to receive his money. He found few of the nobles desirous of his presence; was put off from day to day, although extremely in want of money to pay certain of his domestics whom he had dismissed; and at last had his pension curtailed two-thirds by his ungrateful son. This event was fresh in the minds of men when Shakspeare wrote his 'Lear,' and perhaps the poet glanced at it in his portraiture of Regan and Goneril. Returning from the court to his monastery, the ex-Emperor immediately betook himself to flagellate his skin with great fury, in all probability to expiate the folly he had been guilty of. His son was aware of his repentance; for conversing with Cardinal Granvelle, on the first anniversary of his father's retirement, the latter observed to him, "It is exactly a year since the Emperor abdicated the throne;"—the King replied, "And it is exactly a year since he began to be sorry for it." Strada informs us that the whip with which he exercised his royal shoulders, was delivered to his son Philip after his decease, and being tinged with his blood, was preserved carefully among the monuments of the piety of the House of Austria.

But this may be looked upon as a digression.—We were observing that it would be very useful to lay open the arts by which men attain, in monarchical countries, the heights of honour and riches; and we may add, that the task of bringing them down again to a juster level with their brethren, is one equally honourable for its utility.

REMARKS OF A FRIEND ON THE SPEECH OF CAPTAIN MAXFIELD,
AT THE INDIA HOUSE.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—In reading your publication for this month, I was not a little surprised to find Mr. Hume's motion for papers respecting the Bengal Army opposed by Captain Maxfield, as I have long known that gentleman, and have frequently heard him express himself ably and independently on Indian subjects. I do confess my astonishment at finding him oppose the motion for the papers, knowing, as I do, he is no enemy to publicity. If surprise, unaccompanied by concern, were only excited in my mind, I should not trouble you on this occasion; but knowing, as I do, the information he possesses, and the ability to render it useful here, and beneficial to the interests of the governed in India, I certainly lament that any motive should operate to induce him to abandon a line of conduct which I had ever supposed he intended to preserve, and for which alone he sought and collected information long ere he quitted India. It is, however, probable he may overrate the evils he believes likely to result from the production of the papers alluded to; and that his opposition, on this occasion, arises from such belief only, and not from any new lights he has discovered since his return to England.

I have heard it said he is not unlikely to become a candidate for the Direction: in that case, his labours must be fashioned to attain that object alone; and the improvement of various departments in India by the exposure of existing abuses, must remain the occupation of those who are willing to serve the public without pay.

I should have thought, from a knowledge of his sentiments and opinions, that an ample fortune without encumbrances rendered him eligible and willing for such laudable exertion; and that those powerful reasons which are so often pleaded in political life, would not be offered by him.

If the crumbs of comfort which are in general so liberally bestowed in Leadenhall-street to those who can best discover the excellencies of our Indian policy, and offer apologies for its abuses, are not unworthy of his consideration, and he resolves to die in harness, let me, as an old and attached friend, remind him that a more flattering and brilliant prospect, if not a more profitable one, offers elsewhere; and the task before him will be more congenial to his feelings, and more beneficial to the public interests in general. I am Sir,

A FRIEND AND WELL-WISHER TO INDIA.

London, April, 1825.

PROPOSED COMPENSATION TO THE HOUSE OF PALMER AND CO.,
AT HYDERABAD.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I have read, with painful interest, the Papers and Speeches in your Numbers for March and April, relative to the destruction of the House of Messrs. Win. Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad.

I was in India when this House was established, and corresponded with it during a great part of the time it existed. It was celebrated for liberality and justice; and I was myself a witness of the favourable effect it had on trade. It opened an extensive market in the centre of the country for Indian and British produce and manufactures, which had hitherto been shut up, and was, consequently, of the first importance in a commercial point of view. As a Banking-house it was also of very great advantage to British Officers, and others, in that part of India, by receiving their money and keeping it at interest, and by effecting remittances to other quarters.

In respect to the loans made by the House to the Nizam, no man can surely be a better judge than Mr. Russell, who was Resident at Hyderabad at the time, and well acquainted with the nature of the transactions. He has shown, I think, Sir, in his masterly speech and letter, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that they were not only extremely beneficial to the Nizam, and to the British interest, but also that they were uncommonly moderate in their terms. It is quite absurd to talk of competition. No House in India either would or could have undertaken them on conditions so favourable as Messrs. Palmer and Co., from their local situation and connexions, were enabled to do; and the pitiful cavils of attorneys, and others, in the Court of Proprietors, who are totally ignorant of the subjects on which they have presumed to speak, are unworthy of serious notice. The assertion that the sixty-lac loan was entirely fictitious, one would suppose could only proceed from wilful misrepresentation. But, it seems, it has lately been discovered that these loans were illegal, which, however, appears to be rather doubtful. But even supposing them to be contrary to the letter of the law, it is a sufficient justification of the House that they were sanctioned by the Supreme Government in India, and declared by their law-officers to be perfectly legal. On what extraordinary principle, then, were Messrs. Palmer and Co. to be ruined for making them? Every honest man must surely answer that they, and consequently their constituents, have been basely sacrificed.

Much is the reparation which the Court of Directors can never make to Messrs. Palmer and Co. They cannot pay them for the mental anguish they must have suffered from the treatment they have experienced, and the ruin of their affairs. They cannot remunerate them for the loss of health and waste of constitution which such circumstances must have occasioned. But there is also much which they can do. They can send out orders for the immediate re-establishment of the Firm, with all the facilities which the Government of India can give them in the recovery of their demands. They can

make good such losses as have been sustained in consequence of the proceedings in question, and give a reasonable compensation to the parties for the time which has been sacrificed. ~~They can bring to~~ punishment those of their servants whose ~~unwarrantable~~ conduct has produced this catastrophe. The Court of Directors, I should suppose, Sir, will be ready and anxious to do this; if not, I hope that the indignation of the country will be roused on the occasion. It is a ~~commercial~~ murder, which ought to be prosecuted more particularly by all commercial men; and if the Courts of Law cannot interfere, the protection of Parliament may be claimed, as well on account of the injustice done to Messrs. Palmer and Co. and their constituents, as the effects which that injustice may produce. If redress be not given, the prosperity of India must suffer much; for what merchant will embark capital in a country where he is liable to be ruined by the caprice or malevolence of the servants of the East India Company?

AN OLD INDIAN.

April 15, 1825.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We agree with all the opinions and conclusions of our Correspondent; but he does not seem to be aware that the evil he deprecates is that which the Directors would most gladly accomplish. They do not want English merchants to settle in their territories. They throw every possible obstacle in the way of any extension of English residents among them, except such as are in their service, and bow down before their authority. If such men disobey, they are dismissed and ruined; if those not in their service murmur, they are banished from the country, and refused permission to return. And yet England (to her shame be it spoken) looks on with an apathy as stupid as it is criminal.

THE EBBING OF THE HEART.

THE heart, in youth, is like o'erflowing tides
On which affections, passions, float like weeds,
And linger on no point, for all is deep.
But Time's strong breath doth puff this sea away,
Wave after wave, and, in most instances,
Until the channel's dry. 'Tis sad enough
To see this ebbing, but the thing must be.
Many lament it not, to them the world
Offers its golden glancing waves instead;
And he who from his solitary nook
Looks proudly out upon the waste of life,
Sees where each current ends, and is not moved
If his small bark sails off unfreighted home,
Like Noah's dove:—he hath his store within.
Yet is it sad to see the hearts of men,
Bared of affection, take the double crust
Of shrewd hypocrisy to wrap them o'er,
And hide their oozy bottom from our view!

**TYRANNICAL CONDUCT OF THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES TOWARDS
THE HONOURABLE LEICESTER STANHOPE.**

IN laying before our readers an account of the treatment experienced by the Honourable Leicester Stanhope, in Italy, from the Austrian despots, who lord it over that unhappy country, we cannot help advert to a few of the striking proofs which have occurred of late years, that tyrants in every part of the globe are inspired with one sentiment of hatred against freedom of thought, and act in concert, as if all members of one universal Holy Alliance, to crush and destroy men of liberal principles. Our Indian readers may recollect the dark malignity evinced towards the founder of a free press at Manilla. When that country in 1821, had just escaped the yoke of unconstitutional power and priestly bigotry, the editor of the 'Ramillete Patriótico,' an Andalusian by birth, and the first who attempted to disseminate constitutional doctrines, through the press, in that remote colony, was, before six months were over, almost driven out of the island by the threats and slander of the supporters of ancient superstition and ignorance. They even published anonymous appeals to the public, inviting bravos to destroy him, and declaring that his assassination would be meritorious!

The next year, at the Portuguese settlement of Goa, on the west side of India, the enemies of liberal opinions did not stop at threats. They actually assassinated the Editor of an Indian Journal, published there, called the Goa Gazette. The following brief statement of this, copied from the Bombay Gazette of the 31st of July 1822, is worth insertion:

"Extinctus amabitur idem.—Captain Lewis Prates d'Almeida e Albuquerque was assassinated at Goa on the 15th instant. This meritorious Officer was sent out to India in 1818, under a suspicion that he was concerned in the Revolution which took place at Pernambuco in 1817. On his voyage from Rio de Janeiro, in the ship Maria Primeira, which touched at Calcutta, he was permitted to land on parole; and on the vessel leaving that place for Goa, he rejoined her, notwithstanding his being urged by many English gentlemen of the first rank, (who held his amiable qualities and bright talents in high estimation,) to remain at Calcutta, with the prospect of shortly being well settled. On his arrival at Goa, he was honoured with the respect and attention of the first authorities. After remaining there a very short time, he came to Bombay, where he was in January last, and endeared himself to many by his qualifications and gentlemanly deportment. On his return to Goa, he was appointed Editor of the 'Goa Gazette,' and subsequently, on the expulsion of the Portuguese Judges, now at this place, Head of the Secretary's Office. But in the former situation, (in his capacity of Editor,) having been warmly engaged in instilling constitutional principles into the minds of the community through the medium of the press, he unfortunately acquired many enemies, and at last fell a sacrifice to his patriotic zeal; having been attacked by a number of soldiers, headed by two officers, and run through with bayonets; his head being also severed from his body by a stroke of a sword from one of the officers. This loss will be deeply felt by a numer-

ous circle of friends and many distinguished relatives throughout the Portuguese dominions."

About two years after, the Editor of the very Paper which contained the above melancholy story, was expelled from Bombay without any trial, and is at this moment still in the course of transportation round by Calcutta and China to England: the punishment of confinement at sea, in almost every variety of climate for twelve months, or perhaps more, being inflicted upon him by the British Government of that Presidency, although he is not legally convicted of any offence; and has, we believe, done nothing which in England would subject a man to a fine of one shilling, or one night's imprisonment. While the rulers of British India are armed with such powers, there is no need of recourse being had there to the diabolical means above described. But the Bengal Government was not satisfied with expelling an Editor; it immediately after made arbitrary law for the purpose of enabling it to annihilate his property: even after this, it had recourse to other violent measures to ruin himself and his family; it banished one of his Agents and Assistants without any fault whatever being attributed to him; subjected him to false imprisonment, destroyed all he possessed, and imminently endangered his life; yet its vengeance was still unsatiated, and it called for his suffering a second transportation! Can it be doubted, that the spirit which dictated these measures, if it had been restrained by any legal bounds, would have burst out in deeds of dark atrocity, not exceeded in any other part of the world?

The 'Calcutta Journal' was finally suppressed, as is well known, for republishing a Pamphlet on the subject of the Indian Press, from the pen of Colonel Stanhope, whose treatment in Italy we shall now briefly describe. After having resided at Genoa four or five months, he proceeded to Milan. He had no political object whatever in view, and appealed to the authorities at Genoa as to his peaceful and inoffensive conduct. He came to Milan strongly recommended by his Excellency General Hubria and by the Prince Halemberg, formerly ambassador in England. The Austrian Consul at Genoa had inscribed on his passport, "*bon per Milano*;" and then signed and stamped it. There was no Austrian Ambassador at Genoa; but the passport had been twice before the British Consulate, and Colonel Stanhope was as often assured that it was perfectly *en règle*. Since his arrival at Milan he had lived almost exclusively with the Germans; consequently they could not accuse him of identifying himself with the oppressed Italians, to befriend whom is, no doubt, there looked upon as criminal as to advocate a free press in India. On the 21st of March last, he received an intimation from the Police, that he must leave Milan in twenty-four hours! The reason assigned is, that his passport had not been sanctioned by any Austrian Diplomatist. This was explained by the simple fact, that there had been no Austrian Ambassador at Genoa, the place from whence he came, but it had been signed by the proper and only agent there, the Austrian Consul, which the British Consulate declared to be sufficient, being the usual practice and according to rule. To all this it was answered: You must depart in twenty-four hours; the law requires it. The following are extracts of his letters to Count Strassoldo, the Governor of Lombardy, Venice, &c. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting these dignified and manly examples of the feelings of an independent Englishman. They are truly worthy of his

country, and of the cause of liberty. The first is dated Milan, March 22d, and describes the inflexible conduct of the Police:

I solicited time to make an appeal to the supreme authorities, and was referred to your Excellency's Secretary, the Count Packter; but the period of my departure was still limited to twenty-four hours. "The law required it." It was now three o'clock P. M. I complained of the harshness of the Austrian Government. The Chief of Police raised his head, and rebuked me with becoming dignity. "It was time to be off." I apologised, bowed, and departed. After this I hurried to your Excellency's Secretary, the Count Packter. He had too true a sense of justice, too much honour to shirk my appeal. He listened to me with politeness, and answered with good sense and temper. He said, that I had been watched and was innocent; but that the orders of the Imperial Government were positive on this head.

Thus circumstanced, I appeal to your Excellency's justice, and from your justice to your courtesy. I appeal to your Excellency, as the native of a country long in amity with the Empire, and which struggled, bled, and conquered, and with Austria, still suffers. I hope your Excellency will not wantonly hurt the feelings of a friendly nation by inhospitably banishing an unoffending person, who courts the attention of the eyes and ears of your Police; and who is ever ready to face any tribunal.

At all events, if your Excellency cannot allow me to continue in Milan, on account of the asserted invalidity of my passport, I humbly solicit that your Excellency will permit me at least to remain here for a fortnight, in order that I may have time to settle my affairs, to obtain the necessary resources for a long journey, and to depart, not like a malefactor, but like an English gentleman.

To his Excellency the Count SPRASOLDO, Governor of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice.

Milan, 27th March 1825.

SIR,—Permit me briefly to recapitulate my case for your Excellency's consideration:

The Austrian Consul at Genoa inscribed on my passport "*bon per Milano*," and then signed and stamped the same. The police of Milan objected to it as not having received the sanction of any of the Austrian Diplomats. I observed that this was not required of others coming from Genoa. I however offered to the Police to send my passport to Turin for signature, and to go to prison till it should be returned. I referred them to the authorities at Genoa, where I had dwelt for five months perfectly unmolested, for a report as to my conduct. I proffered my word never to utter a syllable on politics; and I solicited the surveillance of the Police to watch my actions, my words, my inmost thoughts, and my very dreams. To all this they replied, "You must depart in twenty-four hours, for the law requires it."

The Austrian Consul and the Austrian Police being at variance, I appealed to your Excellency for justice, and that courtesy which is usually observed by civilized and even by barbarous nations towards foreigners. Your Excellency has been pleased to allow me to remain at Milan to the end of this month. For this indulgence, which is asserted to be contrary to the forms and laws of your Austrian Government, I return your Excellency my cordial acknowledgments.

Your Excellency has, however, politely desired me to depart. I proudly submit to your Excellency's power. But before I depart, I humbly solicit of your Excellency to inform me whether there exists any obstacle to my return to Milan. I have been assured by your Excellency's Secretary, Count Packter, and by the Chief of Police, that there would be none, provided my passport was *en règle*; and as a proof of the liberal spirit of the Austrian Government, both

triumphantly cited the conduct pursued by it towards Sir Charles Wolseley, who, they said, lived there innocently and unmolested.

To conclude, your Excellency will, I trust, excuse my observing that I have wandered in the four quarters of the world among civilized, as among barbarous nations, among the polished French, the amiable Italians, the aspiring Greeks, the rude Paraguayans, Hottentots, and Pindaries, and strange to say, without ever having been molested till I reached Milan, where I have been treated as if my presence was inconsistent with the security of the Austrian empire.

I have the honour to subscribe myself your Excellency's most humble and most devoted servant,

LEICESTER STANHOPE.

The Governor of Lombardy could not resist the justice of his appeal, and at last permitted him to remain one month; but the Governor did this at his own peril, taking on himself the risk of contravening a general order. Colonel Stanhope, it appears, now disdained to avail himself of the niggardly indulgence of Austrian despots; for we find him at Paris, on the 11th of April, from which he addresses a brief note to the Emperor of Austria, complaining of the usual channels of communication having been shut against him, and the sacred laws of hospitality violated. It is supposed that the rule by which this was done had been either invented on purpose, or that a sleeping regulation was revived for the purpose of annoying a man, who, in his work on Greece, (and we may add on India,) has shown "too much affection for the liberty and independence of nations."

In Europe, as in Asia, the enemies of liberal principles attain the desired object of repressing them, by banishing their advocates to another part of the world. But when this cannot be done, recourse is had to assassination, as seen in the cruel tragedy just perpetrated in France. M. Paul Louis Courier, to whose melancholy fate we allude, being a native of that country, could not be conveniently removed from it on frivolous pretexts regarding his license or passport, like Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Arnot, Mr. Fair, Colonel Stanhope, and others. Consequently, the only way left was to cut him off. He had been long a soldier in the army of France, and in 1809 resigned his commission of Chef d'Escadron of the Horse Artillery. He had been early distinguished for his attainments in science and classical learning. His youthful studies were never abandoned during his military career; at the close of which he resumed them with undivided devotion. When the destinies of France were overclouded by the restoration of the Bourbons, the talents of Louis Courier were exerted to mitigate the oppression of his countrymen. He was prosecuted, fined, and imprisoned; but nothing could extinguish his zeal for liberty, which was united with an ardent love of literature. His works, says a French writer, were the most formidable enemy that have appeared in our days to the doctrines of absolute power, servitude, jesuitism, and intolerance. He had gone to his department for the purpose of selling his estate, intending to settle at Paris, and apply his whole time and talents to scientific and literary labours. But that life, so valuable to mankind, was suddenly cut short. On the 10th of last month, he had gone out to take a walk in some woods belonging to him, not distant from his habitation; and his family felt uneasy, when evening came, that he did not return. On going out to look for him, they found him stretched lifeless upon the ground, pierced with three balls.

We may add, as connected with the history of the Press, that the

Assembly of Dominica has passed a series of resolutions, severely censuring the Hon. Archibald Gloster, his Majesty's Chief Justice of the Supreme Courts of Judicature of that island, for being too intimately connected with a paper published there, and in consequence of an undue partiality, disturbing the regular course of justice. In the East; again, Judges have joined with the Government in putting the control of the Press entirely into the hands of persons in authority; and everywhere persons possessed of power are showing a violent desire to wrest, to their own private purposes, this instrument, which is so salutary in its effects on mankind, when left to be exercised in a fair, unfettered, and legal manner.

SYMPTOMS OF INCREASING INTEREST ON THE SUBJECT
OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

WE have before had occasion to assure our distant readers in India, that the liberal and independent portion of the English press has been frequently exerted to draw the public attention to Indian affairs, and often with great success. That which is published in some of the old and established English prints, they have occasional opportunities of seeing; though the bold and uncompromising articles of the *Globe*, the *Examiner*, the *Scotsman*, the *Leeds Mercury*, and the *Glasgow Free Press*, could never be reprinted in any Indian Journal. The latter Paper had recently some excellent matter on Indian topics generally; and a new Paper, entitled the *Edinburgh Times*, some copies of which reach London, but few of which perhaps have yet gone to India, contains an article that we have great pleasure in reprinting entire, partly for the sake of making so excellent a Journal better known to Indian readers generally, but more because we wish to aid in the widest diffusion of the sentiments it contains. It is as follows:—

‘ ON THE COLONIZATION OF INDIA.

‘ It is a happy consequence of the blunders of Lord Amherst's Indian administration, that it has drawn to the affairs of India a degree of attention more commensurate to their importance than they have for a long series of years obtained. Strange enough, that the slightest idea of losing a possession should excite the alarm of the whole nation; while not the slightest care has been given to the consideration, whether the possession is or can be made to be of any advantage to ourselves or others!

‘ It is foreign to our present purpose to dwell upon the other probable consequences of Lord Amherst's impolicy; but we may observe, that we do not think they will be very important. Though the war with the Burmese is attended with some peculiar difficulties, it must terminate in the manner in which a contest between a great civilized power and a horde of barbarians must, in the present advanced state of the knowledge of war, always end. It will not be long ere we shall hear the intelligence of the entrance of the British troops into Amherapoora; and it will be in the choice

of the Company or their servants to take possession, either directly or under the name of protection, of Siam and several other dependencies of Ava, which the Burmese (who only form the *nucleus* of the empire that passes under their name) have conquered—dependencies which would be quite as well satisfied under the British as under their present masters. It is not improbable that Lord Amherst will be one of the greatest conquerors, because he blundered into one of the most extensive wars, of all our Indian Governors-General; and that in the hour of success, all his errors having been forgotten, he will ride as triumphantly as any other block-head on the flood of fortune, and reap as much honour from the power of well-served artillery against wooden guns, as the planners of the Walcheren expedition did from the power of the Russian frost. We wish, however, in the mean time, to direct our readers to a subject much more important than the question, whether or not some thousands of square miles are to be added to our empire in India,—namely, the manner in which that empire can be made useful to its possessors and to mankind.

Though it is very doubtful whether the possession of great distant colonies can be made in a pecuniary sense profitable to the country that rules them, and though general experience shows us that they have not been so, we should see without regret the existence of such an empire as that of the English in the East, if, while it flattered our notions of national glory, it tended, as it naturally should do, to advance a large and fine portion of the world in civilization, and to dissipate the gloom of despotism and superstition which has from the earliest ages hung over Asia. What it seems natural for every enlightened Government to wish, and what it is indeed its duty to mankind to endeavour, is to raise the people subject to it as rapidly as possible in knowledge and civilization. This is a duty, indeed, not neglected entirely by the worst of European Governments. The Emperor of Russia, zealous as he is to prevent the propagation of unsound doctrines, is yet desirous of advancing as far as possible his people in all the arts of life, and of encouraging *the introduction and settlement in his dominions* of those foreigners who possess knowledge and skill, which his people want.

Now, not only does the India Company not imitate this wise and humane policy, but its whole system seems intended to prevent the diffusion of European arts and European knowledge. British India presents the extraordinary spectacle of a portion of a great empire carefully shut up in barbarism, by the studied prevention of the access of the subjects of more enlightened parts of it. No Englishman can go to India without a license. When he has got there, he cannot go beyond the narrow limits of the settlements, without special permission, or on official business. No Englishman can buy land. In the countries under our protection, the same exclusion is provided for by treaty; so that English settlers are by law, and in fact, more effectually excluded from "our Empire in India" than from any countries in the world, except perhaps China and Japan. We have heard, of late, a great deal of exultation at the opening to British enterprise and British knowledge, of the vast and fertile regions of Spanish America. Many songs of triumph have been vented on the downfall of "the unnatural system" of Spain, which so long excluded other European nations from those countries. We forget that we have a system far exceeding in degree the peculiarities which we attribute to that of Spain. Spain excluded from America all European people but her

own—we exclude as far as we can from Asia, all other European people, and our own too.

‘A system like this is not only monstrous in the light in which we have first considered it, as an expedient for forcibly keeping a part of our dominions in a dark and rude condition, (for it is quite idle, under such a state of things, to talk of the efforts of a few scattered Missionaries, who notoriously effect nothing,) but it is monstrous, as preventing Great Britain from reaping any benefit from its Indian possessions. The governing of India never will, certainly never *ought*, to be a *direct* profit to the people of this country; for no money should be taken from any people but what is necessary for their government. The trade with India, and the employment of British capital in that country, afford means of gain, which, in its very source, would not impoverish, but enrich the country from whence it might be drawn. *Some* trade to India we enjoyed before we possessed it as a country—some we should have continued to enjoy if we had never been at the trouble of conquering it. The peculiar advantage which the possession gives, is the facility of increasing the trade, by increasing the productiveness of that country itself, and by giving greater security to Englishmen, to afford them the means of searching out the wants and the superfluities of the people. This the system we have spoken of impedes, and, as far as measures of Government have an influence, prevents. The trade to India (though greatly increased during the few years that have elapsed since the Company’s monopoly was broken in upon) remains utterly insignificant, when compared with the population and capabilities of the country. Who can calculate the increase that might take place in it, if agents were allowed freely to penetrate the country, if British settlers spread throughout seventy millions of people the taste for British manufactures, and excited, by means of our capital, the production of articles suited to European wants? We are not too sanguine in hazarding the assertion, that the effects which have followed what has been called the *free trade*, would be found trifling, as compared with the effects of a really free intercourse and colonization.

‘It is difficult to conceive the reasons which can induce any Government to perpetuate a system so detrimental to both parts of its subjects. The old prejudice against colonization, because some day or other it is probable that India, if peopled by Englishmen, will erect itself into an independent state, seems almost too absurd to be noticed. If this reason were fit for any thing, indeed, it would prevent us from forming any colonies. It is quite as likely that New Holland will, at some future time, be independent of us, as that India, if colonized, would become so; but this apprehension does not prevent even the encouragement of settlers there—at the Cape—in Canada. But India is in this respect different from a new colony,—that it is much more likely to be preserved than lost by British settlers. The settlers would form a population distinct in religion from the original inhabitants, and would be sensible that their only chance for enjoying the advantages of tolerable government, would be the continuance of British ascendancy. It would be long, indeed, before they could outnumber the people of Asiatic origin. If we keep India till that can happen, we may consider that we have a more than usually extended prospect of empire.

‘The objection to colonization seems really to rest on nothing but a traditional trading prejudice of the Company against *interlopers*. In aid

of this feeling they raised, when the alarm at the separation of America was powerful, the absurd argument we have just now noticed. This prejudice their servants in India contrive by all possible means to foster; and it is *their* interest to keep India as it is—a region where any abuse may, from the prevailing ignorance and abjectness of the natives, be perpetrated with every chance of impunity. But this is not the interest of the British nation, of India itself, or of mankind. We trust that the mercantile interest will cry out against this unjust and absurd system, by which they are deprived of a free access to the country which British exertions have conquered—by which, the part of the world most effectually shut against their enterprise, is that in British possession.

TYRTEAN AIRS.—No. I.

'Tis sweet, 'tis sweet when Freedom calls.

'Tis sweet, 'tis sweet when Freedom calls
To press the blood-bespunkled plain,
Nor, might he choose, would he who falls
So nobly, wish to breathe again.

He sleeps within his country's breast,
He sleeps where all the brave must sleep,
And heroes, where his ashes rest,
Lift up their voices loud and weep.

His country's daughters, too, repair
In spring to that remember'd spot,
And dim their eyes with sorrow there :—
Can one so loved be e'er forgot?

Who would not, to be so bewailed,
Breathe out his soul in battle strife?
Who, were his father-land assailed,
Would basely cling to fleeting life?

But more—were Freedom's banner reared,
Who would not burn to see it wave?
Who would not, where its light appeared,
Plunge on to glory—or the grave!

BION.

TREATMENT OF THE FAMILY OF A BRITISH JUDGE BY
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

WE have often had occasion to call the attention of our readers to the acts of persecution perpetrated by the East India Company and its servants, on natives of the United Kingdom, whose persons and property fell within their arbitrary grasp. But no case has so strongly exemplified, as the one now before us, the manner in which law and justice may be laid prostrate at the feet of despotic power. There is here a mixture of tyranny and folly, of might and meanness, that if none were sufferers by it, would afford ample scope for the most ludicrous associations. When we see the Eastern Ruler, whose original meekness was so much extolled by a certain popular orator, we cannot help exclaiming, with the poet—

How poor ! how rich ! how abject ! how august !
How complicate ! how wonderful is man !
Dim miniature of greatness absolute !
Helpless mortal ! insect infinite !
A worm ! a god !

Fertile as Young was in antithesis, had he lived in our day he might have added one more, from the suggestion of the said orator, namely, "A lamb! a tiger!" the strange transformation at which so many stand aghast, wondering that such effects should flow from mere promotion. Surely, on that lofty pinnacle of power, where Lord Amherst has been rashly placed, the head is turned with the giddy height, and the heart petrified. Like the Alpine regions of nature, within the limits of perpetual congelation, in these high places of authority, no kindly feeling can vegetate, and the eye of reason is bewildered by the intervening clouds which intercept the view from falling upon ordinary mortals. But, without speculating further at present on the causes, we shall content ourselves with noting a few more of the effects of despotism.

Our friends in India being there denied the liberty of expressing their thoughts, are naturally anxious to make them known at least in England, which, they cannot doubt, we are equally desirous to afford them an opportunity of doing; and we should be committing an injustice, both to them and to the public in general, if we omitted longer to give a particular account of the case of Mr. Francis Macnaghten, which has excited so much interest at the Bengal Presidency. Having received a statement of it from an individual totally unconnected with any of the parties concerned, but who happened in Calcutta to meet with a copy of the Correspondence on the subject, we have every reason to rely on the accuracy of the representation which we have now to lay before our readers. In the opinions we may ourselves offer on the subject, we cannot be suspected of any undue bias in favour of the injured party, when it is recollected who the individual was, that, as a Judge, sanctioned a law enabling the Government of India to complete the total destruction of our property there. But let this pass: it is his turn now to suffer, and it shall be ours to sympathise; religion teaches us to forgive injuries, and reason, that it is better to forget them! Sir Francis Macnaghten has now had a surfeit of that tyranny which he let loose upon us; and when he saw it running

riot in the wantonness of mischief, and at last breaking in upon the peace and happiness of his own domestic circle, he might well repent that he had done away the curb of Public Opinion, which would perhaps have kept it within the bounds of reason. Had our ruin alone been produced by the law to which we allude, for putting down the Press, its consequences would have been comparatively nothing; but in sanctioning it, Sir Francis strongly rivetted the fetters of sixty millions of his fellow-subjects. Seeing, or thinking he saw, great inconveniences resulting from liberty, he forgot for a time the greater evils of uncontrolled despotism. But, if we know any thing of human nature, it was not long before he, in his heart, regretted, that in an evil hour, he had suffered his hands to tie a knot they could not again unloose. When he saw British subjects wantonly trampled upon, he could not but lament that he had joined in curtailing the few legal privileges left them in that country, and which it was his duty as a Judge to vindicate, not to destroy. Although, in this instance, through the fallibility of human nature, he permitted himself to be misled, he had not the heart to continue long the willing accomplice of tyranny. From his subsequent proceedings, it is but fair to suppose, if he could have foreseen that the law which he rashly sanctioned, would be converted to so bad a use as was afterwards made of it, he would never have given it his countenance. For, when it became manifest that the object of the Government was, by fair means or foul, to effect the destruction of the only independent Paper in India, and that an individual, for being merely connected with that publication, was wantonly punished on the most paltry prettexts, the generous feelings of Sir F. Macnaghten revolted against such barefaced oppression, and he raised his voice against it in a manner that will long be remembered to his honour. He now scouted with indignation the idea of truckling or trimming, or bending the laws, as had been formerly done, to the views of Government; and from this moment he was regarded as an apostate from the cause of despotism. How deeply Lord Amherst must have resented this opposition, may be imagined from the unrelenting vengeance with which he has, since that time, during almost a period of two years, pursued the individual whom Sir F. Macnaghten obliged him to release; but, independent of this, the very position of a British Judge thus controlling the Government itself, must, as may be easily conceived, be not a little galling and offensive in the eyes of an Indian Ruler, who is accustomed to see every thing else bend before his supreme nod. A check in the very outset of his career, making him feel the unwelcome truth that a Governor-General is not omnipotent, and that even the walls of his strongest fortress could not resist the authority of the Supreme Court, was a disgrace not easy to be forgiven.

This Court, as is well known, was erected for the very purpose of protecting British subjects from the oppression of the Company's servants; but we shall state a few facts from which the reader may infer how far it is calculated to answer this purpose. It was established in 1773, and a struggle immediately commenced between its jurisdiction and the power of the Company's servants. This ended in the appointment of the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, to be judge of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, with a salary of between seven and eight thousand pounds sterling per annum, revocable at the pleasure of the Governor-General, as "an instrument of conciliation between the Council and the Court." Money

properly applied being a wonderful conciliator, a compromise ensued ; but the British Government at home disliking the manner in which this peace was cemented by lucre, recalled the Chief Justice. However, even before this strong motive to conciliation had been presented to him, he had done the Governor-General a very essential piece of service, by cutting off a man who was his accuser. This was Nuncoomar, a native of the sacred caste, who, having shortly previous preferred charges against Warren Hastings, was himself brought before the Supreme Court on a charge of forgery. Although this rested on very equivocal testimony, and forgery was not a capital crime by the existing laws of the country, where it was alleged to have been committed, the unfortunate man was hanged without scruple. The charges which this individual had brought against the Governor-General being of a very criminal description, Warren Hastings found it extremely convenient to get rid of him, which he did, as stated, by means of the Supreme Court. The effect of this was, according to the evidence of Sir Philip Francis, a Member of Council at the time, to "impress a general terror on the Natives with respect to preferring accusations against men in power." Now, this most extraordinary method of protecting British subjects in India from the oppression of the Company's servants was put in practice with the full sanction of the Supreme Court, and a jury of Englishmen. Not long after this, the Government finding its views thwarted by the Judges, adopted the summary process of ordering a body of troops to take the officers of the Court into custody, to prevent them from enforcing its authority, which was done accordingly. Such strong measures have not been since adopted to subdue the power of the laws ; perhaps such strong measures were not found necessary. But there is no reason to doubt that the same spirit produced in former times by a collision between these conflicting powers, must be produced at present, unless human nature be changed. This is certain, that within the last twelve months or little more, the Court was apprised by one of its officers, that he was threatened with summary transportation without trial, for taking up professionally the cause of the Rev. Mr. Willis, who had instituted a prosecution against the Government. Had a less energetic Judge than Sir Francis Macnaghten stood in the way, perhaps the Company's servants might have dared to carry this threat into execution. If there could be any doubt of the tendency of this state of things, it would be removed by the fact, to which we challenge contradiction, that the Natives of Bengal have no confidence in the Supreme Court in any case between them and one of the servants of the Company. This we know to be the case from personal communication with the most respectable and intelligent Natives of India. It is a fact which speaks volumes. We do not attribute it to any fault of individuals but to the constitution of the Court itself.

It is therefore highly important to inquire how this Court is composed which they call Supreme. In regard to the Jurors, they are all liable to be transported at the mere will and pleasure of the Governor-General for the time being,—be he Warren Hastings or Lord Amherst. Therefore when these men go into Court to try a case at all interesting the Government, they are just as much at its mercy as the very criminal placed before them is at theirs.¹ The witnesses examined, if British-born

¹ So deeply inherent is this vice in the constitution of the Court, that the lia-

subjects, are also exactly in the same situation. And we have heard it vouched to be a fact, that persons in Calcutta are afraid to be called as witnesses in cases concerning the Company's principal servants, when their evidence is unpalatable. The Judge does not stand in exactly the same predicament, as he cannot be transported just at the pleasure of the Governor-General; but Judges are not isolated beings, rising like a palm tree in the desert, independent, and alone. They are men forming an integral part of the society around them, with which they are connected by many powerful ties. If it be depressed they must therefore necessarily sink with it. If the public mind be enslaved, theirs cannot be free. They have families or friends whose happiness is nearly as dear to them as their own, all liable to be crushed and ruined at the mere will and pleasure of Government. Therefore, although the person of a Judge be inviolable, his mind is far from enjoying protection; since at the mere will and pleasure of the Governor-General, he may be deprived of his dearest friend—nay, he may be bereaved of his most beloved child, or of all his children, and rendered a widowed and deserted being at the mere caprice of an individual. It may be supposed that such monstrous cruelty is impossible; but those who have read the history of India know that a Governor-General has committed greater enormities; and after what we have seen, it is impossible to say what they will not commit when the power is put into their hands. The British Legislature has rendered the persons composing these Indian Courts liable to suffer what we have stated; yet they are expected to protect others while themselves are perfectly destitute of legal protection. If legislative wisdom can ever build a legal tribunal on so sandy a foundation as the lawless will of persons invested with absolute power, trusting to their regard for justice and mercy, the servants of the Company are the last persons in the world entitled to such confidence; when it is openly avowed that their Government HAS BEEN, STILL IS, AND EVER SHALL BE, A DESPOTISM! We have seen what it has been, and cannot doubt therefore of the future. We do not look for flagrant violations of law every day, since they are not necessary; as one example of arbitrary punishment is sufficient to make an impression on the public mind that will not wear off for many years. Among the unprotected thousands who see one of their number sacrificed, nobody knows but the next case may be his own. The mere possibility must create a certain misgiving, a greater or less degree of apprehension and distrust, according to the constitution of individual minds. The mere existence of despotic power thus sheds, like the *Upas tree*, a baleful influence on all around it, blighting every virtuous sentiment of honest independence, and operating in a thousand unseen ways to corrupt the very springs of justice.

We shall now explain to our readers the case before us: Mr. Francis Macnaghten, son of the Judge of the same name, has been under the necessity of leaving India, in consequence of Lord Amherst's measures, to seek the protection of the authorities in England. His father, as is

bility to be transported without trial is, in Calcutta, a necessary qualification of a Juror; persons being carefully excluded from acting in that capacity, who, from having been born in the country, and being partly of Indian parentage, do not hold their existence there, and their fortunes and happiness, by the precarious tenure of a Governor-General's pleasure. Was ever a Court better contrived for the purpose of despotism?

well known, felt himself called upon, in September 1823, at the very outset of his administration, to check Lord Amherst's arbitrary violations of law and justice. But it will be remembered, that the Judge gave his Lordship a fair trial, allowing Mr. Fergusson, the first lawyer in India, to state every thing that could be urged in his behalf, before his decree was reversed. About ten months after, the Governor-General pronounced a sentence of condemnation upon the Judge's son, without allowing him a trial, or even a hearing of any kind! This also was done on pretences so frivolous, that it is almost incredible any Government should have taken them up seriously, and assigned them as grounds of punishment. Nor was the individual selected for this severity an "interloper," or "adventurer,"—a sort of monsters for which the Company cherishes so much hatred; but one of its own regular civil servants, who had been eight or nine years devoting his time and talents to its interests, in a manner which secured him the marked approbation of his superiors. He was, at the time, Head Assistant in the Export Warehouse, and had been attached to it for a period of nearly six years, during which he had frequently acted as Sub-Export Warehouse-keeper, with great ability, as well as close attention to the duties of his situation. From the confidence which was in consequence justly reposed in him, it appears he was occasionally deputed by the Board of Trade to act as a check on the proceedings of his immediate superior. This was Mr. Barnett, the Sub-Export Warehouse-keeper, of whom the Board, from circumstances of which it must be the best judge, had formed quite an opposite opinion. We shall not attempt to state the grounds of this unfavourable opinion, which will probably be brought forward hereafter; but we may infer that they were of some importance, from the fact that the Board of Trade thought it proper to recommend Government to remove him from his situation. The vigilant control imposed upon his conduct, could not, of course, be agreeable to him; and this accounts very well for a strong feeling of animosity towards Mr. Macnaghten, the Head Assistant, and a spirit of contumacy towards the Board of Trade. To the head of it, Mr. Udny, who is Mr. Barnett's immediate superior, he was guilty of open disobedience, in refusing to sign the invoices of a cargo of ghee, shipped for Fort Marlborough, although ordered to do so. On this act of insubordination being made known to the Government, instead of supporting authority, by visiting Mr. Barnett with punishment, it fell all at once upon Mr. Macnaghten, suspended him from his situation, and broke out against both him and the Board of Trade in terms of the coarsest abuse. The ground of this extraordinary proceeding was a letter written by Mr. Barnett, containing certain charges against Mr. Macnaghten, clandestinely transmitted to Government through an irregular channel. Any such letter should have gone through the head of the department, the Export Warehouse-keeper; but the Government chose to subvert its rules of procedure, as well as the most obvious principles of justice, by receiving the letter *directly* through one of its Secretaries, (Mr. Lushington,) so that Mr. Macnaghten had no opportunity of seeing it, and the Government was enabled to condemn him without his being heard, or without having even the least intimation that he was accused.

We have seen but lately that the transmission of a letter from the Ni-

* Boiled or clarified butter, a common article of trade in India.

zam's Minister, through an irregular channel, was thought by Sir Charles Metcalfe a sufficient justification for working the destruction of the House of Palmer and Co. at Hyderabad, involving in its downfall hundreds of the Company's servants, and almost producing a revolution in the territories of that Prince. The Bengal Government itself has supported him in these outrageous proceedings, and it is backed by the Court of Directors; yet here is now the Bengal Government countenancing, if not encouraging, the clandestine transmission of letters through irregular channels. Chundoo Loll, however, did not wish to have Sir Charles Metcalfe condemned unheard; the Minister only wished to be heard himself, and did not adopt an irregular channel till driven to it by the Resident having blocked up the only other. In this case, where such an excuse did not exist, the Government, when it suited its purpose, became an accomplice in the transmission of an underhand communication, by using it for the destruction of the individual it sought to undermine. When sentence is pronounced in this precipitate manner, on ex-parte statements, what security has the most innocent under a Government which makes it a rule hardly ever to reverse one of its orders? Right or wrong, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, they alter not. The moment the decree has gone forth, the person aggrieved has no longer his accuser to contend with, but the Government, whose pride, prejudices, and obstinacy are all enlisted in defence of what has been done. This hasty procedure, therefore, can only be regarded as springing from a determination to shut out Mr. Macnaghten from any fair chance of justice. Certain reasons were assigned, founded, it would appear, on Mr. Barnett's clandestine communication; viz.—

First: That in a letter to the Export Warehouse Keeper, dated the 20th of May, Mr. Macnaghten had affirmed that a comparison of services made by Mr. Barnett, "savours somewhat of the ridiculous." Had the Government waited for any explanation, it would have found that he had affirmed no such thing of Mr. Barnett; as this expression, though used, was not by any means applied to him; and besides, if it had, it could not have been an act of insubordination, since on the occasion, when it occurred, Mr. Macnaghten was not officiating under Mr. Barnett, but in fact, rather as his superior, having been appointed by the Board of Trade to review, and pronounce upon Mr. Barnett's proceedings in the distribution of certain prizes to persons employed in that department. It is not uncommon, even in the strictest school of discipline, the army, for gentlemen to be placed in situations where they are called upon to pronounce censures upon their superiors. Only cruelty and folly could think of punishing the honest discharge of this invidious duty as an act of insubordination.

Secondly: The next ground was a private note, dated the 18th of May, from Mr. Macnaghten to Mr. Barnett, which the latter, without complaining of it at all to the writer, also clandestinely handed up to Government. The occasion of it was a note written by Mr. Barnett himself to Mr. Macnaghten, who was in the adjacent room, (a strong indication of the kind of feelings he harboured towards him,) demanding to know why a certain native Surkar of the office was absent from duty. It was in this style: "I am informed you have given this person leave of absence: I wish to know if this be really the case, and request to be informed upon what authority you took upon yourself to do so." Mr.

Macnaghten felt hurt at a false charge of usurping undue authority being, in this abrupt manner, preferred against him by his superior, who, if he had merely wished for information, without seeking an opportunity to taunt and irritate, might have applied to the person in the office whose duty it was to keep a register of all leaves of absence granted. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Macnaghten gave him the information he required, viz. that the leave of absence was an annual one, and had been granted, not by him, but by Mr. Barnett's superior, the Export Warehouse Keeper; and concluded with saying, "I beg only to add, that there has been no undue assumption of authority on my part in the business; being, at the same time perfectly indifferent as to your entertaining a different opinion on this head, or of your giving credence to reports contrary to this assertion." Considering that this was written on the spur of the moment, under the indignant feelings necessarily produced by an unfounded accusation, it cannot be accounted a very unfit answer for the goading letter which produced it, written by Mr. Barnett deliberately, without any provocation, and sent from one room to the adjoining one, in as *unofficial* a manner as possible; so much so, indeed, that Mr. Macnaghten would have been fully justified in making no reply to it whatever. It deserves to be remarked also, that Mr. Barnett never was able, though called upon, to name the person who gave him the information on which he pretended to have founded his false charge against Mr. Macnaghten, of usurping unwarrantable authority. The Government having heard only one side, pronounced that Mr. Barnett's "official call" (or rather false accusation) "was couched in perfectly unexceptionable terms"! but that Mr. Macnaghten's reply, above given, stating the truth with some warmth, in exculpation of himself, was "discreditable and insubordinate." This, with the other false charge which the Government itself had made against him about the expression "savours somewhat of the ridiculous," is swelled into "almost unprecedented acts of disrespect." In other words, the Government, on these false and flimsy premises, accuses him of a degree of culpable insubordination, which had hardly ever before been equalled by the most notorious offenders, or even the most worthless characters among its servants! Nothing, surely, but the most violent passion and deadly animosity could thus work up a few warm expressions, the hasty production of a moment of irritation, into a crime of so deep a dye. At the same moment, too, the Government was palliating and finding excuses for the contumacy of Mr. Barnett himself to his superiors, and particularly an act of positive disobedience, which it acknowledged to have been committed by him, in refusing to sign the invoices, as already mentioned, when ordered by the Head of the Department in which he serves.

Thirdly: the last charge against Mr. Macnaghten is the most silly of all, being nothing more than this: that he applied to Mr. Barnett to have a certain official document, connected with that department, registered in the office. The head of it, namely, the Export Warehouse Keeper, approved of its being so registered; yet the Government, in its pretended zeal for subordination, makes this a ground of charge against Mr. Macnaghten; because, for some reason or other, an intermediate functionary, Mr. Barnett, wished to keep that paper off the records. We must suppose that it contained some exposure of conduct he was desirous to conceal. In answer to the official call made by Mr. Mac-

Macnaghten, also in this instance "in perfectly unexceptionable terms," for the said document, Mr. Barnett, although he knew that this was done with the sanction of his superior, replied—"I consider the line of conduct you have pursued, with regard to the document in question, highly *indelicate* and *offensive*." On these unprovoked and unjustifiable expressions, the Government, although so great a critic, in words, made no remark! It was Mr. Macnaghten's language only that was to be scanned and criticised. The Government here censured him for not consenting to the document being secreted, on the ground, that "in his subordinate capacity of Assistant *no responsibility rested with him*!" Then why should the Government have gentlemen of education and character to fill such situations, since a native of the country might be found to perform the duties for a tenth part of the expense? And for a very small additional reward, he would assist in cheating the Company every day of his life. Suppose, as things now stand, an extensive fraud were to be committed in that department, such as, with common vigilance, Mr. Macnaghten must have discovered, would not his character have been compromised? Then, suppose him to have connived at the concealment of documents, (as Government here recommended,) or at underhand proceedings of any kind which facilitated such fraud, is it indeed true, that "no responsibility rested with him"?

On such grounds the Government visits him with its severest censure; and the amazing littleness it displays is rendered peculiarly glaring by the contrast this forms with its treatment of Mr. Barnett. The Board of Trade had charged him with acts of positive disobedience and contumacy to his superiors, and proceedings hostile to the Company's pecuniary interests, which rendered him, in its estimation, unworthy of holding his office any longer. The Government overlooks these grave charges, while it falls with all its fury upon Mr. Macnaghten, for merely a few hasty expressions—the result of wounded feelings at a false charge being made against him in a tone he considered offensive. The Government does not censure Mr. Barnett for making this false charge, nor even call upon him to prove that he was not himself the inventor of it; but because the injured party repelled it, as was natural, with ill-suppressed indignation, he is to be punished by immediate suspension from his office. This is done on Mr. Barnett's clandestine report; although it ought, in justice, to have carried no weight with it, from the evidence which existed of his bitter animosity and underhand attempts to ferret out charges, and stir up accusers against his fellow-servant; and that Mr. Macnaghten had become obnoxious to this enmity, from his strict attention to the interests of the Company, and anxiety that the directions of the Head of the Department should be punctually obeyed. If Government had been desirous of repressing the feeling of asperity, which had evidently grown up between two of its servants, it ought to have acted as a fair and impartial umpire, by giving an admonition to both. If any partiality was to be shown, Mr. Macnaghten, being the junior, had the more need of protection from the "insolence of office" to which he was exposed from his superior. But Lord Amherst, instead of acting as an umpire, immediately made himself a party in the dispute; defended Mr. Barnett through thick and thin; accused Mr. Macnaghten of "gross misconduct," "discreditable behaviour," and, to crown all, with a degree of guilt compared with which the serious

charges brought against Mr. Barnett by the Board of Trade were "venial."

Not satisfied with this, his Lordship fell foul of the Board of Trade also, for not taking the same view of the matter, pronouncing that its conduct was also, "highly discreditable," and betokened a want of a proper sense of impartiality in the discharge of its public duty. This gross abuse is directed against Mr. George Udny, who, many years ago, sat in the very Presidential Chair from which his Lordship now thunders forth his anathemas, and filled it with much greater reputation. Then comes the high farce of the Governor-General, *pro tempore*, reading the Ex-President, who has been perhaps 30 or 40 years in the Company's service, a lecture on the manner in which he ought to discharge his duties as Export Warehouse Keeper. He is to refrain from exercising his authority "in trifling matters, in a manner bordering upon vexatious and unnecessary interference." He is not to expose his subordinate, Mr. Barnett, the Sub-Export Warehouse Keeper, to the mortification of having his orders relating to minor matters "superseded by his *nominal* superior;" for his Lordship is satisfied that such is the will of the Court of Directors, of which Mr. Udny, being comparatively a mere novice, was of course perfectly ignorant. He never knew that the Company was afraid of its servants being too active and vigilant in the performance of their duties! Afraid that the Heads of Departments should keep too strict a control over their subordinate officers! Indolence and inattention are evils very liable to grow up in India; but it was left for Lord Amherst to discover and correct an exuberance of industry and watchfulness for the Company's interests.

But the most singular inconsistency is yet to be noticed. While professing to disapprove of the unnecessary interference of a superior in "minor details," his Lordship is himself interfering in the most vexatious manner, in matters much farther below his sphere. He is, in fact, most irregularly dragging the *minutiae* of the commercial department out of the hands of the Board of Trade into the Supreme Council, which is, we believe, much less qualified to manage such matters, even if it had not the Burmese War and other affairs to engage its attention. Could not the Board of Trade be left to determine the quality and value of a cargo of ghee, without the assistance of the Governor-General of India? His Lordship forgot, that while he and his Council were wasting their time in weighty discussions on the price of a pound of butter, they were leaving their army to starve at Rangoon. We should expect better things than this, if two or three clerks were taken from behind their desks in Leadenhall-street, and sent to rule over the empire of Aurungzebe. Again, while his Lordship professes to be supporting authority, he is, in fact, destroying the control of the Head of the Export Warehouse, by representing the office as merely "nominal"—*vox et præterea nihil*; and totally subverting the authority of the Board of Trade, by setting its proceedings at naught, and vindicating Mr. Barnett in his opposition to it, so as to enable him to put its power at defiance. All this confusion of every principle of reason or common sense is introduced, and must be defended, in order to justify the destruction of Mr. Macnaghten!

His sentence, pronounced without any trial or hearing being allowed him, was, that from the date on which it was written, (July 29th,) in addition to the vituperation lavished upon him, he was suspended from

his office; and would remain so suspended, until he should submit to Government, through the proper channel of the Sub-Export Warehouse Keeper, such an apology to Mr. Barnett, as the Governor-General in Council might deem sufficient.

Mr. Macnaghten, on finding himself suddenly loaded with blame from the highest authority in the country, and condemned unheard, sought an opportunity of explaining his conduct, which was with much difficulty granted him. He proved that the first charge against him was, as we have shown, untrue; that, in regard to the second, he was "more sinned against than sinning;" and, in the third and only other matter of charge, the requisition for a certain document being filed, he had acted with the sanction and concurrence of the Head of the Department. He therefore begged to be relieved from the humiliation to which it had been hastily resolved to subject him. Since making an apology, as ordered, to the man who had wronged him, would be a confession, that he deserved the sentence pronounced upon him, and an acknowledgment of guilt, which neither honour nor conscience would suffer him to make.

The Government, in reply, admitted that the first and most serious of its charges was ill-founded; it only offered a feeble defence of the second, by some false quibbling about the representation given of Mr. Barnett's note containing the unjust accusation which provoked the reply considered objectionable; and it dropped entirely the third offence—the calling for the document being registered. Almost the whole ground of its condemnation was, therefore, completely taken from under it, only a small vestige of one of its three charges remaining. Yet, as if nothing at all had been extenuated, it still insisted on the full penalty of an apology to Mr. Barnett; through himself, to make it more humiliating, although he was *not* the "proper channel" of communication.

Mr. Macnaghten had already suffered the ignominy of suspension from office, on clandestine charges proved to be unjust, and could not submit to the additional degradation of apologising and begging forgiveness of the very man who was the author of his disgrace. He could not seek restoration to office on the degrading condition of an acknowledgment that he merited the sentence which called for this apology; that he had been guilty of "gross misconduct" and "discreditable behaviour;" and that the offences of a grave nature charged against Mr. Barnett by the Board of Trade, were "venial in comparison" with his delinquencies. Unfounded as these charges were proved to be, Government had remitted no part of its severe condemnation; and strove to intimidate the victim of its injustice into acquiescence, by depriving him at once of his means of subsistence, and giving him, at the same time, to know, that he had no hope of restoration but by thus subscribing to his own dishonour. He had no alternative left but to make an apology, which, in his own estimation and that of his friends, would render him for ever unworthy to hold up his head in society, or be deprived instantly of his means of subsistence, and risk even the entire destruction of all his prospects in life. No Civil Servant of the Company had ever, it is believed, been placed in so cruel a situation before, by the most tyrannic Governor. Even in the midst of this barbarous treatment, when exasperated by false informers on the one hand, and oppression on the other, he made the most humble submissions to Lord Amherst, of which the following extract of a letter addressed to Mr. Secretary Lushington, may be quoted in illustration.

Alluding to the manner in which he had been goaded on by Mr. Barnett, he says:—

"I am much concerned that any part of my conduct should have incurred the displeasure of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council. I cannot attempt to defend expressions which have been thought censurable. I am sorry for having used them under any circumstances of provocation; and I trust, whatever attempts may be made to exasperate me, that I shall, in future, so restrain myself as to be exempt from the displeasure of Government."

Was this not a most ample apology for so trivial an offence? In short, every expostulation was used with Lord Amherst to induce him to desist from his purpose of affixing a stigma upon this gentleman's character, which would have not only compromised his own honour, but brought shame upon his family. This Lord Amherst well knew; that he was striking a blow at Sir Francis Maonaghten,—a man who, with all his errors, is remarkable for a most sensitive mind and a delicate sense of honour; who could not, without the most acute distress, see his son degraded in a manner that no Civil Servant of the Company had ever been before. In ruining the happiness and prospects of this individual, and aiming a blow at his character, the Governor-General was well aware how deep a wound he was inflicting upon his family. But what did this avail, when the imperial *firman* had gone forth, and the disgrace or destruction of the innocent had been decreed by Lord Amherst's awful nod?

You might as well go stand upon the beach,
And bid the mainflood bate his usual height;
You might as well hold question with the wolf,
Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb.

But we hope and trust his Majesty's Ministers will be made to assign a reason why one of their instruments is to be allowed to go on in this manner, trampling upon every principle of justice! Judge Macnaghten is supposed to be already on his way to England, disgusted, we believe, at the treatment he has received, and heartily sick of a country where Might triumphs over Right, and where a man is never more in danger than when supporting truth and rectitude. Before a successor be appointed to a Judge who has been treated in a manner that cannot be called less than cruel, some provision should be made for the safety of those administering justice in India, by a law making judges and jurors, with their immediate connexions, independent of the malignity or caprice of despotic power; otherwise, it will be the duty of the inhabitants of Calcutta, as not long ago recommended from the Bench, to join in a petition to the British Legislature, that the Court may be abolished as a nuisance.

A NEW VIEW OF LITERAL ECONOMY.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—The very favourable notice which you have taken of my *omni-lingual* Diorama in your valuable publication for March last, and of my Twelfth and Final Report to the Court of Directors, merits the most cordial acknowledgments from me, as a man who never wished to conceal, under a bushel, whatever light he could throw upon any useful subject; far less, to shrink from the defence of his own doctrines, however eccentric and worthless they may appear in the eyes of *superficial* observers, or of those *profound* scholars who deem *learning* alone the *summum bonum* of social life, in lieu of real *knowledge*. With the professed view of *courting* liberal criticism from the British Indian community in particular, and the public at large, you are most welcome to insert the whole Diorama in your number for May; and I flatter myself it will find favour not only in your sight, but prove acceptable also to the majority of your Oriental readers at home and abroad, who will be both able and willing to appreciate my pending lucubrations according to their deserts, when the whole have been fairly submitted for that tribunal's sentence, whence, as there is no appeal, respectful submission in me becomes a matter of course to its irrevocable judgment. In the mean time, it is possible some seasonable hints may be generously communicated through the medium of your popular Journal, and I shall not fail to use them thankfully during the progress of the Polyglossal British Atlas, now in the press: that the work may be thus brought, if practicable, at once to perfection—the grand aim of all my philological labours, since their origin, nearly half a century ago. After the luminous observations published a few years before his Lordship left India, by so accomplished a writer as the Marquis Hastings, in praise of the English language, contrasted with every other, my feeble voice on such a theme, here, would be quite superfluous, if not impertinent; especially as it is generally taken for granted, from recent *leading articles* in his literary creed, that the acute and classical Mr. Canning, even, is equally partial to his native tongue; which, were its glaring cacography now reformed on rational principles, would soon become, in preference to French, the most current speech over the whole civilized world, because it could then be communicated *efficiently* to all foreigners, within the space of a few *months*, instead of as many *years*, hitherto required for that purpose.

The Diorama, in its present state, must speak for itself; and if assailed in those parts that may yet be considered vulnerable, I mean either to defend myself boldly, or honestly to acknowledge every *detected* mistake; my object being, in fact, rather to inculcate the utility of common sense and permanent truth among mankind, than to obtain the *fleeting* triumph which any polemic victory or defeat could produce.

To many of my earliest pupils, who probably constitute a large proportion

or a comprehensive view of the new universal grammaculture, composed from an italian modification of the roman characters, inclining to the script type, and consisting of sixty-four discriminative symbols, to express every possible sound, in all the languages of the world; commencing with a moeius of

1. The first group of authors, including [1, 2], has shown that the β phase of the $\text{Fe}-\text{Fe}_3\text{C}$ system is a metastable state, which is formed in the process of the transformation of the α phase of the $\text{Fe}-\text{Fe}_3\text{C}$ system.

1 simple and 3 compound tones, with their several numbers, characters, note, sounds, representative letters, and examples. From the English or French language, immediately over and under the consonants 3 notes of each tone, are thus subjoined, and respectively illustrated, on such mathematical principles of relative contraction and expansion, that each must strike the learner's eyes and ears demonstratively with its appropriate power, according to the projected result, which superadds multifarious by magniferially capitate entirely, as in the letter O and the numeral, nine, also, without any diversity of shape, serves every reasonable purpose, and preserves the same uniformity of appearance that is least distracting to infant scholars, in whom the plain face and sound of it cannot be half so useful as in those who are *triflingly* multifarious $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \eta, \theta, \iota, \kappa, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \xi, \omicron, \pi, \rho, \sigma, \tau, \upsilon, \phi, \chi, \psi, \omega, \alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \eta, \theta, \iota, \kappa, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \xi, \omicron, \pi, \rho, \sigma, \tau, \upsilon, \phi, \chi, \psi, \omega$; by any nothing at all least 600 consonants *erotic* substitutes in foreign times for this plain β , *one* β from 1 to 3 computations of

A judicious comparison of the imperial, mediaeval and modern inferior accents of letters and words in the four lines and series above, must clearly indicate that the projected orthography coincides with the existing system of sounds or symbols which conform most to common sense, and elementary consistency, so essential in this department of literature, though rarely found. Every one of the letters has its true value, 1, 2, or 3, below, and its particular numerical figure given, for the sake either of any reference hereafter, or convenient illustration, as an arithmetical grammarian, instead of the three or more given figures from 1 to 64, and thence, following superumerarily, to 100 for 100; an obvious device, which renders 111¹, and 111², equivalent to SEVEN, THREE, and ONE, respectively, instead of the simple digit itself, or usual notation, of universal application, 4, 6, 8, 9, 1, 2, 3, &c. have been thus most wisely, even in the minutiae of orthography, being three unknowns.

I name the predominant english and kind short vowel sound, 7, the pure-vowel, 11; the longue, 11; the Italian, 11, and the french, 11 is probably enough that the finalities 4 and 5 are not

the following is a list of 24 euphonic, and other letters, having organic affinities, proximate, remote, and latent, with the above consonantable vocal sounds on the gumut, or with each other, to be examined.

7 equivocal. 3 univocal. 3 equivocal. 3 univocal. 3 univocal. 3 univocal.

...the counter which was shuffling blocks that cannot exist in a

—English to *ni-kur*, *e-kur*, *e-kur*, *o-kur*, &c. from first to last, which here would be *yū-ni-ku*, the first *yū-ni-ku* of the first *yū-ni-ku*, &c.

... which embraces a complete series of all the possible syllabic combinations of this sort), will develop in practice, the manuscript, *unpublished*, *in*...

ny ay ey oy oy oy un en es on of or us vi vii viii ix x

...the discussion combinations may very seldom occur, is not a valid reason for their total exclusion from a system. Just as more and less common combinations of letters and numbers are used in the combinations of a lock, so more and less common combinations of letters and numbers are used in the combinations of a code.

VIII. IX. X. n n ga h b - w - nb - i r

from an attentive review of the whole preceding symbols and sounds, it must become perfectly evident, that, by means of the above-mentioned signs, the whole of these being both briefer and plain-

of your subscribers, I must explain a deviation or two from my first system of Hindoo Roman orthoepeigraphy, to reconcile them at least to all subsequent improvements, and upon similar grounds, viz. those longings after *perfection*, which Providence has wisely implanted in every ingenuous breast, as the soul's surest guide and noblest claim to immortality, after its body has been mingled with the parent dust. The ridiculous alphabetical name and occasional sound of our letter *u*, was originally denoted in my Dictionary by *eu*, but shortly afterwards, for obvious reasons, *yoo* was invariably substituted for *eu*. In the like manner, *kea*, *keea*, were converted to *kya*, *kiya*, restricting the power of *y*, uniformly, to its consonantal sound, heard alone in the English words *y-awn*, *y-ou*, *y-olk*, &c. never *eye-awn*, *eye-ou*, or *eye-olk*. This judicious step having been seasonably taken, consistency of principles obliged me to obliterate entirely the vocal sound which *y* has in my, *cry*, by superseding this for ever with *ue*, *ui*, perceptible in *buy*, *guide*, *guile*, *guise*; and in the Scottish pronunciation of, not *tyoosday*, but as it is written plainly, *Tuesday*; besides, the fact of this *ue* being in perfect unison with the oriental mode of forming this very common diphthongal vowel, *audible* if not *visible* in the organ, letter, and pronoun, indiscriminately called *eye*, *i*; a bivocal, very different indeed from the *y*, noticed above in *y-awn*, for the *iota*, with us, indicates *ai*, *ae*, *ue*, *ui*, *eye*, not the *yaw*, as in *yaw-n*, which the Hindoos term *yu-kâr*, never *wy*. Previous to the emendation in question, the words *tyar*, *yyam*, and many more of a similar kind, exhibited the preposterous use and abuse of *y*, vocally and consonantly together; an evident absurdity, but ultimately rectified thus, *tueyar*, &c. A parity of reasoning from Eastern orthography induced me to transpose the vowels *ou*, in *house*, *sound*, *our*, to form out of them, both more synthetically and analytically, the *canine* or *bow-wou diphthong*, *uo*, *so-uor*, *guo*, *suo*, *buo*, *wuo*, &c. at which *uo*, and its twin brother *ue*, my thoughtless quondam-scholars have been barking ever since, without either rhyme or reason on their side, but merely from sheer inability, indolence, or mulish disinclination, to follow me in the *right* path, after I had left the old beaten one, which greater experience clearly evinced was palpably *wrong*. That the Diorama will excite some such *hue and cry*, after its innovations, also, is probable enough, till those who complain of my progressive improvements shall deliberately recollect how repeatedly Watt, and every other grand inventor of useful *machines*, were employed all their lives in rendering *them* still more perfect by the various alterations and additions, which long practice and self-conviction of existing defects suggested from time to time; always in the hope of reaching thereby, the *ne plus ultra* of aspiring genius that was to transmit such men's names to posterity, as the honest indefatigable benefactors of their own age and country. Had the true sound been retained of the interjection *hae*, (*hue*), introduced above, to chime in with the cry raised after a thief, it alone must have levelled my adopted *ue* (*eye*) with the meanest capacity; but our notorious cacography has converted *hae*, through *hæ*, to *hyoo*—something totally distinct in oral complexion from the *hae* *cræ*! *hue* *krue*! formerly intended; and which is yet daily heard by every London coach-driver, as *ho*! *hne*! *hue*! *hy*!—familiar exclamations, and moreover, completely Hindoostanee! With the Diorama,

a neat lithographic prospectus of the Catholic Liturgy and Lord's Prayer, in script symbols, will probably reach you, that the printed and written doxology may be compared easily together, along with the New Series of Letters, as the most convenient harbingers to a long projected scheme of mine for communicating *pure Hindoostanee* rapidly to Englishmen, and *good English* equally so to the Natives of British India. Both objects of this comprehensive design may be accomplished *simultaneously* by means of the proposed universal character, in which the subsequent editions of my works will successively appear, but all greatly curtailed in prolixity, intricacy and price, from an earnest desire, on my part in future, to supply the whole of those who shall still confide in me, with a *maximum* of *practical Oriental knowledge*, through a *minimum* expenditure of time, toil, or cash, during the prosecution of such literary pursuits, at home or abroad. Learners from the age of six to sixty years, and of both sexes, will, on personal application, or *by post paid* letters, receive every aid in my power, including references to those instructors and private institutions, where the improved system of Oriental tuition has been or shall be successfully adopted.

I remain, Sir, your very obedient servant,

JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST.

No. 11, Clarges-street, April 5, 1825.

DISADVANTAGES OF INDIAMEN SAILING SINGLY, INSTEAD OF IN COMPANY.

In our last Number, we took occasion to advert to some observations that had fallen from Sir Charles Forbes, in his place in Parliament, on the subject of an existing regulation by which the Directors of the India Company make their large ships sail singly, instead of sending two in company with each other for mutual assistance in case of need. It was reported, in some of the papers, that the alleged cause of this regulation was the fact of the Company having, on one occasion, to pay demurrage on one of their large ships, which had been detained in the straits of Sundas, saving the men from the wreck of another. The real statement made, however, was not exactly in these words, but simply, that the ship had been detained in saving the cargo of a vessel so wrecked. Whatever were the exact expressions made use of, whether cargo or men, the fact is the same. A large ship of the Company grounded in a difficult navigation. Another ship coming past, or being in sight at the time, hastened to her relief, and saved both cargo and crew. A sum of money as demurrage was demanded of the Company for the detention occasioned by this event; and from that period the practice has been, to send their ships singly, to avoid such expense in future. By such a regulation, however, it is not merely the cargo, but the crew also, that is exposed to destruction in the event of accident, from having no one near to succour them. A mere inspection of the dates of sailing of the *several* ships leaving China will show that such a regulation must exist; and be strictly acted upon; for the vessels leave within a few days only of each other,

and at stated intervals; while the recent, and we believe continued, practice of their large ships sailing singly from England is quite conformable to the same rule. In the melancholy case of the Kent, which was but lately destroyed by fire, had it not been for the accidental circumstance of the small brig bound to Mexico heaving in sight, with the Captain sensibly alive to the calls of humanity, every human being on board the Indiaman might have perished; and one would suppose, that such an event would be quite sufficient to put a stop to a practice involving so many evils without a single corresponding benefit. But the single sailing of ships is, we believe, still continued; though we hope the subject will be taken up in such a manner as to enforce an alteration.

This impolitic practice, as well as that of permitting lights to be taken into ship's spirit-rooms and holds, where spirits are contained, has been animadverted on in becoming terms, by a retired British Admiral, who served some years in India, and who, during the past month, addressed a letter to a Provincial paper on the subject. As it is not likely to reach our Indian readers in its original form through any other channel; and as the name and character of the writer, as well as the subject matter of his letter, must give it great claims to consideration, we have great pleasure in re-publishing the letter entire:—

To the Editor of the Suffolk Chronicle.

SIR,—The fatality which has continued to attend a very bad and dangerous practice of drawing off spirits in the hold or spirit-room of any ship, has shown itself in so many instances in the East India Company's shipping for several years past, that it is the more extraordinary that no positive regulations have been established to prevent it; as is the case in the Royal Navy, where the most strict orders have always been given never to do it, and the consequence is, we never have heard of any accidents therefrom; the liquor being daily hoisted on deck, and the quantity required for the ship's company being then put into smaller casks, the other is replaced in the spirit-room, where no light is ever suffered to go. In the year 1782, the evil consequences of drawing spirits off below, was exemplified in no less than four of the Honourable Company's ships, every one of which were destroyed,—one in the port of Bombay, one off Ceylon, one at Madras, and one in Bengal; thus, four valuable ships, with their outward bound cargo, and a great many lives, were totally destroyed: being an eye-witness to the destruction of the Duke of Athol Indiaman, in Madras Roads, which took fire in the spirit-room, in the middle of the squadron of Sir Edward Hughes, a few days after one of his great battles, the boats of the squadron were in course sent to her assistance, by which circumstance, several lieutenants and other Officers, and upwards of 200 men of the King's ships, besides the passengers, soldiers, and crew of the Indiaman, were all blown to atoms; yet it is to be believed, that the horrid practice is still continued in the Company's ships, as is recently proved by the destruction of the Kent, as well as many ships since the fatal year particularized. Surely, Mr. Editor, if the orders to the King's ships have always prevented such accidents, why are they not given and enforced aboard the Indiamen? I cannot conclude this stricture upon the want of discipline in the Company's ships, thus verified, without commenting, also, upon the folly of sending ships of that value and magnitude to sea alone, especially with troops on board, as it is well known two ships will stimulate each other to more rapid progress than one ever makes by herself, but in very peculiar cases. That the lives of our brave soldiers should ever be hazarded in any but the King's ships, is well known to be penny wise and pound foolish, as well as injurious to the country. But, Sir Charles Forbes

Yours very humble servant,

B. W. PAGE.

Even if the argument of humanity had no weight (and we are free to confess, that when addressed to such a body as the East India Company, we do not believe it has much) the question of safety and speed ought to deserve their attention. As they are their own underwriters, it ought to be a matter of importance to them to secure every means of saving the property of the ships and cargoes in case of danger, supposing the crews to be left entirely out of the question; and, as merchants, they ought to know that speed in voyages is of the utmost consequence as a matter of economy. Some persons who have sailed in large fleets, where all the fast vessels are detained and compelled to keep back so as not to exceed the rate of the slowest, have doubted whether two ships sailing together could make so good a passage as a single one. But no one who has ever been in company with a single ship alone could doubt the fact. The spirit of rivalry and competition is there carried to the utmost. Each endeavour to beat the other on all points of sailing—the trim of each is minutely attended to—the steering and trimming sails in each managed with the utmost skill—the greatest vigilance is observed not to fall to leeward or a-stern during the night—and the constant presence of the rival object enjoins the closest attention to each ship's position during the day. A timid officer is prevented from reefing, because his consort still carries sail; and an indolent officer is obliged to shake out reefs that he would otherwise keep fast, but for the example set by his more active companion. In short, it may be safely said, that ten or twelve days might be saved in every India voyage by the mere effect of competition in this way alone. The true secret of all the apathy and indifference of the Directors to this, and other obvious matters, is, that they have no direct interest either in the safety or the speed of their vessels. If twenty Indiamen should be lost by shipwreck and fire, no Director would be the poorer for it. If an Indiaman be six months instead of four on her voyage, no Director suffers a diminution of a shilling, either in his capital or interest; India-stock sells at the same price, and the dividend of 10½ per cent. become due at the stated period, as if nothing had occurred. They go on prosecuting a commerce which they themselves confess has been long a losing concern; and while their private fortunes are undiminished, they care not for the grossest mismanagement of the public affairs of their Association, except in any matter which affects their power or their patronage, when they are always on the alert to maintain these unimpaired; and this done, they sink again into the apathy and indifference which are the natural results of so absurd a system as that by which they are held together.

DISCREDITABLE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES AT RANGOON.

By the arrival of the ship *Asia*, direct from Rangoon, we have received a number of letters from persons permanently residing, as well as from persons temporarily serving in the army there; and we regret to state, that the uniform tenor of all the communications in question reflects great discredit on the whole of our proceedings there. Instead of throwing this information into the general form of news, to which it might, perhaps, be considered most appropriately to belong, we have thought it best to collect all the scattered facts and opinions, and arrange them under one head in a separate article. We have, in tenderness to the feelings of many, omitted much that might have been printed, in the hope that they will yet live to redeem the crimes of which they have been guilty; and we have taken some pains to soften rather than exaggerate whatever we have thought it necessary to give. The reader will infer, therefore, from what appears, how much our feelings must have been shocked, to receive such accounts of the conduct of men whom we had every reason and every wish to consider entitled to our respect. We regret, as deeply as any one can do, that they should have done any thing to forfeit their claim to that consideration: but the homage we owe to truth is greater than that due to any created beings; and our devotion to the cause of justice compels us therefore to proceed.

In the following account, intended to exhibit much more clearly than has been yet done, the true character (and we may say secret history) of the Rangoon expedition, we shall be obliged, for the sake of connexion in the narrative, to repeat some facts already known. At the capture of Rangoon, on the 11th of May 1824, by a few discharges of round and grape from his Majesty's ship *Lifey*, the troops on landing found the place completely deserted, every soul having absconded into the jungle panic-struck and terrified. The impression made by the sudden appearance of so large a force, and especially the *Lifey*'s 24-pounders, was such, that the mere sight of a red jacket was sufficient to disperse a large crowd of Burmese. This was the favourable moment, while the fine season remained, for pushing on towards Ava with the van of the army, allowing the reserve to come up as fast as possible with the baggage and provisions. Before the panic at first created had time to subside we should have met with no resistance, and supplies would also have been procurable, the Natives of the country not being prepared for such a visit, and, by its suddenness, overawed into submission. If the advance had met with a superior force, of which there was almost no chance, it could have easily fallen back on the reserve. But the rapidity of its progress would have left them no time to collect means of resistance, and supplies of boats might have been procured by seizing them as the troops proceeded onwards. As the rains never set in till the end of June or beginning of July, the force landed at Rangoon on the 11th of May had nearly two months before it, during which it might have penetrated into the heart of the Burman empire.

What rendered this bold measure more promising, was the circumstance of the Burmese being wretchedly provided with fire-arms. Their

powder is also of the most inferior quality, requiring twice or thrice the usual quantity to be employed. Their principal offensive weapons are bows and arrows, the spear, and a sharp instrument called *we believe* a *dow*, similar to the *parang* used among the Malays. It is described as of the size and appearance of a large carving knife with a slight curve, and is much used at close quarters. Their mode of warfare, like that of the Mahrattas, is desultory and irregular:—to surprise by a sudden attack, secure their plunder, and retreat immediately when they meet with resistance.

Since the invasion, they have endeavoured to secure their houses and villages from surprise by erecting bamboo railings around them; which, although a very feeble means of defence, afford them time to get notice of approaching danger, and an opportunity of retreat. This wretched bamboo fence, generally from four to six feet high, the invaders dignify with the name of "stockade," which is construed to mean a fortification. Hence it is thought justifiable that all the unhappy wretches found within the said fortresses should be butchered in cold blood. This is done deliberately, even after they have been surrounded, and have surrendered their persons; when they are without arms or any means of escape! This murderous practice commenced with the taking of the first stockade on the 28th of May, and continued thenceforward to be persevered in by their most gallant, honourable, civilized and christian invaders!

They are seldom able to discharge their cannon or jingals, so it may be easily imagined what is the result when such rude warriors come in collision with the finest troops in the world. Long after the commencement of hostilities, the Burmese were panic struck at the discharge of a piece of artillery. In the first instance, therefore, the army could have met with no serious opposition, if it had at once taken the route for the capital. This opportunity being allowed to pass by, the only rational object an expedition at that season of the year could have, was completely defeated at the setting in of the monsoon.

There being no other employment for the army during the rains, the troops were placed at the disposal of the Prize Committee, and had not been idle, considering the narrow field in which they had to operate. They were actively employed in seizing and collecting every thing that would realize cash, which could be attached as prize property. Besides his Majesty's ships and the Company's cruisers, there have been taken up for the use of the army about fifteen or twenty small vessels now denominated gun-boats, which are neither more nor less than the Calcutta river craft, and pleasure-boats, purchased and hired for this purpose. They mount from two to four and six swivels, and some a twelve-pound carronade. They have also about the same number of Calcutta row-boats with a carronade in the bow; also about fifteen or twenty swift-sailing Malay prows from Penang, all of which would bear a carronade at each end, and pull astonishingly fast. There were also innumerable boats, at least five hundred, on both sides of the river, and on every branch of it, of all sorts and sizes, of Burmese construction. In addition to all these, there were the boats of the transports, with about twenty or thirty long flat boats; forming altogether a quantity of water carriage sufficient to transport at least an army of 10,000 men to any part of the country where the rivers are navigable. Each gun-boat would carry one hundred men, each row-boat thirty, each of the large

flat boats eighty, each Malay boat sixty, and each of the ship's boats in proportion to their size, there being a fleet of seventy ships. The Burmese boats would carry some of them two hundred men, some one hundred, and others fifty; all independent of their respective crews required to manage and row them. These means of water carriage, which we are informed were in possession of the army, were certainly sufficient to transport it to Awa at any time.

Instead of this being attempted, a determination was formed to house and garrison the troops in and about Rangoon during the rains. There they remained during that gloomy season of inaction, rendered more wretched by scarcity of provisions, and disease, the usual concomitant of miserable diet. As both officers and men were living almost entirely on salt provisions, sourries, fevers, dysenteries ensued, carrying off daily at an average from sixty to eighty men, while the sick list averaged from 2,500 to 3,000. This does not appear to have been at all the fault of the country, which is said to be comparatively a healthy one, for an Eastern climate. According to report the medical men were of opinion, that in any other part of India, with the same treatment, the mortality would have been much greater. But the want of fresh provisions was the ruin of the army; yet it is astonishing to learn that those whose duty it was, used so little effort to supply this urgent want. We are informed that fine large bullocks and buffaloes, with cows, calves, &c. abounded at a little distance all round Rangoon; but the army appears to have been so completely dispirited and paralyzed by their gloomy situation, that they did not make even common exertion to preserve their own existence. A report was received that three hundred head of cattle had been seen about two miles out of town, half-way between Rangoon and Remmendine; yet it could not awaken the Commissariat from that apathy which seemed to pervade every department, *excepting the Prize Committee.*

As the Malay boats were not occupied for the use of the troops, some proposed sending them under an officer to catch or shoot bullocks, or catch fish, the Malays being the most expert in the world at such work; and if prize-money was the great object of attention, the Commissariat might have purchased whatever was caught, for the use of the hospitals and the army, carrying the value of them to the credit of the prize-property. But little attention was paid to any suggestion having merely the public good in view. The grand object of the expedition appeared to be with many a very secondary consideration, compared with the hopes of private gain in the final division of spoil. Instead of the Malay boats being employed as above stated, they were placed at the disposal of the Prize Committee, who kept them employed in collecting paddy (undressed rice) from the places adjacent to Rangoon, as prize-property. Different divisions of the army were employed in pounding the said paddy, to separate the grain from the husk, that the rice might be sold to the Commissariat. The price charged for it was one rupee for seven seers; whereas great abundance of rice was retailing in the Bazaar at twenty-three and twenty-five seers for the rupee.

We have now to give some account of the rapacity said to be evinced by the Prize Agents in the seizure of private property, which is represented in colours worthy only of a set of buccaneers or pirates. Instead of respecting the property of private individuals who had been deporting

themselves quietly and peaceably, they have eagerly sought pretexts for rejecting their claims, and vending their effects as prize-property. The timber appropriated as prize is shipped, free of expense, on board the return transports, to Madras or Calcutta, under the nominal character of ballast. At the very period when the tonnage of the vessels is so occupied, as if vacant and useless, the merchants at Rangoon were making tenders for it; offering to load or ballast the vessels with timber, or other produce of the country, and thus take up any quantity of tonnage in the Company's ships, at the usual freight, or on condition of making over one half of the cargo as freight; or at the rate of 1000 rupees for every hundred pairs of shinin (logs of teak timber). A ship of five or six hundred tons could take a thousand pairs, yielding at this rate from eight to ten thousand for the tonnage of one vessel. All these tenders were rejected, that the tonnage might be at the disposal of the Prize-Agents; who will, of course, from a sense of justice, hold the prize-property indebted to the public treasury, for the freight of this timber, shipped on their account in these vessels, hired by the Government at a vast expense. The vessels specified as being so employed, are: the Helen, Capt. Langley; the Ann, Capt. Gibson; the Malabar, Capt. Fielder; the City of Edinburgh, Capt. Wiseman; the ships David Clarke, Glenelg, and Baunerman; with others, not named. There appears to have been no objection whatever to loading the vessels with the timber as proposed, which is stated to be of the very sort and quality formerly always indented for, with an express view to gun-carriages and other purposes in the military department.

We have another instance of the operations of the Prize Agents, of an extraordinary character, showing how little private property was respected. A Captain Laird, formerly a commander out of the port of Calcutta, and of late years a merchant, and resident at Rangoon, had occasion to proceed to Ava with a large consignment of goods in the early part of 1823. Three or four months after, the Bengal Government having thought proper to declare war, its troops arrived at Rangoon in the month of May, while Mr. Laird, to his great misfortune, was still absent. Some malicious person thought proper to propagate a report that he had gone over to the Burmese, and was actually heading their troops, as their General or Commander-in-Chief. This rumour was a sufficient pretence for the Prize Agents commencing operations upon his property. They first sent for his agent at Rangoon, requesting to be informed where it was. They are then said to have accompanied him to the house, to have broken open his doors, and not finding the keys, to have broken open every place by force, with hammers and bayonets, beginning with a bureau. On its being broken open, the first thing which presented itself was a pocket-chronometer. On this, one of the Prize-Agents, seizing it, is said to have exclaimed, "This is the very thing I want;" and deposited the time-keeper snugly in his pocket. Rummaging a little farther, they lighted upon a beautiful gold-faced lady's watch, which another Prize Agent is said to have grasped in like manner, saying, "Here is another watch, the very thing I want also;" and thereupon slipped it into his pocket. In this manner they are said to have proceeded, riding and carrying off whatever was valuable, with Captain Laird's books, papers, letters, &c. At last, they fell upon his iron treasure-chest, which, after several ineffectual attempts, they succeeded in bursting open, and then bore off the prize.

In this manner, a gentleman, who has had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy, owing to the fault of Government itself, in declaring war without previously giving warning to its subjects to withdraw from the possession of this barbarous people, is branded as a villain and traitor to his country; and his property plundered and made away with as lawful spoil of an enemy. All this is done at the mere whim and caprice of malice and rapacity, without the least vestige of proof against him.

After this work of plunder was completed, to the great confusion of the Prize Committee, intelligence was received from Ava, by a person arrived from the capital, that Captain Laird was there in confinement as a prisoner of state, as well as Mr. Gouger, Mr. Judson, and Mr. Bryce, and other gentlemen; who were at Ava at the time of the capture of Rangoon. The Burmese, so far from making him their General, were too suspicious of him to trust him with his liberty.

Towards the Europeans, whom the Bengal Government threw into their hands by its precipitate declaration of war, the Burmese have acted, according to our accounts, in a manner that does them much credit. Compared with the conduct of their invaders, theirs has been humane, honourable, and magnanimous. On the arrival of the Expedition being reported, every European was put in irons, and confined in the Customs House, as the most secure place. The Burmese officers then demanded of each individual to deliver up the keys of his house, cellars, chests, &c. and desired also their respective servants to be in attendance. The natural supposition was, that the object of this step was to plunder them of all their treasures and effects. What must their surprise have been to learn, on the return of their servants, that their keys were restored to them; and that the Burmese, after searching every corner, and inspecting every box or chest in their houses, treasure chests included, had not touched a single article, with the exception of muskets, swords, gunpowder, and such implements of war. They intimated, as an apology for going so far, that they were in want of warlike weapons, and must therefore seize all they could get. They resisted even the temptation of the treasure chests, when their contents were exposed full in their view, with no one, of course, to check them. The European residents, so generously treated by an enemy, felt severely the woful change they experienced from those to whom they naturally looked for protection. The Prize Committee are said to have descended to the meanest artifices to dupe them out of their property; but it was restrained by some of its members, who were actuated by a better feeling, which however did not always prevail.

Mr. Sarkies Manook, one of the oldest Armenian merchants at Rangoon, and one of the first respectability, was dragged from his own dwelling-house one day by a guard of soldiers, without any reason assigned, and made a state prisoner. This must have been done in some vague suspicion to his prejudices; but the authors of this proceeding finding their error, were very glad to get out of it the best way they could. In order to dispose of this grave matter formally, a committee was formed to sit in judgment on the heinous offences for which he had been committed. After being confined for three days, during the two first of which no person was suffered to communicate with him, and being daily summoned before this high Court of Commission, no proofs against him could be discovered to warrant the granting of an order to the Prize Committee for seizing upon all his property, which is said to be very extensive. This rich prize, how-

ever, was not allowed to slip through their fingers without a vigorous effort to catch the old merchant either by craft or intimidation. During the proceedings, one of the Prize Committee Gentlemen had the effrontery to use language of the following description to their ill-used Prisoner: "Take care, Sir, what you say: very little more will bring you to the gallows." After he had undergone all this mortification, threats and abuse, and his wife and children had been kept in the greatest distraction of mind during this mock trial, his judges were unable, with all their scrutiny, to find out any thing to his prejudice, and pronounced him most fully and honourably acquitted of all and every charge brought against him! They were then fain to invite themselves to a grand banquet with the said Sarkies Manook, Esquire, lately treated as a culprit, now the hospitable entertainer of his accusers and judges. Nor was this a slight treat to them at a time when the whole army, both officers and men, were reduced to salt provisions, and live stock hardly procurable even at the most exorbitant prices. The following are given as the average rates: a sheep 3*l.*; ducks and fowls 14*s.* each; geese 1*l.* 10*s.*; a bullock 15*l.*; when procurable. Eggs four for a rupee, or 6*d.* each. Potatoes and onions 2*s.* a pound. On these terms the culprit entertained his hungry judges, who joined *con amore* in a feast, although meant as a demonstration of joy for his lucky escape out of their hands, in which that same morning both his life and property stood in jeopardy.

Another flagrant proof of the shameful disregard of justice, which characterises this expedition was given in the seizure of the Chinese property found at Rangoon. Every good feeling seems to have given way to a rapacious desire for booty. It is said that as long as a man was poor and penniless, he might remain unmolested, even if he were a Burmah; but if he was supposed to possess much property, no place of nativity could ensure his safety. Whether he were born in Turkey, Persia, China, or Bengal, if he were rich, the Prize Committee was determined to consider him a Burmah, and consequently an enemy, liable to confiscation. Hence, all property falling under this description, was to be honoured with the mark of P. P. put upon it, as the initials of the Committee's symbol "Prize Property." On this principle, two Chinese Junks were attacked, which had arrived from Penang, only three days prior to the arrival of the British Expedition at Rangoon, and were then found lying in the river. About ten days after the capture of that place, his Majesty's ship *Larne* manned her boats, and boarded the said two Junks in a most masterly style, driving all the Chinese overboard, and taking possession of the vessels, for behoof of the Prize Committee, to whom they were duly made over, after having been sacked, by the crew of the *Larne*, of every thing they thought worthy of their attention. The whole property was then sold by private auction, for 350 Spanish dollars; although the vessels alone, were worth 25,000 dollars, independent of the property on board of one of them, to the value of at least 10,000 dollars, and of the other, to the extent of 5,000 dollars. In the former vessel, goods to the value of this latter sum had been shipped by Messrs. Balhetches and Co., of Penang, to Messrs. Frill and Gregory, of Rangoon. Besides these, there were two other Chinese Junks in dock, at the time of the capture of the place; but the Prize Committee were undecided in their opinions, how to act in respect to them. However, until they should make up their minds whether or not to seize them, they would not allow them to be

touch by the Chinese owners. Pending this decision, the Junk lay a prey to the fleet, which, requiring fire wood, &c., cut away the masts, rigging, &c.; and gutted the hold of casks, cordage, and every thing moveable; then, lastly, fell upon the planks and timbers, tearing the hulls of the junks to pieces, to be used in repairing boats, or for other purposes.

We shall now record another illustration of the illiberal and rapacious spirit of the invaders. Some time previous to their arrival at Rangoon, a Greek traveller, who is well known, of the name of Peter Aidé, had, in the course of his travels, visited the town of Rangoon, with the view of proceeding to Ava; and thence, if possible, to pursue his route to Siam, through Cochin-China, to Canton. This gentleman is the son of a respectable Greek merchant, of Constantinople, and is said to have also very good connexions in England, where, it is believed, a brother of his resides. At the capture of Rangoon, he was unfortunately still at that place. His new masters permitted him to occupy a vacant house which had been deserted by an opulent Burmese merchant, who had saved himself by flight on the arrival of the English troops. On entering the house in company with the Provost Marshal, and inspecting it, the Greek traveller discovered an enormous iron chest, locked, and so heavy that six men were unable to move it. Information of this was instantly despatched to one of the Prize-Agents, who came down with a party of eight men to convey it away: these being found insufficient, about ten men more were called in, by whose joint efforts the ponderous chest was at last removed to the house of the Prize-Agents. Here it was allowed to remain in their store-room for three successive days; after which, the whole of the Prize-Agents were assembled in full conclave, to inspect the contents of the said massive iron chest. There being no key, it was of course broken open; and it was reported to be full of brickbats. But as there had been a jingling noise heard inside of it, at the time of its removal from the Burmah merchant's house, some officers felt surprise that brickbats only should have been found. After that, a second report was industriously spread, that it contained old nails! This might have passed; but to the great surprise of the army, a late inhabitant of Rangoon, and an acquaintance of the former proprietor of the chest, having returned, stated, that to his knowledge the said treasure-chest of the wealthy Burmah merchant contained the value of about ten thousand rupees, in gold, silver, and jewels. To finish the farce, the unfortunate Greek traveller, Peter Aidé, was ordered to leave the country by the first ship; and, after transportation without trial has put him effectually out of the way; it is not impossible but a third report may affirm that he took with him the contents of the chest in question. The army felt indignant at the treatment of this poor Greek, whose innocence was beyond question.

Notwithstanding all the inducements held out to entrap the Burmese by fine eulogies on British mildness and protection, they kept cautiously aloof, answering only with their matchlocks and their spears. After the season for action had been allowed to pass by, the General of the invading army began to talk confidently of advancing in the middle of the rains against Prome, in the boats and light vessels. But according to the opinion of those on the spot, this would have *then* been impossible, even under a more able leader. Many instances might be adduced, to show that things were conducted in a manner far from creditable—that the resources of the army were idly wasted—the lives of the troops sacrificed

on undertakings of no essential importance, and enterprises undertaken rashly, before the requisite intelligence was procured. By a blundering arrangement in attacking a stockade, both by land and from the river, the two parties were made to fire upon each other, and after four days had been cut off, the attempt failed. Another day, 1200 men were made to perform a harassing march against a pagoda, which, when they reached it, was found to be quite deserted and worthless. Soon after, 1000 were marched out ten miles, to attack a stockade which could not be found at all, and so the poor fellows were kept marching about all day, often knee-deep in water, to no purpose whatever, in a climate where exposure is so pernicious. The natural result of such preposterous proceedings was a rupture between the naval and military commanders, produced, no doubt, by mutual recrimination as to the cause of their failure, which their divisions could only contribute to render, in future, more complete. To the former, however, no blame is attached; but the latter is said to have disgusted, in a similar manner, many valuable officers, by speaking contemptuously of the native troops. It is easily conceivable, yet it is melancholy to observe, the imprudence of an unsuccessful leader sinking himself still deeper by throwing the blame of his failure on all around him, who thus became still more disgusted and detached from his cause.

The impolitic manner in which the natives of the place were treated, was equally hostile to the general success of the expedition. The honour of the British name, reason, and humanity,—all dictate a generous forbearance towards the religion, customs, and even prejudices of the people of an invaded country. Our own interests even teach us to respect them, if we are destitute of any better feeling. But here the thoughtlessness as well as cruelty of barbarians seemed to prevail, rather than the wisdom and mercy of a civilized enemy. Instead of any care being taken to gain the confidence and esteem of the Burmese people, every thing they loved or venerated was wantonly trodden under foot. Their sacred temples were razed and destroyed, for the sake of a few tinsel images; there being from eight to sixteen in each, but so worthless that they would hardly have provoked the cupidity of savages. The peasants were loaded with irons, and compelled to labour like galley-slaves; while their females were ravished and polluted by brutal lust. We should withhold our belief from these shocking details, if we did not find that all the different accounts, when joined together, form one consistent picture of cruelty and folly. It has still darker features, over which decency compels us to throw a veil.

Where there is so much ignorance of every kind displayed, a common knowledge of commercial principles could not be expected. A duty of 20, 50, and even 100 per cent. was imposed on the importation of commodities, at a time when the place was almost in a state of famine, and urgent applications were made to Calcutta, Madras, and Penang, for fresh supplies. Coarse rice was then about eight rupees per bag. As another means of raising money, (which seems to have been a higher concern, as if the Bengal Government had gone to war for the sake of plunder!) a tax of from 5 to 10 and 15 rupees was laid on the shops of the solitary conquered town. At the same time, for the very small quantity of the precious metals used by the Burmese in ornamenting their images, they saw their pagodas, or temples, sacrilegiously violated. The invaders did not spare even the grandest monument of their faith; the great

Dagon or gilt pagoda. This stands on an artificial mound of a square form, and nearly a quarter of a mile each side, raised about 40 yards above the surrounding plain, and above this stupendous base the pagoda itself rises to the height of 40 feet. It was the principal shrine of devotion throughout the Burman empire; and at a certain season of the year, (in the month of March,) a grand festival was celebrated, to which immense multitudes assembled from all quarters, from the borders of Siam, from Cochin-China, and from Ava itself. This drew every year a vast concourse of people to Rangoon, making it the emporium of wealth and commerce. Yet even this sacred shrine has been wantonly violated by the Company's army, for the sake of the few tinsel images which it might contain, in all probability not worth even the curiosity of children. Although experience had proved to them, after sacking many other pagodas, that nothing of value was to be expected, they persisted in their search after hidden wealth, undermining the edifice in every direction, and running the risk of being buried in its ruins. As might have been expected, according to the accounts, nothing of any value had been found. In vain has Mill written his history, exposing the folly of expecting inexhaustible mines of wealth among the people of every Oriental country; nothing less, it seems, will satisfy the craving credulity of avarice but to rip them up, as the Romans treated the Jews at the famous siege of the holy city. The images collected from the sacking of the temples were put up to auction, by orders of the Prize Committee, for behoof of the captors. The body of British officers who witnessed these proceedings cried shame upon them, while those high in authority were coolly packing up the images in the six dozen chests which had contained their wine, and shipping them off for Calcutta to their friends.

The many absurd and extravagant expeditions for attacking stockades seem also to have been conducted more with a view to prize property, than for any permanent or solid advantage to the main object of the war. When a stockade was captured, the first order after garrisoning the place was, for all the boats to be employed in conveying the paddy to Rangoon. On the 11th of August a party of troops was sent expressly for the purpose of bringing away all the bells from Syriam, an idea being entertained that a large quantity of gold existed in the composition of the bell-metal. It being unknown how great the proportion of gold might be, the bells were not sold, but to be sent to Calcutta, that they might be smelted, and the precious metal extracted. Barren as the expedition has been of laurels to the army, and much as the generality of the troops have suffered, the Staff expect to retire on handsome fortunes after the conquest of the country.

We are now enabled to throw some farther light upon the causes of the great dearth of provisions. On the first arrival of the British forces at Rangoon, a few Burmahs came in to surrender themselves, and were employed by Major Sale to go out in search of bullocks for the supply of the army, on condition of being paid 10 or 12 rupees for each they might bring. But when they actually brought bullocks, they were refused payment, on pretence that the people were not entitled to it, unless they could prove that the cattle were their own property. Gentlemen who can, without remorse, ravish whole kingdoms from their rightful possessors have serious scruples of conscience about the ownership of a few

bullocks! But their reason was, that by holding them to belong not to the friendly, but to the hostile Burmese, the cattle would fall under the description of prize property. The consequence was, that no more bullocks were procurable, as no one, after being once cheated, would venture out again, even although the price offered now was 50 rupees per head.

About Rangoon and its vicinity, and on the two main roads leading to the Dagon, or grand gilt pagoda, there is a long chain of pagodas, of different sizes, amounting in all to at least one thousand, all of which have been perforated for the sake of the paltry images they may contain. These are generally composed of wood, clay, &c. covered over with a remarkably thin brittle coating of silver, being in height from three to eight or ten inches, and, as has been said, there are from eight to sixteen in one pagoda. A gentleman, for curiosity, stripped off the whole of the coating of one of the largest sized images, and when carefully collected into one mass and weighed, it was found to amount to the weight of exactly one and a half Madras rupees;—not much more than a halfpenny! For so much dross, the character and honour of the British nation must be sacrificed! and we find it repeated over and over, in every account, that the high staff officers are setting the example. It was pretended that the war was undertaken to chastise the Burmahs, by whom the people of Rangoon are held in subjection. Had their persons and property been respected, and their temples left inviolate, they might have credited the profession. But, after what they have suffered, no other idea prevails, but that the East India Company have made an inroad upon them, for no other purpose but to plunder their country and enslave the whole race. Instead of their confidence in the invaders being increased by longer acquaintance, the few who were at first inclined to confide, were eagerly seeking opportunities of making their escape.

To crown the whole, after every temple had been opened and sacked, official orders were put in circulation, prohibiting all persons from touching, injuring, or molesting, in the slightest degree, the places of worship, or sacred rites and ceremonies of the natives of the country! These orders will, no doubt, be quoted in due time, to prove the vast tolerance shown by the British army to the religious prejudices of the people.

While the army continued so long sickly, in lieu of procuring for it fresh provisions, which was the only remedy, seven vessels of 700 tons and upwards, were employed as hospital ships; in which the invalids were sent to lie at the mouth of the river for the recovery of their health. But after the sick had been there about a month, it was found that the proportion of deaths there was greater than on shore, in the proportion of three to two. Then they were all recalled and the sick re-landed.

From the first arrival of the expedition at Rangoon, not less than fifty sail of vessels continued to be constantly in the river, for four or five months, and at times from seventy to eighty sail. About the end of September, it was stated in one shipping report, that fifteen ships specified were ready to sail whenever required, besides nine others which could be ready on three days' notice; independently of provision ships, store ships, and magazines. This may give an idea of the degree of activity shown in discharging unnecessary transports. The expenditure of treasure for shipping is well known to have been immense.

The dissatisfaction and dependency of the army were greatly increased by perceiving that their sufferings were owing, in the first instance, to the want of supplies, which ought to have been provided; and, secondly, to the general apathy and want of decision and judgment in all their operations. An enormous expense of 45 to 50 lacs of rupees, per mensem, are expended in our expedition against the Burman Empire, which it will be attempted to compel the Government of that country to reimburse, if possible, as the only condition of peace. But how this treasure is to be recovered, it would puzzle all the political economists in the world to say. Since, according to our information, the demand of 50 lacs of rupees, one month's expenditure, from the Burman Monarch, would drive him to distraction before he could devise the means of raising it.

In the beginning of November, the army expected to be attacked by a force of at least 70,000 men. Our forces would of course be very glad if the Burmese should risk a general engagement; as one brilliant effort might recover their reputation, which had suffered so much by their long inactivity, owing to the time so injudiciously chosen for commencing hostilities. Instead of gaining they had rather lost ground, inasmuch as they were latterly obliged to shorten their outposts. Government had likewise, it was thought, been peculiarly unfortunate in their choice (if choice it was) of an instrument. He is a man universally disliked, for many reasons, some of which we have already mentioned. There is one action more to be recorded, so outrageously foolish, that it could hardly be believed of any but a madman. What man in his senses, who recollects the fatal massacre of Vellore, would have had the temerity to flog two Sepoys through the lines, with a piece of pork tied to their necks!!! Yet this was done in 1824, by the wise Chieftain of an Indian Army. This measure was resorted to as a punishment for the loss of two pieces of pork, which were stolen when under charge of these Sepoys. Two pieces, it appears, were found to be short; it might have been an error in reckoning; but, at any rate, it is morally impossible the Sepoys, or any of their tribe, should have stolen them.

SONG.

The setting Sun resplendent still,
Bright-glimmering in the west,
Retires, unfolding o'er yon hill
The glories of its vest.
Though soon its beams of crimson light
Shall leave the summer sky,
A ray more beautiful and bright
Shall shine in Beauty's eye!

From that mild orb of tenderer hue,
Love's holier light shall dart,
To cheer with rapture deep and true
The fond impassioned heart:
And in that calm delightful hour,
Beneath Affection's ray,
Oh! who would miss the gorgeous power
That gilds the course of day!

JAMES JONES.

Park st. Camberwell, April 25, 1825.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TALE OF THE HERMITAGE OF CANDY.

(From Schlegel's *Indische Bibliothek*.)

THE Greek Muses welcome their sisters from the Ganges; they break off the learned harmony of their own lyre, in order, perhaps, to lend a favourable ear to the fugitive notes of the Indian lute.

Permitting a conjecture of the relation subsisting between the Muses of Helicon and those of Mount Meru, and *calling them* by the name of *Sisters*, I fancy I already hear a thousand voices rising in indignation against such an opinion, and stoutly maintaining the impossibility of such a union. For a long time, I confess, I have myself entertained this prejudice; but after the most minute examination, after constant application to this subject, I find myself obliged, notwithstanding the vast distance which separates these nations, to acknowledge the near relationship of their poesy, and that it is nursed in the same cradle; it frequently speaks nearly the same language, uses similar expressions and figures, and seems to be inspired by the same genius. Indeed, no one who has made any progress in the Sanscrit, can avoid perceiving the striking resemblance which this rich language bears to the Greek and Latin. These resemblances appear not only in single words, but also in the innermost structure of the languages themselves; they cannot possibly be the effect of chance, and necessarily lead to the supposition of a common origin of the two nations, or to an ancient and long-continued intercourse, which must have subsisted between them. History, indeed, has not as yet furnished us with sufficient indications to solve this problem; but it cannot be denied, that many other facts veil the twilight of the fabulous and heroic ages, though, hitherto, historical inquiry has not yet succeeded in casting its full light upon them.

The study of the Sanscrit, considered by itself, annihilates almost all etymological systems which have hitherto been erected. This study is absolutely necessary, in order to guide our researches with some degree of certainty in a labyrinth, where we but too frequently meet with chimeras. Let us then pass over to the study of the doctrine of the Indian faith, to their rites of worship, and to their sacred traditions, and still more remarkable comparisons will immediately present themselves to our imagination.

If we enter into the sense of their metaphysical writings, we may fancy we are reading the sublime contemplations of a Plato. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul is not developed with greater acuteness and profundity by this sage and other Grecian philosophers, than it is by the Brahmins in their *Upanishads* and secret sentences of the Vedas, where their subjects are, for the most part, treated in the Socratic manner, and in the form of discourses between a teacher and his disciple.

The doctrine of the unity of God, which is evidently acknowledged by the real sages of paganism, is likewise asserted by the Indian philosophers, who adore the Supreme Being under the name of Brahm. The accusation of Polytheism, with which they have been charged, is to all appearance only founded upon this; viz., that they have personified the attributes of the Deity, under the figures of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva,

in order to represent in a perceptible manner the power of creating, of preserving, and of destroying.

The system of Pythagoras, of which only some fragments have come to us, is presented to us in all its perfections in the writings of the Indian philosophers.

The coincidence, which we recognise on every side, even to the most minute and particular features, is so great, that it appears very probable, that the Grecian sage has drawn his doctrine of the metempsychosis from the ancient writings of the Indians; and this fact alone is, in our opinion, sufficient, at least, to make the reality of his journey to India probable.

We may also ask, with regard to Pyrrho, another philosopher, of whom it has been asserted, that he travelled in India in the suite of Alexander the Great, whether it is not pretty certain that he drew out of his intercourse with the Brahmans, the germ of his celebrated system, which affords the most striking resemblance to another which was most widely extended in India, and in which it was taught, that every thing except the Deity was delusion. It must further be particularly observed, that this sceptic showed throughout the whole of his conduct that perfect indifference and abstinence which marks the outward life of the Indians. Filled up with the idea of the transitoriness and emptiness of all earthly things, he was always pronouncing that sentence of Homer, in which this great poet compares the human race to decayed leaves, which are only sport for the winds; just as the Gymnosophists¹ pleased themselves with the comparison of the shortness of the human life to a dewdrop, which glitters on the trembling leaf of the lotos, and disappears in a moment.

It would be very easy to continue such resemblances, if we were to go through the different branches of human science and art; viz., astronomy, mathematics, music, poetry, as well the epic and dramatic as the lyric, legislation and morals. It might be proved, that in all these branches, the Indians have but little to envy the Greeks. But this labour would require too much time: I prefer, therefore, to cast a glance at some pieces of the Indian mythology, of which the unity with the Grecian fables will be immediately evident.

When Valmiki, the inventor of poesy among this people, leads us in our imagination to the high top of Mount Meru, we fancy that we are drawn by Homer to the height of Olympus, and summoned to attend a council of the gods, whom he, with such charming colours, represents

¹ Gymnosophists, a certain sect of philosophers in India, who, according to some, placed their *summum bonum* in pleasure, and their *summum malum* in pain. They lived naked, as their name implies, and for thirty-seven years they exposed themselves in the open air, to the heat of the sun, the inclemency of the seasons, and the coldness of the night. They were often seen in the fields fixing their eyes full upon the disc of the sun, from the time of its rising till the hour of its setting. Sometimes they stood whole days upon one foot in burning sand without moving, or showing any concern for what surrounded them. Alexander was astonished at the sight of a sect of men who seemed to despise bodily pain, and who inured themselves to suffer the greatest tortures without uttering a groan, or expressing any marks of fear. The conqueror condescended to visit them, and his astonishment was increased, when he saw one of them ascend a burning pile with firmness and unconcern, to avoid the infirmities of old age, and stand upright on one leg and unmoved, whilst the flames surrounded him on every side. The Brahmans were a branch of the sect of the Gymnosophists. See *Lempriere's Class. Dict.*

to us as being nourished by the celestial ambrosia, just as the Indian gods take the amrita, or liquor of immortality; and when only one god is here behold Jove armed with his lightning, this formidable meteor, in like manner, flashes from the right hand of Indras. The immense blue vesture, studded with eyes, which covers him, in the rainbow, upon which he leans, cause us immediately to recognize in him the personified firmament.

Venus, the mother of the Graces, also finds her rival in Lakshmi, the goddess of beauty, who, which is the most surprising, is said to have sprung from the foam of the sea.

Apollo likewise presents us with a great many resemblances to Krishna; and it might perhaps not be impossible to find many also between the Muses and yonder shepherdesses, who incessantly accompany their favourite god, who is the most beautiful of all the immortals.

And with regard to the Grecian Bacchus, it would be difficult not to acknowledge his uniformity with that of India, born upon Mount Meru. This last mentioned circumstance caused the Grecian mythologists to feign the fable of his birth out of the loins of Jupiter, hinting at the consonance of the words Meru and *merpe*, as it is generally known.

Kama, likewise, the brother of the Grecian god of love, is just as playful and wanton, just as graceful as the latter; under what charming allegories is he represented to us by the Indian poets! He is a lovely child, having for his inseparable companions the spring and the zephyr; his arms are a bow, formed out of the sugar-cane, and a quiver in which are five arrows, (according to the number of the five senses,) which are sharp and dipped in the juice of burning plants, and with which he unsparingly supplies himself, in order to penetrate the heart with the most painful passion; arms, as effective as the lightning, and for which, in ancient times, a poor hermit had been the mark, as the poet Vyasa informs us.

But previous to laying this tale before the reader, I may be allowed to claim his attention to some particular circumstances concerning the Indras; and which it will be necessary for him to know, in order that he may the better catch the spirit of this little fiction.

I have extracted them from the Brahma Purana, a work which, according to the opinion of the most learned judge of the Indian literature, might have been composed in an age equally ancient with the Homeric songs.

Though Indras in many respects occupies the same place as the Grecian Jupiter, he, however, distinguishes himself from the Father of the Gods, inasmuch as his throne does not rest upon such a firm foundation. When Jove was once in danger of being dethroned by the Titans, he succeeded in banishing them into Tartarus; and having thereby put an end to their rash attempts, he afterwards governed in perfect security. But this is not the case with Indras, who sees he may lose his power as chief of the deities, his subjects, and find himself obliged by the unchangeable Brahma, or destiny, to transfer his throne to any penitent, who, by the abundance of his pious self-torments, should surpass the meritorious works which he himself had previously performed.

Therefore, amidst the rapturous enjoyments, which, from all sides, present themselves to him in his celestial abode, this god is not without uneasiness, which cannot entirely be removed by the angelic harmony of the Gandharves, nor the beautiful dances of the engaging Apsarasen.

His searching looks like those of the eagle, also wander from time to time upon the earth, but rest particularly upon the dark forests, under whose shade the men-fearing Anachorets are wont to bury themselves. As soon as he perceives one, whose severe expiations give him cause to be alarmed, in consequence of the almost-attained accomplishment of perfect holiness, he immediately despatches to him the most charming nymph of his court, and charges her to use her utmost exertions to seduce the virtuous hermit. When the latter is overcome by the temptation, he is obliged to begin anew his long penitence, and during this time, Indras can remain in the undisturbed enjoyment of the sweets of tranquillity.

Such means, this Prince of the Gods employed, about three thousand years ago, in order to annul the repentance of the hermit Candu on the shores of the river Gomati.

THE HERMITAGE OF CANDU.

(From the Sanscrit.)

On the sacred shores of the river Gomati, in a solitary wood, of which the soil produced in abundance, shrubs, plants, and fruits of every description, where only the harmonious songs of the feathered choir, and the light tread of the deer and antelope were heard, stood, far removed from the bustle of men, the peaceable hermitage of Candu.

In this delightful abode, the holy man incessantly devoted himself to the most severe exercises of penitence. Fastings, ablutions, prayers, and innumerable deprivations, and the most painful duties appeared to him much too sweet. When the scorching heat of summer burnt the plains, he kindled around himself four fires, and, moreover, invited the sun to cast his beams upon the bare crown of his head; during the rainy season, he laid himself down upon the wet ground; and in the middle of winter, he wrapped wet clothes about his limbs, which were already stiff with cold.

The Devas, the Gandharvas, and the other Deities in subjection to Indras, who were witnesses of these dreadful expiations, sufficient to obtain for him the dominion of the three worlds, were struck with admiration.

"What amazing perseverance!" "What resolution!" cried they again and again.

But their amazement soon passed over into more serious anxiety: they wished to deprive him of the reward of his long repentance. Full of consternation, they repaired to their Lord and supplicated his assistance, in order that they might accomplish their intention.

The God of the firmament granted their petition, and addressing himself to the Nymph Pramnoch, who excelled all her sisters by her youth, her beauty, her figure, and by her ivory teeth, and the lovely swelling of her bosom,

"Go, Pramnoch," said he, "go with the swiftness of the lightning, into the wilderness where Candu has taken up his abode. O, thou fairest! omit nothing by which thou mayest interrupt his expiations, and seduce his mind."

"Most potent Prince of the Gods," replied the Nymph, "I am ready to obey thy mandates, but I tremble for my life: I avoid the holy her-

mit and his severe look, whose countenance shines like the sun in the firmament. What dreadful curses will he in his rage utter against me, if he should guess the cause of my coming to him? Why do you not rather select my sisters, Urvasi, Menaka, Rambha, Mitrakshi, or the other Nymphs of your court, and who are so proud of their charms, for the execution of this dangerous enterprise?"

"No!" replied the divine consort of Sachi: "those Nymphs must abide with me. In thee, Celestial Beauty, in thee have I placed my hopes, but I will give thee, for thine assistance, the Gbd of Love, the Spring and the Zephyr." Encouraged by these flattering words, the Nymph with the lovely look set out immediately, and with her three companions soared through the aerial regions, and they together descended in the wilderness near the hermitage of Candu.

They wandered about for some time in the spacious shady walks, which seemed to represent to them the eternal green of Indras's enchanted garden. The earth richly adorned smiled around them, and presented them with flowers and fruit; and the most melodious songs greeted their entrance. But their eyes fastened upon a beautiful spot, where they beheld lemon-trees sport with their golden fruit, or the lofty palm-trees unfold their crowns; bananas, granate-trees, and broad foliaged fig-trees lent them by turns their shadow and their freshness.

The feathered choir, whose plumage was as varied as their notes and melodious songs, perched themselves in groups upon the slender branches, and pleased at the same time both the eye and the ear.

Here and there might be seen brooks clear as crystal, and upon their calm surface arose small silver seas, where the purple and azure chalice of flowers of the St. Lotos, and the milk-white swans, gracefully paired, drew gentle furrows; whilst the merry water-fowls, invited by the shade and coolness of the place, dived into the stream, or sportively played upon the brink.

Prannooha could not sufficiently admire this enchanting spectacle; she, however, reminded her companions, the Zephyr, the Spring, and the God of Love, of the purpose of their journey, and desired them to act in concert with her. She herself held in readiness all the weapons of beauty, together with all the arts of delusion.

"Ah!" exclaimed she, "we shall then see him, the intrepid ruler of Brahma's chariot, who boasts that he can bring into subjection the fiery horse of the senses! O, how I fear for him, lest this surprisal shall cause the reins to slip from his hand! Even if he were Brahma, Vishnu, the inexorable Siva himself, his heart should this day experience what power the arrows of Love possess."

With these words she approached the hermitage, where, by the power of the holy recluse, the most furious beasts of prey were obliged to lay aside their fierceness. Along the banks of the river she joins her enchanting voice to the song of Kokitas, and presents to the ear hymns of praise and applause.

At the same moment, the Spring poured forth new charms over the whole of nature; Kokitas filled with more ardent desire, whistled more vigorously to the sweet tones of the flute: an unutterable harmony plunged the soul into the most voluptuous languor.

The Zephyr, loaded with all the fragrance of his native shore, the Malaya-hills, gently fanned the air, and everywhere sowed the earth

with the most odoriferous blossoms; the God of Love, armed with his burning arrows, started towards Candu, and confounded his inmost soul with involuntary emotion.

Transported with the melodious song, already intoxicated with desire, and scarcely conscious of himself, he hastened to the spot from which the notes came: he discovers the fair, and stands lost in surprise at the sight of those charms which the Nymph unfolds to his view.

"Who are you, Celestial Being; from whom do you boast your descent?" he exclaims: "you, whose slender shape, whose gently drawn eye-brows, whose enchanting smile, deprive me of all dominion over my senses? I conjure you, tell me the truth."

"You see in me," replied Pramnocha, "the most humble of servants, who was only busied in breaking these flowers. My Lord, let me know your commands. Say, what can I do to please you?"

At these rapturous words, all Candu's firmness vanished; he seized the hand of the young Nymph, and conducted her into his wood-hut.

The God of Love, the Spring, and Zephyr, now perceived that there was no further occasion for their efforts. They, therefore, ascended to the aerial regions, and related to the overjoyed Gods the success of their artful undertaking.

By the miraculous power, which his expiations had acquired for him, Candu, in the mean time, instantly transformed himself into a youth of celestial beauty. Heavenly garments, garlands like those with which the Gods adorn themselves, heightened still more the gracefulness of his figure; and the Nymph, who only thought of ensnaring him, found that she herself was also entangled in like manner.

Fasting, prayers, sacrifices, inward devotion, and all pious duties were discontinued, and entirely forgotten. Engaged day and night by his passion alone, the poor hermit did not think of his disturbed bosom, and in the abundance of the pleasures of his love, the days flew imperceptibly away.

Some months had already expired in still increasing delight, when Pramnocha expressed to him her desire to return to her heavenly abode; but Candu, fettered to her more than ever, conjured her to stay. The Nymph consented, but after some time had elapsed, she again announced to him her intention. The hermit again does his utmost to dissuade her; Pramnocha, for fear of bringing down upon her head a dreadful malediction, prolongs her abode a second time. His love ever continued on the increase, and he now no longer left her for a single moment.

One evening, when he was seated at her side, she was surprised to see him suddenly rise and turn his steps to a sacred grove. "Whither are you going," she cried after him; "what disturbs you?" "Do not you see," replied Candu, "that the day is at its close? I hasten to perform my evening sacrifice; my pious exercises must not suffer the least interruption."

"Wherefore, O wise man! wherefore do you prefer this day to a hundred others? If this should pass unobserved, like the rest, which have flown away from us so many months since, who would notice it, or who would be offended at it?"

"How?" said the Anchorite, "was it not this morning, O amiable woman, that I perceived you on the banks of the river, and received you

into my hermitage? Has not Aurora, now, for the first time been witness of your presence in this calm abode. Tell me, what means then this speech, and the scornful smiles which wavers upon your lips?"

"And how should I not," answered she, "smile at your error, the seasons having nearly finished their circuitous course since the morning of that day of which you speak?"

"How! is that true then which you relate to me, O too seductive Nymph! or only a jest? Yet I still fancy that I lived only one day by your side."

"How can you entertain such a suspicion, that I should dare to belie a venerable Brahman, a holy hermit, who has vowed never to deviate from the path of wisdom, even for one step?"

"O woe! woe is me!" cried the unfortunate Brahman, before whose eyes the delusion at length vanished, "O for ever lost fruit of my long penitence! All those meritorious works, all those actions prescribed in the sacred books, are annulled through the seduction of a woman! Flee, flee, far from me, O perfidious Nymph! Thy mission is accomplished."

C. S.

BREVET COMMISSIONS—KING'S AND COMPANY'S OFFICERS
IN INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Madras, Oct. 1824.

By the orders of the Court of Directors of the 14th of April last, the Company's Officers are put on a footing with the King's, respecting their Brevet Commissions, which they are not to receive until they have served fifteen years from the date of their first commissions—an arrangement so totally at variance with every principle of justice, that I think the subject only requires to be brought to the notice of the Court, under its proper bearings, to be corrected. A Cadet enters the Company's service at a much greater expense in his voyage and equipment than a King's Officer; independent of which, he is bound in a penalty to remain five years in the service, although he should find, on his arrival in India, that he has a prospect of continuing some years as a Cadet; and in this situation, and on Cadet's pay, he is called upon and obliged to do the whole of the duties of a Subaltern, yet deprived of the benefits accruing from his service. As this is a true statement of the case, I would put it to any man of common understanding to say whether it is just.

A King's Officer comes to this country to serve for a limited period, for which he receives the advantage of superior pay; and should the climate prove injurious to his constitution, or his affairs at home require his presence, he can always, by an exchange, revisit his native land. We are tied down for life, for the pension is only available to the few who are fortunate enough to obtain staff appointments of emolument; eighteen out of twenty of us leave our bones in this destructive climate, long ere the common course of nature is run, and we have no increase of pay, as in the King's, for length of service; we have no pensions for our

widows (except by our own subscriptions and the trifling addition by the Company) as in the King's; and while our masters are prohibited from granting the rank to which we may be entitled, and which long service only can obtain, (because forsooth, we might supersede the King's Officers, who can rise in their profession by purchase, and who can obtain superior rank by the pleasure of his Majesty,) our Officers are superseded by some in the King's service, who were not born when ours commenced their military career. I have stated nothing that is not absolutely true; and if such a state of things does not call for revision and melioration, it must be supposed that we are insensible to every species of hardship and degradation. Our masters are setting a seal upon every thing in the shape of zeal or exertion in their military servants, and at a time when it will be most wanted.

MILES.

SUGGESTIONS OF A SUBSCRIBER.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I think it would gratify your readers, and give *eclat* to your forthcoming enlarged series of the *Herald*, if you would indulge us with a lithographic copy of the Map of the Burman Empire, stated to be in your possession, as compiled by Colonel Blacker, Surveyor-General of India.

No apology could have been necessary to your Subscribers in general, for your late Supplements. It was of great importance that those Debates should have been so fully and ably reported. They will go down to posterity as a baleful record of gross injustice, prejudice, ignorance, and heartless ingratitude.

In your Report of the close of the never-to-be-forgotten six days' Debate (I thought there had been only five) at the India House, a very remarkable fact seems to me to be omitted, namely, what I firmly believe the Chairman did express, whilst, after stating that he should waive his privilege of reply, he adverted to the observations of the Member for Coventry (Mr. P. Moore), that if the amendment was not adopted, our *dividends* would be endangered, or in jeopardy; and gave effect to this assertion, by affording to it the concurrence and influence of his dictatorial Chair. This, if the fact, as I am strongly impressed was the case, having been in Court at the time, affords ample scope, I think, for a few of your able observations in regard to the unwarrantable proceedings in that assembly.

In the same view, might it not be asked, why, on such occasions, should the Chairman of the Court of Directors be perpetual Dictator? or, in other words, why Chairman of Special Courts of Proprietors? Why should not they, like other popular assemblies, elect their own Chairman for the occasion? This, I think, you might, by the aid of your forcible arguments, be able to bring about.

Another point, in reference to the late ballot, seems to call for comment. Was it consistent with honour, or feeling, or justice, that the Members of the Court of Directors, having made themselves principal

parties in the question, should have voted at the ballot, in their own name?

The manner in which the Chairman thrust in the amendment on the first day's meeting, to consider the Hyderabad Papers, before any discussion or debate was allowed on the plain unsophisticated motion before the Court; his declaring Mr. Weeding, among others, to be in order, when he departed entirely from the abstract proposition, and asserted that Lord Hastings was not entitled to, or did not deserve, another review from the Company; and then, again, the ground taken for supporting that amendment, namely, that in pronouncing Lord Hastings's character and integrity to be in no degree affected by the Hyderabad transactions, the dividends of the East India Company would be endangered,—misrule would be encouraged in India; that in pronouncing Lord Hastings innocent, censure would be implied on the Court of Directors, that is, if their despatches were not confirmed or approved. But why and for what purpose were those despatches—unasked for—thrust down the throats of the Court of Proprietors, when the simple motion before the Court (which was not, be it observed, previously disposed of) made no reference to these despatches, nor to any other topic or party whatsoever, save that of clearing the way, or otherwise, for resuming the question of March 1823, as to any further grant to Lord Hastings, by coming to a decision in the first instance, whether, as rumour had insinuated, there was any thing in the Hyderabad transactions which could justify the imputation of corrupt, collusive, or unworthy motives or conduct to the noble Marquis.

Pardon, Sir, these hasty observations, which I submit to your better judgment and arrangement.

I remain an admirer of your manly conduct,

April 2, 1826.

A SUBSCRIBER.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We should have been glad to comply with the wish expressed by our Correspondent respecting the Map of the Burman Empire; but its vast size is a sufficient objection to an exact copy, and when reduced into a form suited for an octavo volume, it could only include the outlines and principal points which are already accessible in the ordinary maps of the country. The minute details which render the original particularly valuable, could not, by any possibility, be transferred to a reduced copy.

We are happy to learn that the feeling expressed by this Subscriber, as to the issuing the Supplements to the two last Numbers, is very generally, if not universally, entertained; and by all these, the augmentation in the regular size and price is considered as indispensable.

We concur entirely in the remarks on the absurdity of seeing a Chairman of the Court of Directors sit as perpetual Dictator; and have already expressed an opinion, which we take occasion to repeat, namely, that the Directors should mingle indiscriminately with the Proprietors at large in all Courts of Proprietors; and that the general voice should choose a separate Chairman for every separate occasion.

As to the conduct of the Directors towards Lord Hastings, there seems to be now but one opinion “out of doors,” as the phrase is, of uniform persons unconnected with the Court and its patronage, and forming the great mass of the English public; though some of the public Papers have lent themselves, for good and sufficient reasons, no doubt, to the propagation of a contrary impression.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA, AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

THE last arrivals from India have put us in possession of intelligence of an important character regarding the state of affairs in the East. The public despatches paint them in glowing colours; but while all expression of public opinion continues to be prohibited in that quarter of the world, those who wish to have a correct idea of things as they are, must view them more closely through the medium of private communications. We shall, therefore, begin by laying before our readers the substance of private letters which have been received in town. In order to take up the subjects in the order of their occurrence, we advert first to the further development now made of the real character of the melancholy transaction at Barrackpore, of which the fullest details yet before the British public appeared in our last Number. In conclusion, it was stated, that after having barbarously massacred so many hundred men, the Government then thought proper to direct an investigation to be made into the cause of their discontents. We now learn that the proceedings of the Committee of Inquiry have arrived; and that from them it appears the conduct of the Sepoys was much less criminal than had been suspected; and that most unfortunately there had been a great misunderstanding on the subject! Thus it will ever be while this abominable system continues of banishing, shooting and destroying men without any form of trial or inquiry.

When men at last open their eyes, and see that the mischief is irre-mediabile, then they call it unfortunate. If the unhappy victims are not already despatched beyond the sphere of redress, still they are denied it; because the deed has been done, and its authors, having powerful friends, must be defended. If the East India Company persist in suppressing the voice of truth throughout their dominions, destruction may in like manner one day withdraw the veil from their now clouded vision, when their fate too is sealed past hope of remedy.

The private accounts from Calcutta contain fresh instances of the cruel exercise of the infamous power of "Summary Transportation without Trial" against British subjects. Two brothers of the name of Betts, Indigo-Planters, are mentioned as being its victims; one of whom, although he has a wife and family to provide for, is mercilessly turned out of his house and home by Government, compelled to sell off his Factories, and leave the place, because some of his neighbours thought proper to quarrel with him. The Factories are supposed to be worth £35,000 to the proprietor; but from his forcible removal, an income of thousands a year will be destroyed by one sweep of Mr. Secretary Bayley's pen. The magnanimous Rulers of India are bold and daring enough when trampling upon innocent and helpless individuals, their own servants, editors, planters, or others, who, being completely in their power, they can bully and abuse with safety; but they feel very differently when they have to deal with an enemy; their blustering courage beginning then very soon to cool, and ooze out at their finger ends. The alarm they were under from the Burmese, (whom only

the folly of their enemies rendered formidable, is almost beyond belief. After the defeat of Captain Noton's detachment, the Bengal Government did not think itself safe in its capital from these terrible foes. Something like a Council of War was called, which sat for several successive days, meditating on the means of putting Calcutta in a posture of defence, on the Sunderbund side, against the Burmese fleets!!! For this purpose, the whole of the resources of the country were put under the control of the Commander-in-Chief, and the Marine Department under his immediate direction. To save time, the Minister of War, Mr. Secretary Swinton, took up his position at the Marine Board Office, where all the heads of operative departments, military and marine, were convened for the speedy defence of Calcutta. The deliberative assembly sat in one room, and the operatives in another, with mutual communication as required. The Secretary at War's intense alarm was obvious to every observer, and was perhaps only exceeded by that of the Natives, who believed the Burmese to be such desperate magicians, that a bayonet would not pierce, nor a musket ball injure them!

The great object of Government from that time seemed to be, to get ready an armed flotilla able to cope with the Burmese war-boats, which were supposed to be very formidable. Unfortunately, hundreds of boats, fit for the purpose, could not be procured of a sudden. The Commissariat could not in a fortnight get more than a dozen of any kind of boats to purchase. They were chiefly the property of merchants at Dacca, and other pleasure boats plying for hire, but not intended for sale. With all this breathless haste, the fleet of gun-boats was not completed till near the beginning of November, when it at last set forward under the command of Commodore Hayes. Nothing farther has been heard of it, although the intelligence from the Presidency extends more than two months later.

It was confidently believed in October, that Sir E. Paget would set out in the end of November with a full suite of staff to join the grand army, which was to assemble at Chittagong. The troops there, however, a month later than this, were still waiting for orders. Well-informed persons all confessed, that the difficulties of the invaded country were great, and that the expenditure of treasure threatened to be enormous; but they had no opinion at all of the enemy, which fear and folly had magnified into something so tremendous. It was more and more apparent to every observer, that the Rangoon expedition had hitherto been completely thrown away, and might as well have been sent to Japan. In fact, while lying there for so many months, nothing of importance had been achieved until the return of the fair season, when it should just have arrived and commenced operations. The opinion of Lord Amherst's total imbecility had increased, was increasing, and by general consent ought to increase. Even the rod of iron with which he rules the press could not prevent it from uttering, *par hazard*, some evidence to this effect. Among the "Wishing Caps" of a contemporary journal, republished in India, an anecdote of this great man crept out by the merest accident. It would appear that the editor being probably sick at the time, and the printer not discovering that Lord A., of whom the story was told, meant the identical Lord Amherst: it was related how Lord A. reviewed a corps of volunteers, and how, when the gates opened, and the drums and fifes and band struck up, his lordship introduced himself by tumbling

head foremost over his horse's neck, and so performed the *low tou* to the band master. He was then mounted on a white horse, and it appears still exhibits the same equestrian aspect in Calcutta, where the anecdote was related as an exquisite *morceau*. We have not yet heard what dreadful punishment may have been devised for the editor, who, innocently enough, he doubt allowed this treason to find its way into his paper, or for the printer for not perceiving that Lord A. meant Lord Amherst. But probably the opinions offered in Parliament on the Indian press have secured its conductors now some little degree of mercy.

We insert the following detailed statement of the reported assassination of the King of Ava, as it was given in the Calcutta Government Gazette of the 2d of December. We noticed the rumour in our last Number, without attaching any credit to it; and continue of the same opinion, as it is not confirmed in the latest despatches. The earnest manner, however, in which so improbable a story as this was sanctioned by the organ of the Indian Government, proves how eager it was to catch at any straw that promised to extricate it from the sea of troubles into which it had plunged. The Calcutta Government Gazette says:

The following detailed narrative of the assassination of the King of Ava was communicated to the British Authorities at Rangoon on the 6th of November, and comes from a quarter from whence correct intelligence has been before very frequently procured. The deposition having been taken down in bad English, the necessary verbal and orthographical corrections only have been made.

The deposition of MAOON MAOON, one of the Inhabitants of Rangoon, who came in from the village of Kezoo.

I resided in the house of the Chief of the village, with my family; his bed-room was separated from mine only by a partition of bamboos. About eight o'clock at night, I heard the Chief whom the Burmans call *Saghey*, conversing with two strange persons in his bed-room, regarding news which had arrived from the upper country. Curiosity induced me to look through a hole, when I saw the Chief marking down in a book what they were telling him. The conversation ran as follows:

His Majesty was very much displeased with the late Governor of Rangoon's conduct. On his arrival at the Court of Ava, he was ill-treated and punished, and the King blamed the Queen. This personage was married to a female cousin of the Queen, and had been appointed through her influence. It had always been the Queen's policy to get all the provinces under the management of her brother; and to appoint their own people and relations to the local governments.

When the town of Rangoon was taken by the British forces, and so many vessels came, an express was sent up by the Raywoon of Rangoon. The Ministers were alarmed, and did not dare to represent the matter, and read the despatches before the King.

After the expiration of a few days, Cheyah Munga, one of the Ministers, determined, at all events, to speak out, and took the despatches in one morning to a great audience, and made a Secretary read them aloud, which created general consternation among all the people who were assembled. The King, himself, lost his speech, and sat stupified for half an hour; then, without saying any thing, rose from his seat, and went in and lay down upon his couch very uneasy. The Queen came to comfort him, but he would not speak to her, and began to discover his mistakes. For three days he never spoke to any one, nor asked a question concerning Rangoon being taken by the British forces, and grew very cool towards the Queen, which alarmed her much.

His Majesty came out on the fourth morning into the general assembly, and ordered the young Prince, heir apparent to the crown, Chuklamen, to attend. The Prince obeyed the summons, instantly came to the Palace, and took his seat. His Majesty asked him if he knew of the capture of Rangoon by the British

forces, and the occurrences in Henzawaddy (Pegu). ~~He answered in the negative.~~ After some conversation had passed, the youth opened his mind, by telling his Majesty he was not at all surprised at what had happened, for the dread of the day never comes by the crow of the hen, but by that of the cock. ~~He then said~~ The King was much ashamed at this hint before all the Assembly, and said not a word in reply. The Prince then took his leave, and retired.

The King was much employed at all times with Astrologers, who found his time to reign prosperously was only three years; and if he lived longer, and retained the management of affairs, his Government would be unsuccessful; so he sent for his son, and made him a nominal King, and appointed Moun-Shoe-Za to be Regent during his minority. Every order was issued in the name of the new King, to avert the calamity and misery which were predicted to be impending over the kingdom.

The Queen was not well pleased with this change in the Government; the King's behaviour towards her, also, was not the same as before, and knowing that she had many enemies, and being suspicious of approaching danger, she consulted privately with her brother, regarding their predicament, and took great care always to keep near the King. She contrived afterwards, by bribes and fair promises, to gain over to her side some of the King's attendants and most confidential men, and to surround the King's person with her own people and relations. The young Prince, being aware of the Queen's intentions, went at various times to the Palace, to inform his father of the danger with which he was menaced by the intriguing Queen and her brother, but had never an opportunity to disclose his apprehensions, as the Queen was always close to him. At last, by the advice of Moun-Shoe-Za, he feigned sickness, and his Majesty came to see his son, and give him medical advice; but as the Queen came with him, he did not gain his object. A few days after they watched an opportunity when the Queen was asleep, and again went and told his Majesty that the Prince was ill; upon which the King proceeded in a hurry to his dwelling, quite unattended, when the Prince took advantage of the opportunity to make known his fears, and unfold all the intrigues of the Queen and her brother. The King laughed at the story, and desired his son not to entertain any anxiety, as he was wrongly informed, and nothing of the kind would happen. All his endeavours, therefore, failed to convince the King that the Queen and her brother were plotting against his life and crown. A few days afterwards, at three P.M., a great uproar arose in the Palace, as it was known that the King had been massacred. Moun-Shoe-Za immediately ran to the heir apparent's palace, to consult what should be done for their safety. During this time 20 armed men came to call him in the King's name. He refused to go, suspecting some treachery, and gathered his own people around himself and the Prince; the number they collected amounted to about seventy brave and resolute followers of the best families. At the head of these, Moun-Shoe-Za marched to the Palace, where a most terrible contest, with much bloodshed, ensued. Every moment the Royal party increased. At length the rebels were all killed or dispersed: missing the Queen's brother, they searched for him and found him under a bed, when they dragged him out and cut him into several pieces.

Then the Queen herself, with all her family, without exception, were massacred: after the tumult had subsided, the oath of allegiance was given to every one. The armies on the frontiers hearing of this sad catastrophe, and afraid for their own safety, retreated with hasty march.

On their arrival near Amarapura, Maha Bundoola was brought as prisoner, and taken before the young King. He was then made to drink the water of allegiance, and to swear before the Image of Godama (which is always kept and worshipped in the Palace) that he would be faithful and exert himself to the utmost of his power to support the Royal interest; upon which he was appointed Generalissimo of the Southern army opposed to the British forces at Rangoon, and his title changed from Maha Bundoola, to that of Saghia Menghy. He was afterwards despatched in a great hurry, with absolute orders to get recruits and raise as many people as he could for soldiers, from Kiwotadun down as far as Meigui, for which purpose he departed from Ava. After this the Court changed their mind and opened their eyes; and knowing that they have stronger force to encounter, and nearer to the capital, they ordered Saghia Menghy to encamp about Sham-be-gheun, to prevent the progress of the Northern British army into their territories, and in his place they appointed Maoughidye, who was formerly

Mitchin Wynn, ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~the~~ ^{the} Governor-General of all the cities on the banks of the Irrawaddy river; and in the time of Adinderejee, the great-grandfather of the present monarch, was Governor of Arracan, a well made man of six feet two inches, or thereabouts, and gave him the title of Maha Bundoola, which they pretend to be the terror of the English, with the command of the Southern Army.

Prince Sarawaddy has been superseded. He was twice recalled, but refused to obey, for reasons only known to himself. The newly created Maha Bundoola has sent three thousand men to Syam, with orders to defend that place from the excursions of the British force, which have already arrived at the place of their destination.

Prince Sarawaddy, it is said, had refused to resign the command of the army; and the new Maha Bundoola finds himself in a bad predicament, as he cannot collect recruits, according to the orders of the Court and his own wishes, and is also afraid to come down, and take the command out of the hands of Sarawaddy Meng.

The next thing we learn from the public despatches is, that Prince Sarawaddy, here supposed by the Government Gazette of the 2d of December to be in a state of revolt or mutiny against the Maha Bundoola, was on that very day co-operating with this chief in a grand attack upon the British camp! This is another specimen of the accurate information possessed by the Bengal Government of the situation of its enemies. This intelligence, said to be conveyed to it through a hole in the wall by its accredited informer, was in all probability furnished by the Commander at Rangoon; and almost equals the report he gives in his despatch of the 10th of December, that the enemy was annihilated, and unable to face him "for a length of time;" yet he encountered 25,000 of them in arms, only five days after.

The following is an extract of a despatch from the Governor-General in Council, dated December 7:—

We have received reports from the north-eastern frontier of various successes gained by our troops in Assam, over the Burmese governor, and the small remnant of his army. The enemy in that quarter are obviously in a state of the greatest alarm, and anxiously endeavouring to effect their escape through the passes into Munnipore. The Burman troops in Munnipore are said to have received orders to retire rapidly upon the capital; and reports from that quarter state, that the interior of the Burman empire is in a very agitated and disturbed condition, in consequence of the Siamese having invaded it in great force.

In the stockade of Namgong, abandoned by the Rajah of Assam, the following articles were found. Twenty iron guns; a number of boxes of gunpowder; a manufactory for which had been established, and the materials captured were of excellent quality for the purpose; three war boats, a state boat, and some small ones.

By a despatch from Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin, of the 41st Regt. dated Marabau, Nov. 2, we learn the capture of that place, and its dependencies. By the details, it appears, that after some delay, the force under the command of the above officer, arrived off the place, on the 29th of October, and a cannonade was kept up by both sides during the whole of that night, by which great execution was done among the enemy; and on the following day the attack was made, in which, after some opposition, the British force was completely successful, with a loss of seven killed, and fourteen wounded. The force of the enemy was estimated at three to four thousand men, and a very considerable quantity of ammunition and artillery fell into the hands of the victors.

The economical system adopted by the new Governor-General appears, by all the letters we have seen, to have excited general disgust throughout India. Other than this can scarcely be expected, when to his impolitic economy is added a total absence of all the energy and foresight, by which alone so important a war as that now existing can be brought to a favourable issue. This will be apparent enough, when it is stated, that at the date of some of the latest advices, there was not at Fort William a single gun-carriage, bullet, or cartridge, fitted for a gun of under 12lb. calibre, and that these stores had been sent from Madras to Calcutta, and even the arsenal of Allahabad had been cleared of its military stores to supply the deficiency at Fort William.

A letter dated Calcutta, Dec. 10, mentions the refractory spirit which had appeared among some of the petty States of the interior, and which had caused so much alarm at Mirzapore, that business had been nearly at a stand. The alarm at the above date had, however, nearly subsided.

Strong reinforcements are stated to be moving from all parts of India to Rangoon and Chittagong, and the troops, it was expected, would leave those points in January.

The Chiefs of Tavoy and Mergui had arrived at Calcutta, as prisoners of war.

The barbarous system of warfare adopted by the Burmese has been displayed in the discovery of the remains of an European sailor, supposed to be the gunner of the *General Wood*. It appeared that the unfortunate man had been first tortured by pulling off particles of his flesh, and piercing him in parts not mortal, and then sawing him in two.

The reports received at Calcutta from Penang and the Eastward, represented the Siamese to be in arms, and ready to commence hostilities against the Burman dominions as soon as the weather would permit.

The most important intelligence which has reached England since our last, has been brought in despatches from Bengal, dated in January, of which Lieut.-Col. Pennington of the Company's Artillery, was the bearer. These bring up the advices from Rangoon to the 16th or 17th of December. They are of extreme length, and not of corresponding interest; so that we shall best consult the reader's pleasure by giving a faithful abstract of their contents:—

It appears that the Burmese forces made at last the desperate effort, which had been long expected, to hem in and cut off the British army at Rangoon. Their mode of attack seems to have been very similar to that practised at Ramoo; advancing in great bodies, and strongly entrenching themselves at every step, till they were close upon our lines. The besieged party defended themselves with all the bravery we should expect of British soldiers, and of men who have no choice left but victory or destruction; at the same time with all the success of men well equipped and disciplined against rude half-armed barbarians. Consequently, our troops not only escaped their fury, but completely repulsed the assailants, as shown in the following detail:—

As the enemy's approach on the 1st of December had been known on the preceding day, preparations had been made to receive him, although the absence of two expeditions against Martaban and Pegue had much weakened the lines. On the morning of the 1st, the enemy commenced hostilities by an attack on the post of Kemmendine, where Major Yates,

with some of the Madras European and Native force, was stationed. As the day opened, large masses of the enemy were seen issuing from the jungle in front, and moving at some distance upon the flanks, for the purpose of surrounding our forces, which was permitted them without interruption. The right corps of the Burmese army had crossed to the Dalla side of the Rangoon river, and had taken post in a jungle near the ruins of the village, from which they opened a fire upon the shipping, while another division broke ground in front of Kemmendine, and, for six successive days, endeavoured in vain to force that post, as also by means of fire-rafts to force the shipping from the port, which attempt was equally unsuccessful.

The enemy's right wing and centre occupied a range of hills immediately in front of the great Dagon pagoda, covered with so thick a forest as to be impenetrable to all but Burman troops, and their left extended nearly two miles further, along a lower and more open ridge to the village of Puzendoon, where their extreme left rested. They were no sooner thus placed in position, than muskets and spears were laid aside for the pick-axe and shovel, and, in an incredibly short space of time, every part of their line, out of the jungle, was strongly and judiciously entrenched.

On the afternoon of the 1st, an opportunity occurred of attacking the enemy to advantage; and, accordingly, Majors Sale and Dennie, and Captain Ross, moved forward against their entrenchments, which were carried with great gallantry; and the party returned laden with arms, standards, and other trophies. Several other attacks took place during the day, in which the British were generally successful, but, at daylight the following morning, it was found that the enemy had much encroached during the night, and had entrenched a height in front of the north gate of the Pagoda. This was attacked by Captain Wilson of the 38th Regiment, assisted by a party of the 28th Madras Native Infantry, and breastwork after breastwork was successively carried with great spirit. Colonel Mallet's detachment from Pegue returned to Rangoon on the afternoon of the 2d, and thus gave additional means of attacking the enemy. During the 3d and 4th, the enemy was very active, and kept up an incessant fire from his trenches, and the attacks upon Kemmendine continued with unabating, though unsuccessful violence, both by land and sea; Captain Ryves, with the sloop *Sophia* and other vessels, destroying many of the Ava war-boats, which attempted to force the passage of the river. On the 5th, an attack was made on the enemy's left wing, which was strongly entrenched, and it terminated in the defeat of the enemy, who were dispersed on all sides; but Major Walker of the 3d Madras Native Infantry was slain in the engagement, while leading his column into the enemy's entrenchments. On the 6th, Bundoola, having collected the scattered remnants of the left wing, and reinforced his right and centre with the fugitives, again commenced his approaches in front of the great Pagoda, and as he was suffered to do this without annoyance, on the 7th; he had entrenched his first line so close, that the soldiers in their barracks could distinctly hear the threats and reproaches of the Burmese troops. On that day every thing was prepared by Sir A. Campbell for attacking the trenches in four columns, under Lieutenant-Colonel Miles, second in command, and Lieutenant-Colonels Mallet,

Parlby, and Brodie, and Captain Wilson of the 38th regiment. Every gun that would bear was also opened on the trenches, and Major Sale was directed to make a diversion on the enemy's left and rear. At 12 o'clock, the columns moved to the attack; and Captain Wilson's and Lieutenant-Colonel Parlby's divisions first made an impression from which the enemy never recovered. They were driven from all their works without a check, abandoning all their guns, with a great quantity of arms of every description; and certainly not "the least amusing part" of their formidable preparations was a great number of ladders, for ascending the Great Pagoda, found in the rear of their position. This completed the defeat of Bundoola's army; and although, from the nature of the ground, the exact number of the loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, Sir A. Campbell estimates it to amount to 5000 men in killed and wounded; and of 300 pieces of ordnance brought into the field, 240, with an immense number of muskets, fell into the hands of the victors. The loss of the English was severe, and the following are the names of the Officers killed and wounded in the engagement:—

Killed.—3d Regiment Madras Native Light Infantry—Major Walker.

His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry.—Brevet Captain and Lieutenant O'Shea.

Wounded.—His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry—Captain Clarke, severely; Ensign J. Blackwell, slightly; Ensign R. W. Croker, severely.

His Majesty's 38th Regiment—Lieutenant J. S. Torrens, severely, not dangerously; Lieutenant A. H. M'Leiroth, severely.

His Majesty's 89th Regiment—Captain R. C. Rose, severely.

Hon. Company's Madras 1st European Regiment—Lieut. C. Butler, slightly.

Madras 26th Regiment Native Infantry—Ensign Smith, severely.

Madras 28th Regiment Native Infantry—Lieutenant J. C. Torriano, severely; Ensign O'Brien, severely.

Madras 43d Regiment Native Infantry—Lieutenant Scott, slightly.

Another despatch, dated the 10th of December, describes an attack made in the evening of the 8th, on the Burmese corps posted on the Dalla side, which remained ignorant of the Bundoola's defeat.

Detachments from his Majesty's 89th, the Honourable Company's 1st Madras European Regiment, and the 43d Madras Native Infantry, were ordered under arms; and just as the moon arose, they moved across the river, under the command of Major Farrier, of the latter corps, landed, and jumped, without a moment's hesitation, into the enemy's trenches; many of the Burmese were slain in the short conflict that ensued; they were driven, at the point of the bayonet, into the jungle in their rear, and ten good guns, with many small arms, fell into our possession.

Major Farrier kept his ground during the night, and in making a reconnoissance early in the morning, found the enemy still occupied some stockades in the jungle in considerable force. These were immediately attacked, and carried without much opposition, and the enemy fled precipitately across the plain. Some considerable loss was sustained, however, in this engagement, and the following officers were wounded:—

His Majesty's 89th Regiment—Lieut. A. B. Taylor, slightly; Lieut. A. Dowdall, severely; Assistant-Surgeon J. Walsh, slightly.

1st European Regiment—Captain J. Roy, slightly.

12th Native Infantry—Lieutenant Glover, severely, arm amputated.

From the language of the despatch, it would have appeared, that the

Burmese force was utterly routed, and the country abandoned to the conquerors. It is therefore, with no little surprise we find, by another despatch, dated the 16th of December, that the Bundoola had not only re-collected his army after its late defeats, but having received a reinforcement of about 20,000 men, had returned a day or two after to the village of Cokain, about three miles from the Great Pagoda, and immediately commenced entrenching and stockading, as the despatch says, with a judgment in point of position, such as would do credit to the best instructed engineers of the most civilized and warlike nations.

On the 13th, a deserter stated, that the soothsayers having pronounced the 14th a fortunate day, it was the intention of the Bundoola to attack the English, and, accordingly about half-past two on the morning of the 14th, a formidable fire-raft was lanced from a little above Kemmendingine; (which, however, effected nothing;) and at the same time their emissaries succeeded in setting fire to Raugoon in several places at once: by which about one-fourth of the town has been destroyed, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the garrison and "well-disposed part of the inhabitants" to get the fire under.

The 14th past without any other attempt on the part of the enemy; during the day, however, he was seen, above Kemmendingine, to transport large bodies of troops from the Dalla to the Raugoon side of the river. The despatch then states, "that for many urgent reasons," (which are not stated,) it was determined to attack the enemy on the following day; and, accordingly, on the morning of the 15th, the columns of attack were formed as follow:—The right, consisting of 200 of his Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, and 300 of the 18th and 34th Madras Native Infantry, under the direction of Brigadier-General Cotton, with one field-piece, and a detachment from the Right Honourable the Governor-General's Body Guard, under the command of Lieutenant Archbold, which was to make a detour round the enemy's left, and, if possible, gain the rear of his position, and there wait the preconcerted signal of attack. Sir A. Campbell, himself, marched with the left column, which consisted of 500 Europeans from the 38th, 41st, 89th, and Madras European Regiment, and 300 Natives, from the 9th, 12th, 28th, and 30th Regiments of Madras Native Infantry, five field-pieces, and a detachment of the Body Guard, under the command of Lieutenant Dyke, intending to attack the enemy in front. On arriving before the enemy's position, it appeared extremely formidable, and the last-mentioned column was accordingly formed into two divisions, one under Lieutenant-Colonel Miles of the 89th Regiment, and the other under Major Evans of the 28th Regiment. We now give the particulars of the action, in the words of the despatch, in which Sir A. Campbell says:—

My dispositions being complete, the preconcerted signal-guns were fired, and I had the pleasure to hear Brigadier-General Cotton's reply, which assured me that all was ready on his side; the artillery now opened, and the three columns rushed on to the assault with the most determined and enthusiastic bravery, and in less than fifteen minutes were in full possession of this most stupendous work, making the enemy suffer most severely, and obliging him to leave his camp standing, with all their baggage, and a great proportion of their arms and ammunition. On entering, we were disappointed to find that Bundoola did not command in person, having retired to a distance, leaving his orders with a chief in the immediate command of the post whom we found had been mortally wounded in the assault. Whilst this was going on within, the Governor-General's Body Guard made some gallant charges amongst the retreating infantry and Cassny horse, dealing

death and destruction to all around. When it is known that 1,300 British infantry stormed and carried by assault the most formidable entrenched and stockaded works I ever saw, defended by upwards of 20,000 men, I trust it is unnecessary for me to say more in praise of men performing such a prodigy; future ages will scarcely believe it. The prisoners declare, that our appearance before their works was treated by them all (from their Generals downwards) with the utmost derision and contempt, so confident were they in their immense superiority in numbers, and the fancied security of the works they had constructed.

Our gallant friends afloat were determined not to let this auspicious day pass without their share of its operations. Captain Chadds directed that intrepid and enterprising officer, Lieutenant Kellett, of His Majesty's ship *Arachne*, to proceed in command of an expedition up the river, and avail himself of any opportunity which might offer of attacking the enemy's war-boats. He soon came up with a fleet of thirty-two; and, after some little manœuvring, to encourage the enemy to a confidence that they would, by their own superiority in rowing, keep their own distance, suddenly put the full power on the *Diana* steam-boat, and immediately cut through the midst of their fleet, throwing their commanders and crews in the utmost consternation, some making for the shore, and others leaping overboard in the middle of the river, all abandoning their boats, and leaving Lieutenant Kellett at leisure to take possession of and bring away thirty out of the thirty-two originally discovered, and to destroy on his return several fire-rafts, as well as materials and combustibles for their future construction.

The following are the names of the officers killed and wounded in this last affair:—

Killed.—His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry—Lieutenants William Darby, John Petry, and James Jones.

Governor-General's Body Guard—Jemidar Sheen Loll Sing.

Wounded.—Governor-General's Body Guard—Lieutenant Archbold, slightly. Bengal Artillery—Lieutenant O'Hanlan, severely, since dead.

His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry—Major R. H. Sale, severely, not dangerously; Major W. H. Dennie, slightly; Captain (B. M.) George Thornhill, severely, not dangerously; Captain James McPherson, severely, not dangerously; Lieutenant (B. C.) Robert Pattison, severely, not dangerously; Ensigns A. Williamson and Thomas Blackwell, slightly.

Madras Pioneers—Lieutenant and Brevet-Captain F. Wheeler, severely, not dangerously; Lieutenants J. Macartney and J. A. Campbell, severely, not dangerously.

18th Madras Native Infantry—Captain D. Ross, slightly.

The 'Globe and Traveller' has well observed, that these victories, which have been described by the Indian authorities in such strains of unbounded exultation, were no doubt as glorious as any triumphs of a disciplined army over a horde of savages could be. But these complete repulses of the Burmese force, and the complete futility of all their attacks on General Campbell's position, only show in the stronger light the absurdity of the manner in which the war was commenced by Lord Amherst's Government. It should not, in fact, have gone to war at all; but had the Burmese been the aggressors, (the reverse of which we have proved,) the time and manner of chastising any insults might have been chosen at leisure. None but such men as Lord Amherst could have imagined there was danger of an attack from them; and as nothing in such a war was formidable but the expense, not a day should have been consumed in hostilities more than was necessary to bring them to a close. We have seen Sir A. Campbell's division sent to Rangoon in May, and continuing there till December, without the possibility of advancing a step; and though our troops have operated with success on the coasts, and about the skirts of the

enemy's territory, nothing had been done to bring the Burman Monarch to a sense of his weakness. If any thing has yet been accomplished towards this object, it has been owing to the rashness and folly of the Burmese themselves; not to the plan of operations pursued against them. The publication just mentioned adds:—

We cannot but contrast the hasty manner of commencing the Burmese war with the extensive and diligent inquiries made by Lord Hastings' administration, previously to the commencement of the war with Nepal, a country the natural difficulties of which were at least equal to any that are to be encountered in Ava, and of which the inhabitants showed valour and efficiency far superior to the Burmans. The first part of the papers on the war of Nepal, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, shows the extensive and careful inquiries made before that war was declared, as to the manner in which the enemy might be best assailed. Considerable delay took place between the time when a ground was first laid and the declaration of war; but that interval was employed in measures which ensured its rapid termination. Sir A. Campbell and the troops at Rangoon are deserving of the highest praise. It may be unnecessary for any one else to say so, for Sir A. Campbell himself takes care that they shall not go without a full share. One of the Morning Papers remarks rather harshly on the tone of self-commendation that runs through the despatches. We can only say, that if a General and his troops, in such a position as those at Rangoon, found any thing to praise—even themselves—those who left them there for seven months have every reason to be satisfied. Sir A. Campbell calls one of his successes “such a prodigy future ages will scarcely believe it.” What right has Sir Archibald to anticipate that our great-grandchildren will be more incredulous than ourselves?

We shall give a few examples of the style of idle “vain-glorious” which has excited these just remarks. Sir A. Campbell says of the enemy: “Their *haughty leader* had *insolently declared* his intention of leading us in captive chains to grace the triumph of the Golden Monarch; but it has pleased God to expose *the vanity of his idle threats*, and crown the *heroic efforts* of my *gallant little army* with a most complete and signal victory.” He goes on to descant on the “dashing charge” made by his troops, carrying terror and dismay into the enemy's ranks; the “enthusiastic spirit,” the “burst of rapture,” with which they advanced on the “*audacious foe*,” who were “appalled,” and driven into the very holes which they had dug to prove their graves. The soldiers in their barracks “could distinctly hear the *insolent threats* and reproaches of the *Burman braves*,” although they were, of course, in an unknown tongue, which the British soldiers were not likely to understand. “My Europeans (says Sir Archibald) fought like Britons; and the Sepoys (whom he now condescends to praise) strove to obtain “the palm of honour,” by endeavouring to “rival their European comrades in every thing that marks the steady, true, and daring soldier.” Of the result, he says, “Never was victory more complete or more decided.” The loss of the enemy was beyond the possibility of calculation. Of their “mighty host” scarcely a vestige existed; but that remnant, such as it was, had commenced its “inglorious flight,” humbled, disarmed, and dispersed—“a salutary antidote to the native arrogance and vanity of the Burmese nation.” Thus—(exclaims Sir Archibald)—“*thus vanished all the hopes of Ava!!!* and the means which the Burmese Government were *seven months* in organizing for our annihilation, have been destroyed by us in the course of seven days.” Hardly more exultation could have been expressed at the burning of Moscow, the battle of Waterloo, or the triumph of Trafalgar, where the preparations and hopes of years—

the strength of one of the greatest nations of the earth, were broken and destroyed in a few hours!

But only seven days after, these disarmed, dispersed, and humiliated Burmese, seemed to have risen from their graves, for they then presented a force of from twenty to thirty thousand men, over which Sir Archibald obtained another "great victory." They had recommenced offensive operations in this short space of time after their total overthrow, and were "entrenching and stockading themselves with a judgment, in point of position, such as would do credit to the best instructed engineers of the most civilized and warlike nations"! They even contrived to set fire to the city where the British army was encamped; and their overthrow now is accounted quite miraculous. "The Governor-General's Body Guard made some gallant charges amongst the retreating infantry and Cassay horse, dealing death and destruction all around." "When (says the General) it is known that thirteen hundred British infantry stormed and carried by assault the most formidable entrenched and stockaded works I ever saw, defended by upwards of twenty thousand men, I trust it is unnecessary for me to say more in praise of men performing such a PRODIGY: future ages will scarcely believe it!"

In a corresponding style, the General announces that he has taken two hundred and forty pieces of ordnance! Private letters, that reached in the January ship, from Bengal, state, that there are merely one old rusty eight-pounder, four or five paltry field-pieces, and some small swivels, used in India on the backs of camels or tied on trees, and well known there by the name of Jinjals! There can be no doubt that there never were two hundred and forty pieces of ordnance, in the sense in which an English reader would understand the term, in all the Burman dominions. For this mere repulse, however, of an attacking force, (for it amounts to nothing more,) such rejoicings were attempted in Calcutta as were never before heard of, which forms an odd but appropriate counterpart to the accounts which we have given of the dreadful panic that prevailed a short time previous. The following hasty *Government Gazette Extraordinary* was issued on the occasion:—

Fort William, Dec. 23d, 1821.

The Governor-General will attend *in state* this evening, at five o'clock, the parade of the Royal Regiment, when a *feu-de-joie* will be fired in honour of the victory at Rangoon.

This state proceeding of his Lordship is very fit to follow or stand by the side of the *kou-tou* review, noticed in the early portion of the Bengal News: Sir Archibald Campbell and he seem well matched on the score of parade and bombast. The former says, "Posterity will hardly credit our exploits;" the latter goes with unprecedented pomp and ceremony, to attend "in state" the parade of one solitary regiment left in Fort William, while a *feu-de-joie* is fired in honour of a victory which leaves us still at Rangoon, where, with all its bravery, that gallant army had remained from May to December! Neither Lord Clive, Lord Wellesley, nor Lord Hastings, on occasions of the greatest victories ever obtained by them, performed such a piece of foolery as this; which may make a few Natives stare, but can only be a source of ridicule and laughter to all sensible persons, and is felt as such, we believe, by all the English in Calcutta, except, perhaps, the actors in the farce itself. We sincerely hope, for the sake of the honour

of the nation, his Lordship did not on this occasion tumble from his horse, and perform the *kou-tou* among the *Syces* and *Bearers* of the City of Palaces, who were no doubt looking on with vast admiration at this novel Oriental pageant.

The *ex-officio* Directors of the Bank of Bengal had invested twenty-five lacs of its funds in the Government four per cent. loan, without previously consulting the other Directors, who, however, approved and confirmed the act; but the Bank is said to have somewhat incommoded itself by this accommodation to Government, and, notwithstanding this, the loan had fallen to a discount; the wealthy natives seeing from the state of affairs, that vast sums of money will be wanted by Government, and that, consequently, it must soon come down with much better terms for the investment of capital in its hands.

Major Dixon of the cavalry (formerly of the stud) has been suspended for writing two memorials on the supersession to which the cavalry have been exposed for a long time, and especially by the new arrangements, insisting on the superiority of regular over irregular cavalry, &c. This arbitrary punishment of an old officer, for expressing his sentiments in a legitimate manner on regulations affecting himself, is so monstrous, that it is hardly to be believed Sir E. Paget can have given his assent to this silly act of injustice and severity. But a little before this, the Government allowed a real case of transgression to escape with impunity. It appeared, from the proceedings of a Court of Inquiry, that General Gregory had sent out decrees that "all the world should be taxed" as far as Dinapore. For this flagrant proceeding, which was only discovered by the extent to which it was carried, General Gregory has been removed to the *command* of the Benares District! How striking a contrast does this form with the treatment of Major Dixon, who, for uttering a complaint, is suspended from the service. This proves that a man may be guilty of an act of illegal extortion upon the unfortunate Natives of India, yet be sure of the protection of Government; but if, privately or publicly, through the press, or the "regular channels," he dare to speak of its proceedings in other than terms of praise, it shall be at his peril!

BOMBAY.

We have received accounts from Bombay, to the middle of December, which announce the surrender of the Fort of Kittoor. The Bombay Courier of the 11th of that month states, that Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot had been released from their confinement in the Fort of Kittoor, and had joined Mr. Chaplain on the morning of the 2d of December. The accounts of that date mentioned, that the insurgents still held out, declaring themselves not satisfied with the terms offered in the Commissioners' proclamation.

Kittoor is a fort which was held, with the territory dependant on it, by a *Dessye*, a person answering nearly to a German mediatised Prince—something between a Sovereign and a landholder. At the death of the last *Dessye* without heirs, the territory devolved on the East India Company; but an attempt having been made by a forged will to set up a claim by the late *Dessye*'s managing man in favour of a child, whom it was pretended he had adopted, Mr. Thackeray, of the East India Com-

pany's Service, was sent to inquire into the affair. ~~Some resistance, having been made to his authority, an attempt was made to subdue the fort with a very inadequate force, and Mr. Thackery perished, with Captain Black, and some other officers.~~

Private letters state, that jewels valued at five lacs of rupees, and treasure to the amount of thirteen lacs, were found in the fort.

The following extracts of letters from the Presidency of Bombay, have appeared in the *Globe and Traveller* evening paper:—

I fancy the wise-heads that got the Company into the scrape of the Burmese war begin to apprehend resistance in other quarters; but they have no occasion to be afraid of the Deccan, for the whole country is in a state of famine from two years' drought. The cattle are all dead, and the people must die also, for Government will give them no assistance; and though there is plenty of grain in the country, from the overabundant harvest of 1822, the poor wretches have no money to buy it from the rich forestallers. In poverty and universal wretchedness, this country has certainly retrograded at least one hundred years since it was conquered, owing to the severity of our collections *in hard money*, which, in consequence of the immense sums taken out of the country and sent home immediately after the war, the poor devils really have not the means of finding. This year they have nothing left for it but to quit the country or die. The *white* people in Bombay eat and drink much the same as usual, and I do not think you will hear much of the sufferings of the *black* caste, but I know you will pity them.

The *Simpson*, now under despatch for England, gives me the opportunity of informing you that the Elephanta, or latter rains, have fallen for two or three days in the Deccan, as well as at Surat and the neighbouring places, by which the apprehension of a famine is removed, and the produce of dry grain will be about half the usual quantity; the crop of paddy, or rice, is nearly lost, and it will only be a quarter. *All the revenue of the Company must be lost this year.* The wells in the Island are not half full; and the want of water in the Island and Salsette, within a few months hence, will be very great. There is very little water in town, but we hope the wells in the Esplanade will supply the want, and the Government are thinking of opening many wells that had been filled up some years ago. *Our Noble Governor is doing every thing in his power to support his subjects.*

We noticed in our last Number the appearance of Sheik Dulla and his followers, in the neighbourhood of Ellichpoor, and their dispersion by the detachments under Captain Seyer and Lieutenant Lermitt. The late arrival from Bombay gives us some account of the subsequent proceedings of this chief, by which it appears that, after his rencounters with the above officers, he, with a few followers, made his appearance in the direction of Jelphy Ammail, where a party of horse and foot of the Ellichpoor brigade, under a Jemidar, was stationed, by whom several of the fugitives were taken prisoners, and the remainder almost entirely destroyed by being driven into the Taptee. The Chief himself, however, succeeded in effecting his escape by swimming across the river.

On the 21st of last month there, was laid before Parliament treaties with the Native Powers of India, about thirty in number; namely, with the Guicowar, with the Rajah of Doteah, with the Rajah of Ban-swarra, with the Rajah of Dumleah and Pertaubgurh, &c. &c.

SINGAPORE.

We learn, by the *Singapore Chronicles* received, that some relaxation of the additional duties imposed at Batavia had been shown by the authorities there; two vessels, the Scorpion and Salmon River, having been allowed to land the cargoes originally destined for Batavia, without in-

carrying the additional duties on British manufactures imposed by the new tariff. It was, indeed, generally thought that this liberal determination would be carried still farther, and extend to the admission of the goods in other vessels, upon due proof of their identity being adduced: this liberality is generally supposed to result from the poverty of the Batavian Government.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Letters have been received from the Cape of Good Hope to the 6th of February; but nothing of particular importance is related in them. The Governor and Sir R. Plasket were gone up the country. The new secretaries were unpopular, and all hope of a change of government was at an end. The Governor's aide-de-camp, Captain Fitzroy, is said to have been actually sitting with the commissioners during the investigation of one of the horse cases, wherein the Governor is charged with bartering a very valuable farm for a mere trifle, on condition that a broken-down horse, not worth any thing, should be purchased for 40,000 dollars. Lord Charles had created a new drostry (the district of Albany) for his son, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset.

A *Cape Town Gazette*, of the 29th of January, contains the following notice of the death of Lieutenant James Reitz:—

We have to record another victim to the cause of African discovery, in the person of Lieut. James Reitz, R. N. late of His Majesty's ship *Leven*, and son of the late J. F. Reitz, Esq. Commissary of Vendues to this Government.

This enterprising officer had been left by Captain Owen, commanding the squadron employed on the survey of the East coast of Africa, as Civil Governor of the Island of Mombass, or Mombaca, the inhabitants of which had voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of the British flag, for the purpose of being more secure against the exactions of the Imam of Muscat, whose power now extends over nearly the whole of the coast, as far as Zanzibar. On the 24th of May last, Lieut. Reitz had an attack of fever, which increased so alarmingly, that two days after it was resolved to transport him to Mombass, when, unhappily, on approaching the island, on the morning of the 29th, he expired. The body of this gallant officer was interred with funeral ceremony, in the ancient Portuguese cathedral church, at Mombass, and three volleys of musketry fired over his grave.

Mr. Burnett, a colonist of some consequence at the Cape of Good Hope, whose case has been before the public, has now arrived in England, under a sentence of five years' banishment from that colony, and is endeavouring to obtain redress from Ministers for the harsh treatment to which he has been subjected. Having a suit at issue involving property to the amount of 60,000 dollars, in which Mr. Burnett was plaintiff, and one Robert Hart (manager of an estate belonging to the Governor, called Somerset farm) defendant, some occurrences took place which led him to impugn the grounds on which certain decisions to that Court were made. Mr. Burnett, therefore, addressed a memorial to the Governor, in which he charged two of the members of that Court with a violation of justice in their capacity of Commissioners of Circuit. Mr. Burnett gave no publicity to this memorial, nor was he charged on his trial with having done so; but merely forwarded it to the Governor, with a view of obtaining redress in the only quarter where he could with propriety look for it. He was, however, found guilty, and subjected to the severe sentence before-mentioned. If this case is truly stated, and we have every reason

to believe so, it carries its own comment with it, and may be safely left to make its own impression on every unprejudiced mind.

BATAVIA.

The hostilities carried on by the Dutch in their Indian possessions appear to partake of the uncertain nature of the Burmese war; for, by the latest accounts, we learn that the Queen of Boni had declared war against the Dutch; and this had been the signal for a general rising of the nations bearing the Bugis name, which comprehended nine-tenths of the inhabited portion of the Celebes. The Dutch had in consequence been compelled to abandon their recent acquisitions, and fortify themselves in Macassar. The native accounts state, that not only had the places taken by the Dutch been re-captured, but that the Bugis had possessed themselves of the provinces of Bontham, Bolicomba, and Maras, and had extended their incursions to the suburbs of Macassar.

CHINA.

By advices from China, we learn that an embassy had reached Peking from the King of Ava, to solicit the assistance of the Emperor against the British Power, upon the ground that Ava was tributary to China. The Emperor, with that ostentatious *naveté* for which the Chinese Government is so celebrated, in his reply to the ambassador, is stated to have said, that "he could not believe it possible that the English would be so rash as to engage in hostilities against a tributary of the celestial empire." Of the truth of this, of course, it is difficult to speak; but a curious Chinese document, in reference to the Burmese war, has reached this country. It is a proclamation of the Emperor of China, grounded on a despatch from one of his Governors—the Governor of the province of Yunnan—bringing under his attention the state of the frontiers. The Governor states, that the Burmese are engaged in a war with the English, and have been defeated in most of the engagements which they have hitherto had; and he recommends that on the frontier towards the Burmese territory, there be erected "fortifications and towers," to prevent the violation of the Chinese territory by either of the parties. The Emperor directs that a line of fortifications be erected all along the frontiers, according to the recommendation of the Governor. This proclamation is translated from the *Pekin Gazette*.

PERSIA.

Letters from Bagdad, of the 30th December, state, that news had arrived there, from Bassorah, of the capture of Peye by the English, but no details were given. According to the same letters, the malady of Bassorah, a species of the cholera morbus, had rather abated.

SYRIA.

The advices from Aleppo reach to the 1st of February, at which time perfect tranquillity prevailed in the Pashalick of Syria. Ali Bey had been appointed Pasha of Tripoli, and this event had caused great satisfaction in that Province. The Ansaries had returned to their duty, and the inhabitants of Latakea, who had emigrated, had returned to their

homes. Some insurrections had broken out in Lebanon; most of the inhabitants, supported by three emirs, having risen against Emir Bekir, and refused to acknowledge him as their Governor. The Sheik Bekir was at the head of this insurrection, and the two parties had met, in which the Sheik sustained a defeat.

The Greek cruisers continue to hover about the coast of Syria.

ALGIERS.

By letters from Algiers of the 7th of March, we learn, that on the 2d of that month a tremendous earthquake commenced there which continued at intervals for the four following days. Several houses had been thrown down, and many others injured; but the most dreadful catastrophe had been at Blida, about one day's journey from Algiers, which had been totally destroyed, and almost all the inhabitants buried in the ruins; only three hundred having been preserved out of a population of fifteen thousand, chiefly Moors, Jews, and Arabs. In the immediate neighbourhood of the town, the earth had opened in large interstices of from eight to ten feet wide, and as many deep; and the same phenomenon which generally precedes the eruption of Etna and Vesuvius occurred at Blida, namely, all the wells and fountains in the neighbourhood became perfectly dry. The troops which the Government sent out to prevent plunder, had been attacked and destroyed by vast hordes of Cobails. These Cobails are of a race totally distinct from the Turks, Moors, or Arabs, being the descendants of the ancient Numidians, and they inhabit the mountains near Algiers, are perfectly independent, and have never been subdued by the Turks.

As an act of grace, the Dey of Algiers had manumitted all the slaves, and had ordered a public thanksgiving for the preservation of Algiers.

It is worthy of remark, that of the many letters from Gibraltar which have fallen under our observation, not one has even mentioned this melancholy event.

MOROCCO.

A very interesting circumstance is mentioned in the last accounts from this Empire. The Spanish Government having made a demand of the Emperor of Morocco, that the Spanish refugees, who had taken refuge in his dominions, should be given up, the latter, with a feeling of humanity worthy of, but too much an alien to, the breast of a Christian Sovereign, directed the Bashaw of Tangiers to return the following reply:—

His Majesty cannot for a moment entertain the idea of delivering up the persons who came to his dominions, placing trust and confidence in a Monarch just and beneficent, who respects the precepts of God, given through his Prophet.

If the men claimed by the King of Spain be offenders against the laws, his Majesty should suspend their punishment until he be firmly seated in his throne; and when that period arrives, the Emperor will have a direct understanding with the King of Spain, who may then demand them, for it is the duty of Sovereigns to respect and attend to each other's wishes.

If the King of Spain considers these men as offenders, because they have not opposed destiny, be it so. Other Kings there are, and friends too of the King of Spain, who do not look on them in that light, and would moreover have wished them to have taken refuge in their territories, where they would have been protected.

The Emperor is a lover of clemency, and is not a stranger to the principles of justice, and therefore he cannot, without offending God by breaking the commands of his Prophet, accede to the wishes of his friend the King of Spain.

A few such acts in the present contrasted dispositions of the Allied Monarchs would tend to convert the greater portion of the Europeans to Moslemism.

TUNIS.

The letters from Tunis, to the middle of February, state, that the Coral Fishery on that coast, which had hitherto been carried on by Italian and Corsican Fishermen, who paid a high duty for the privilege, had been farmed for double the amount it had before produced to the Bey, to a company in London, who had sent an agent there for the purpose of obtaining it. The annual duty was fixed at 10,000 Spanish piastres and 400 lbs. of chosen coral; and the time for which it had been taken was ten years. It was imagined that this Company would employ steam boats, diving bells, &c. in this fishery; and that, in the course of their engagement, the bottom of the sea would be so cleared of coral, that not even a tythe would be left for their successors.

The advantages of steam navigation are, we understand, to be extended to the Levant and Turkey trade. It is intended to establish steam packets to convey valuable commodities, such as silk, drugs, &c. also letters, from Constantinople, Smyrna, and Messina, to Leghorn, where it is proposed to trans-ship the former into the vessels of the Mediterranean Steam-Packet Company.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE
EASTERN WORLD.

THE India House farce, announced in our last Number, has been acted with becoming serio-comic gravity; the numerous performers playing their parts exactly as prompted by the managers. A printed list of the new Directors to be chosen (which may be called the cast of the piece) being previously circulated to the Honourable Proprietors, these worthy electors advanced in flocks to the poll, with all the docile tractability of Irish forty-shilling freeholders, and put in the prescribed votes under the immediate eye of their superiors. This plan of having the lists of nominees printed, is the most admirable contrivance imaginable for completely defeating the intention of the vote by ballot: since, if any Proprietor venture to write out a private list of his own, containing the names of the persons whom he conscientiously thinks ought to be chosen, the circumstance of his giving in a written list, which must be immediately perceived by the Directors watching the poll, infallibly detects the self-willed voter, and sets him down for a marked man. Then woe to his interest and his friends in India, if he has any! In this manner, honourable Proprietors consent to surrender the freedom of election to which they are legally entitled; not having even the virtue to insist upon voting in private, as intended by law; the majority being fain to barter a strict and conscientious discharge of duty, for an ostentatious display of their devotion to particular men, who in return for this homage are expected to dole out to them their full share of the loaves and fishes. If this be not in substance an open selling of votes, we know not what

would be so; and the only peculiarity attending it is one which makes it more degrading to the elector. It is this, that he is to receive his payment after he has done his work, and then at the mere will and pleasure of the person he serves. These docile pupils perform the parts assigned them with a sweet mixture of hope and awe, knowing that they are in the presence of their masters, who hold out the sugar plums in the one hand and the birch in the other. And this is called an election! It is the most solemn of mummeries, the most contemptible of the many fooleries and farces which the power of habit makes "the most thinking people of Europe" go through with infinite gravity.

We must not omit to give a brief notice of the "after-piece;" the election of the new Chairman and Deputy, and the arrangements within the bar for the ensuing year. We sincerely regret that the situation of the latter has been given to a person so unpopular, fearing as we do, that he will persevere in the same course which deservedly made him so. The officers of the Indian army, who have been so sorely pinched and clipped, will associate his election with approbation of the system attributed to him individually, of farther curtailing their scanty allowances; and it will be considered a prelude to the rigorous enforcement, at this critical moment, of the full batta, and troop and company reductions, which even the little—scrupulous Lord Amherst has scrupled to execute.

We cannot too often impress on the people of England who have children in India, that they know not the *real* situation into which they have thrown their sons. They will be grievously deluded, if, without taking into account the nature of that country, they allow themselves to be led away by the rhodomontade of the people of Leadenhall-street. They vapour about their army abroad, and their military service, &c.; telling every body that their officers have double or triple the pay of the like ranks in England, and that they retire on full pay at the end of 25 years' service. These, and a variety of such specious exaggerations, are true to the sound, but fatally false to the sense. It shall be our endeavour, at an early period to strip off these disguises, and show what the real value of this far-famed service is, with the view of creating, among persons in this country, a right understanding of the position of our youth, who are sent out far from their homes, and in an unwholesome climate, to serve the Company *for the term* (in nine cases out of ten) of their natural lives; and we indulge the hope of being able at last, by a true picture of their situation, to excite such an interest and sympathy in their behalf as shall prevent the unfeeling masters, whom from boyhood they are doomed to serve, from venturing to press more severely on those helpless persons, who, in India, are destitute of all check upon their hard task-masters. Consequently, their only hope of justice and protection, is in the generous sympathy of the people of England, who may prevent them from narrowing still more the scanty subsistence of their officers, by persevering and heartless retrenchments on their slender means, already barely sufficient to enable them to procure what is necessary for their existence in that ungenial clime, where ninety out of a hundred are doomed to live and to end their days; few, very few indeed, ever seeing the period when their eyes may be refreshed with the sight of their native land; and fewer still attaining that rank and independence which would enable them to retire, and spend there the evening of life.

In the mean time, before taking up the subject more in detail, we beg earnestly to assure the parents and relatives of young men destined for the East, that the military service of the Company affords a bare—a very bare—subsistence to the junior ranks; that is, to the great body of their officers. We must remind them, that the absolute amount of pay, according to the rate of exchange, furnishes no rule for judging, unless it be compared with the indispensable wants of the service and country; then with the reasonable comforts to be expected by persons of certain education, rank, and habits; and, lastly, with the money value of such necessities and comforts. Where these are hardly procurable for money, of what value is it to the possessors? Of what value was the pearl to the cock who wanted corn to peck? If a small portion of wine or beer be necessary to health in an exhausting climate, and that cost an officer at Jaulnah or Nagpoor, in the shape of a bottle of spurious Madeira, the sum of ten shillings, or a bottle of bitter beer half as much—what avails it to him that he has double pay, as compared with an officer in England?

Unfortunately, in the present glut of employment, and overflow of population, in reference to the middle ranks of society, even a bare subsistence, amounting to a certain provision for life, is an object with hundreds of "Cadets" of good families: True, not one half of the youths who go out will live to be Field Officers, not one in ten to be Generals of Corps, in fifty years retiring on their Regiments: True, a man MAY live to attain all this; and yet, in many cases, never have recovered from the inevitable load of debt in which he is plunged during his 20 years of subalternship, and 10 of captainship: True, the chances are almost an infinite number to one against any individual drawing one of the few great prizes of high and lucrative office open to military men. It is also true, that they are each of them liable to be suspended and dismissed arbitrarily, at any moment of their service, and turned on the wide world, when their best days are wasted, their constitutions worn out, and themselves altogether incapacitated from beginning the world anew, or earning a livelihood by any other profession. All this they are liable to suffer, without trial or investigation—a fashion which seems particularly the rogue of late years.*

What then? True as all these chances and contingences are, so sanguine is every man of his own good fortune, the fond idol of vulgar worship, every one hopes *his* boy may have the luck to escape, and be the single exception to the general rule. As to the "poor boy" himself, he knows, and thinks at first, nothing about the matter; but, pleased with the transition from school and childishness, to idleness and manly station, and ambitious of becoming his own master, he asks no questions, but proceeds to his destination; secured for life in his new country, whence poverty and distance effectually hinder his returning to besiege his relatives with his complaints.

* To give one proof of this out of many, we need only advert to one of the most recent instances, that of Col. Dixon, suspended "till the pleasure of the Court of Directors be known," for what the Government is pleased to consider an intemperate memorial. Sir John Malcolm, and others, who now contend against the freedom of discussion in India, rest chiefly on this argument, that persons who are aggrieved may represent their cases through the regular channels, where, we are informed by others, they are sure of being attended to. Yes: the individual who has the credulity to rely on these professions is attended to with a vengeance; for, if he say any thing that is unpalatable, he is dismissed from the service for his pains!

Our time and space will not permit us to do more at present than express our earnest hope, that Sir G. Robinson and his friends will forbear their alarming and cruel attempts to enforce the unfeeling curtailments which the Government, even of Lord Amherst have declined to execute. We trust that every humane and honest Proprietor will go along with us in trying to ward off measures that must create so much distress to a valuable and deserving body of men—measures which will in many instances involve forcible and arbitrary violations of the understood contracts between the state and its servants, and, by destroying all mutual confidence and cordiality, may risk the safety of India itself.

It has been currently reported in the higher political circles that a negotiation is at present on foot between the Government and the East India Company, for the purpose of throwing open the China trade to the commercial public of Great Britain. When the present policy of ministers with regard to free trade is considered, that such a measure is ardently desired by them is more than probable. But that the Directors of the Company will consent to any act which, however beneficial to the public, must inevitably strike at their patronage, will appear to the generality of our readers far more paradoxical, when the uncompromising rigour with which they have hitherto exercised their vast and injurious monopoly is remembered. To make the above feasible, however, it is necessary to keep one grand event in view,—the approaching expiration of the period to which the East India Company's Charter extends. The recent development of the evils of that system in which the Company has so long and so obstinately persevered, so as to prove to the world that it is quite incorrigible, while in their hands, evils which are becoming every day more glaring and intolerable, may well inspire the Direction with alarm, that our present ministers will not, when that time arrives, be disposed to sanction a continuance of this pernicious misrule, equally hostile to the interests of India and of England. To ward off this blow, and by giving up one portion to preserve the remainder, may have induced the Company, ere the dreaded day arrives, to make concessions and offers to government, the reward for which would be looked to in a promise to renew such portions of the Charter as might not be affected by the present negotiation. It is not, therefore, improbable that the 'Honourable Company' has made, or hinted, to government its willingness to make, an offer of throwing open the China trade, on condition that another half century may yet see them lording over the fertile territory of Hindostan, and see Englishmen proscribed as aliens from its shore, while the Directors continue to enjoy exclusive possession of no inconsiderable portion of their former patronage and power. It is not likely, however, that government will be made the dupe of this pretended liberality, or that millions of human beings and vast tracts of land are to be lost to civilization and those advantages which only an uncontrolled intercourse with the European world can afford them. Indeed it appears evident, from the present state of public feeling, and the daily increasing knowledge of the advantages of the Indian trade, with the conviction now so general as to show those advantages could be increased by a removal of the present obnoxious restrictions, that when the period for the expiration of the Charter arrives, a revolution of feeling must indeed have taken place if that Charter obtains even a revised renewal.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A REVIEW OF THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN 1824; BY HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER, ESQ. LONDON 1825.

THIS is one of the latest publications on Indian affairs which has appeared; and we regret that it did not reach us in time to enable us to do it justice in our present Number; but we pledge ourselves to take up the subject the earliest opportunity. The first chapter is on the Territorial Revenue of British India, in which the author combats the opinions of M. Say, and examines the sanguine calculations of the Marquis of Hastings's 'Summary.' The second enters more minutely into the 'Sources of the Revenue of India,—Salt,—Customs,—Abkarry,—Stamps, &c.' in the course of which various apologies are made for the monopoly system, which will ill bear to be analysed. It shall be our business to show our readers, whether morality and justice are really promoted by the forced cultivation of opium for the exclusive benefit of monopolists, and taxes laid on judicial proceedings. The third chapter on the 'Land Revenue of India,' will lead us into a consideration of the comparative merits of the Ryotwarry and Zumeendary systems, about which such opposite opinions have prevailed. On this volume, as a whole, we may remark, that (considered apart from its temporary application) in as far as the general discussion of the subject is considered, it might have been spared, after the work on 'Colonial Policy as applicable to the Government of India,' which has been for some years before the public, and contains a profound philosophical investigation of the most interesting questions arising out of the present political state of that country, in comparison with which the present publication only skims the surface. But, however little may have been added to what was before known, we are anxious to collect every scattered ray of light which it may be possible to concentrate upon Indian subjects requiring illustration.

REMARKS ON THE RYOTWARRY AND MOOCHERRY SYSTEMS.

This small pamphlet has been printed, but not published. It is from the pen of Mr. Law, whose name adds importance to the subject with which he has been so long associated; Lord Cornwallis, thirty years ago, having acknowledged him to be the author of that system his Lordship was so anxious to establish. The present production was printed rather for the perusal of a select few, than for the public eye. But the long experience of the author, and the high character he long ago attained for the talents displayed in the administration of Indian affairs, entitle his opinions to receive general attention. The subject is, besides, treated of in a manner that must give it greater interest; the earnestness of the writer showing that he feels himself to be performing a public duty. On the merits of the question we do not desire here to offer any opinion; but we wish all parties to be heard, convinced that by this only correct ideas will ultimately prevail.

THE POCKET ANNUAL REGISTER, OF THE HISTORY, POLITICS, ARTS, SCIENCE, AND LITERATURE OF THE YEAR 1824. LONDON, PP. 510.

This is a most useful and entertaining little volume. It is written with considerable vigour, and details the events of the year with great conciseness and perspicuity. And, which is of vastly greater importance, is remarkable for liberal sentiments and correct thinking. The editor appears to feel a very sensible pleasure in detailing the transactions of the rising republics of America, whose success is so intimately connected with the noblest interests of humanity; and we think the reader will find in his excellent epitome of the last year's history of Colombia, a degree of satisfaction very rarely communicated by the very best relation of the affairs of old states.

The other portions of this work,—its abstract of Parliamentary debates, sketch of foreign events, yearly biography, &c.—are highly useful and pleasing; and we have no doubt that the public will perceive it to be their interest to encourage the continuation of so excellent a publication.

MEMORIAL OF RAM MOHUN ROY, AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED
NATIVES OF INDIA, ADDRESSED TO THE
KING OF ENGLAND.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

1. We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, Natives of India and Inhabitants of Calcutta, being placed by Providence under the sovereign care and protection of the august head of the British nation, look up to your Majesty as the guardian of our lives, property, and religion; and when our rights are invaded and our prayers disregarded by the subordinate authorities, we beg leave to carry our complaints before your Majesty's throne, which is happily established in mercy and justice, amidst a generous people, celebrated throughout the earth as the enemies of tyranny, and distinguished, under your royal auspices, as the successful defenders of Europe from Continental usurpation.

2. We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, now come before you under the most painful circumstances, the local executive authorities having suddenly assumed the power of legislation in matters of the highest moment, and abolished legal privileges of long standing, without the least pretence that we have ever abused them, and made an invasion on our civil rights such as is unprecedented in the history of British Rule in Bengal, by a measure which either indicates a total disregard of the civil rights and privileges of your Majesty's faithful subjects, or an intention to encourage a cruel and unfounded suspicion of our attachment to the existing Government.

3. The greater part of Hindoostan having been for several centuries subject to Mohamuddan Rule, the civil and religious rights of its original inhabitants were constantly trampled upon; and, from the habitual oppression of the conquerors, a great body of their subjects in the southern Peninsula (Dukhin), afterwards called Marhattas, and another body in the western parts, now styled Sikhs, were at last driven to revolt; and when the Mussulman power became feeble, they ultimately succeeded in establish-

ing their independence; but the Natives of Bengal, wanting vigour of body, and averse to active exertion, remained during the whole period of the Mohamuddan conquest, faithful to the existing Government, although their property was often plundered, their religion insulted, and their blood wantonly shed. Divine Providence at last, in its abundant mercy, stirred up the English nation to break the yoke of those tyrants, and to receive the oppressed Natives of Bengal under its protection. Having made Calcutta the capital of their dominions, the English distinguished this city by such peculiar marks of favour, as a free people would be expected to bestow, in establishing an English Court of Judicature, and granting to all within its jurisdiction, the same civil rights as every Briton enjoys in his native country; thus putting the Natives of India in possession of such privileges as their forefathers never expected to attain, even under Hindoo Rulers. Considering these things, and bearing in mind also the solicitude for the welfare of this country, uniformly expressed by the Honourable East India Company, under whose immediate control we are placed, and also by the Supreme Councils of the British nation, your dutiful subjects consequently have not viewed the English as a body of conquerors, but rather as deliverers, and look up to your Majesty not only as a Ruler, but also as a father and protector.

4. Since the establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Calcutta till the present time,—a period that has been distinguished by every variety of circumstances, the country sometimes reposing in the bosom of profound peace, at others shaken with the din of arms—the local Government of Bengal, although composed from time to time, of men of every shade of character and opinion, never attempted of its own will and pleasure to take away any of the rights which your Majesty's royal ancestors with the consent

of their Councils, had been graciously pleased to confer on your faithful subjects. Under the cheering influence of equitable and indulgent treatment, and stimulated by the example of a people famed for their wisdom and liberality, the Natives of India, with the means of amelioration set before them, have been gradually advancing in social and intellectual improvement. In their conduct and in their writings, whether periodical or otherwise, they have never failed to manifest all becoming respect to a Government fraught with such blessings; of which their own publications and the judgment passed upon them by the works of their contemporaries, are the best proofs. Your faithful subjects beg leave, in support of this statement, to submit two extracts from English works very lately published, one by a Native of India, and the other by English Missionaries; the first is from a work published on the 30th of January last, by Rammohun Roy, entitled 'A Final Appeal to the Christian Public,' which may serve as a specimen of the sentiments expressed by the Natives of India towards the Government:—"I now conclude my Essay in offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the Universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country, from the long continued tyranny of its former Rulers, and placed it under the Government of the English, a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends."—Pages 378, 379.

5. The second extract is from a periodical work published at the Danish Settlement of Serampore, by a body of English Missionaries, who are known to be generally the best qualified and the most careful observers of the foreign countries in which Europeans have settled. This work, entitled the 'Friend of India,' treating of the Native Newspapers published in Bengal, thus observes, "How necessary a step this (the establishment of a Native Press) was for the amelioration of the condition of the Natives, no person can be ignorant who has traced the effects of the Press in other countries. The Natives themselves soon availed themselves of this privilege; no less than four Weekly Newspapers in the Native language have now been

established, and there are hopes, that these efforts will contribute essentially to arouse the Native mind from its long lethargy of death; and while it excites them to inquire into what is going forward in the world, of which Asia forms so important a portion, urge them to ascertain their own situation respecting that eternal world, which really communicates all the vigour and interest now so visible in Europeans. *Nor has this liberty been abused by them in the least degree*; yet these vehicles of intelligence have begun to be called for, from the very extremities of British India, and the talents of the Natives themselves have not unfrequently been exerted in the production of Essays that would have done credit to our own countrymen". (a)

6. An English gentleman, of the name of Buckingham, who for some years published a Newspaper in this place, entitled the 'Calcutta Journal,' having incurred the displeasure of the local Government, was ordered to leave this country, and soon afterwards, the Honourable John Adam, the Governor-General in Council, suddenly, without any previous intimation of his intentions, passed a Rule and Ordinance, on the 14th of March, thus taking away the liberty of the Press, which your Majesty's faithful subjects had so long and so happily enjoyed, and substituting his own will and pleasure for the Laws of England, by which it had hitherto been governed.—This Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation is annexed.—(vide Paper annexed No. 1.) (b).

7. It being necessary, according to the system established for the Government of this country, that the above Regulation should receive the approbation of the Supreme Court by being registered there, after having been fixed up for 20 days on the walls of the Court-room, before it could become Law; on the following Monday, (the 17th of March,) Mr. Fergusson, Barrister, moved the Court to allow parties who might feel themselves aggrieved by the New Regulation, to be heard against it by their Counsel before the sanction of the Court should establish it as Law; and the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten, the sole acting Judge, expressed his willingness to hear in this manner, all that

(a) *Friend of India*, Quarterly Series, No. VII. published in December 1822.

(b) For this Regulation, see *Oriental Herald*, Vol. I. p. 124.

could be urged against it, and appointed Monday the 31st of the same month of March, for Counsel to be heard. His Lordship also kindly suggested, that in the mean time, he thought it would be advisable to present a Memorial to Government, praying for the withdrawal of the said Rule and Ordinance. These observations from the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten, inspired your Majesty's faithful subjects at this Presidency, with a confident hope, that his Lordship disapproved of the Rule and Ordinance, and would use his influence with Government to second the prayer of the Memorial he recommended to be presented, or that, at least in virtue of the authority vested in him for the purpose of protecting your faithful subjects against illegal and oppressive acts, he would prevent the proposed Rule from passing into Law.

8. Your faithful subjects, agreeable to a suggestion of this nature proceeding from such a source, employed the few days intervening in preparing a Memorial to Government, containing a respectful representation of the reasons which existed against the proposed Rule and Ordinance being passed into Law; but in preparing this Memorial in both the English and Bengallee languages, and discussing the alterations suggested by the different individuals who wished to give it their support and signature, so much time was necessarily consumed, that it was not ready to be sent into circulation for signature until the 30th of March; consequently only fifteen Natives of respectability had time to read it over and affix their signature before the following day, on which it was to be discussed in the Supreme Court, and finally sanctioned or rejected. Besides that this number was considered insufficient, it was then too late for Government to act upon this Memorial, so as to supercede the discussions and decision that were to take place in the Court; and a few individuals, therefore, of those who concurred in it, hastily prepared another Memorial of the same tenor in the morning of that day, addressed to the Supreme Court itself, demonstrating our unshaken attachment to the British Government, and praying the Court to withhold its sanction from a Regulation which would deprive us of an invaluable privilege, firmly secured to us by laws of the land, which we had so long enjoyed, and could not be charged with ever having abused. (Annexed paper

No. 2.) (c) And although from these circumstances, the Memorial had still fewer signatures, your Majesty's faithful subjects reposed in the hope, that in appealing to a British Court of Law, they might rely more on the justice of their cause, than the number or weight of names; especially, since it is well known, that there are many under the immediate influence of Government, who would not express an opinion against the acts of those in power at the time, although it were to secure the salvation of all their countrymen.

9. This Memorial being by the order of the Judge, read by the Registrar of the Court, Mr. Fergusson, (who besides his professional skill and eminence as an English lawyer, has acquired, by his long practice at the Calcutta bar, a very intimate acquaintance with the state of this country,) in virtue of the permission granted him, entered into an argument, showing the Rule and Ordinance to be both illegal and inexpedient. (The grounds on which he opposed it are given at length, annexed paper No. 3.) (d).

10. These and other conclusive arguments, urged by Mr. Fergusson, and also by Mr. Turtton, both eminently skilled in the laws of England, powerfully strengthened the hopes previously created by the observations, that formerly fell from the bench,—that the learned Judge would enter his protest against such a direct violation of the laws, and uncalled for invasion of the rights of your faithful subjects.

11. Notwithstanding, we observed with astonishment and regret, that his Lordship, in giving his decision, paid no regard whatever to the above Memorial, not alluding to it in the most distant manner, nor to the arguments it contained; and his Lordship further disclosed, that at the time he expressed a desire to hear every objection that could be urged, and recommended a Memorial to Government against it, from which your faithful subjects unanimously hoped that the mind of the Judge was undecided, and rather unfavourable to the Rule, his Lordship had previously pledged himself by a promise to Government to give it his sanction. (Annexed paper, No. 4, containing the speech made by Sir Francis

(c) For this Paper, see *Oriental Herald*, Vol. I. p. 130.

(d) *Ib.* p. 132.

Macnaghten, the Judge who presided on the occasion.) (d)

12. Your Majesty's faithful subjects cannot account for the inconsistency manifested by Sir F. Macnaghten in two different points with regard to the sanctioning of this Regulation. In the first place, according to his Lordship's own statement from the bench, he refused not only once, but twice, to see the Regulation before it passed in Council, probably because his Lordship thought it improper for him to give it his approbation until it came before him in the regular manner; but he afterwards, when application was made to him a third time, not only consented to read it, but with some alterations agreed to give it his sanction,—a change of conduct for which no reason was assigned by his Lordship. Again, when application was made to his Lordship to hear the objections that might be urged against it, before giving it his judicial approval, his Lordship withheld from the knowledge of the public, not only that he had already so pledged himself; but even that he had previously seen the Regulation, and expressed himself ready to hear all that could be said respecting it, in the same manner as if his mind had been unfettered by any promise, and perfectly open to conviction. Consequently, some of your Majesty's faithful subjects prepared a Memorial and retained Counsel against the new Regulation, and had afterwards the mortification to find, that their representations were treated with contemptuous neglect, and that the arguments of the most able lawyers could be of no avail.

13. Your Majesty in Parliament has been graciously pleased to make it a part of the law of this Country, that after a Regulation has passed the Council, it must be fixed up for twenty days in the Supreme Court, before it can be registered, so as to receive the full force of law; an interval which allows the Judge time for deliberation, and to hear from others all the objections that may exist to the proposed measure, and might have the effect of preventing the establishment of injudicious and inexpedient or unjust and oppressive acts; but if, as in this case, the Judges enter into a previous compact with the local Government, and thus preclude the possibility of any effectual representation from your faithful subjects, who have no intima-

tion of what is meditated till it be finally resolved upon, the salutary effect of twenty days' delay is lost: and your faithful subjects will be in constant apprehension, that the most valuable and sacred of their rights may, as in this instance, be suddenly snatched from them at a moment's warning, before they know that such a measure is in contemplation, or have time to represent the evils which it is calculated to inflict upon them.

14. In pursuance of the Regulation passed as above described, the Government issued an official order in the 'Government Gazette' of the 5th of April, commanding the attention of Editors of Newspapers, or other periodical works, to certain restrictions therein contained, prohibiting all matters which it might consider as coming under the following heads:—

I.—Defamatory or contumelious reflections against the King, or any of the Members of the Royal Family.

II.—Observations or statements, touching the character, constitution, measures, or orders of the Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England, connected with the Government of India, or the character, constitution, measures, or orders of the Indian Governments, impugning the motives and designs of such authorities of Governments, or in any way tending to bring them into hatred or contempt; to excite resistance to their orders, and to weaken their authority.

III.—Observations or statements of the above description, relative to allied or friendly Native Powers, their Ministers, or Representatives.

IV.—Defamatory or contumelious remarks or offensive insinuations levelled against the Governor-General, the Governors, or Commanders-in-Chief, the Members of Council, or the Judges of his Majesty's Courts at any of the Presidencies, or the Bishop of Calcutta, and publications of any description, tending to expose them to hatred, obloquy, or contempt, also libellous or abusive reflections and insinuations against the Public Officers of Government.

V.—Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the Native Population of any intended official interference with their religious opinions and observances, and irritating and insulting remarks on their peculiar usages and modes of thinking on religious subjects.

VI.—The republication from English, or other papers, of passages coming under the foregoing heads.

VII.—Defamatory publications, tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society.

VIII.—Anonymous appeals to the Public, relative to grievances of professional or official nature, alleged to have been sustained by public officers in the service of his Majesty or the Honourable Company.

This Copy of the Restrictions will be authenticated by the annexed Copy, (No. 5.) (a).

15. The above Restrictions, as they are capable of being interpreted, will in fact afford Government and all its Functionaries from the highest to the lowest, complete immunity from censure or exposure respecting any thing done by them in their official capacity, however desirable it might be for the interest of this country, and also that of the Honourable Company, that the public conduct of such public men should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It can scarcely be doubted that the real object of these Restrictions is, to afford all the Functionaries of Government complete security against their conduct being made the subject of observation, though it is associated with a number of other restraints totally uncalled for, but well calculated to soothe the supreme authorities in England, and win their assent to the main object of the Rule—the suppression of public remark on the conduct of the public Officers of Government in India.

16. Your Majesty's faithful subjects could have surely no inducement in this distant quarter of the world to make contumelious and injurious reflections on your Majesty or any of the members of your Majesty's illustrious family, or to circulate them among people to whom your Majesty's name is scarcely known, and to the greatest part of whom, even the fame of your greatness and power has not reached; but to those few Natives who are possessed of sufficient information to understand the political situation of England, the English Newspapers and Books which are constantly brought to this country in great abundance, are equally intelligible with the periodical publications printed in Calcutta.

17. Neither can your Majesty's faithful subjects have any wish to make remarks on the proceedings of the Court of Directors, of whose beneficent intentions they are well convinced; but that Honourable Body, who have so often manifested their earnest de-

sire to ameliorate the condition of their Indian dependents, must be naturally anxious to be made exactly acquainted with the manner in which their wishes are carried into execution, and the operation and effect of the acts passed relative to this country.

18. Whoever shall maliciously publish what has a tendency to bring the Government into hatred and contempt, or excite resistance to its orders, or weaken their authority, may be punished by Law as guilty of treason or sedition; and surely in a country enjoying profound peace externally and internally, and where seditious and treasonable publications are unknown, it could not be necessary for Government to throw aside of a sudden, the laws which for any thing that has appeared were fully sufficient, and arm itself with new and extraordinary powers at a time when that Government is more secure than at any former period.

19. It may surely be left for British Judges and Juries to determine whether the mention made of the proceedings of Government, be malevolent, seditious and dangerous to the state, so as to render a writer or publisher culpable and amenable to punishment; but if the mere mention of the conduct of Government without misrepresentation or malice on the part of the writer, bring it into hatred and contempt, such conduct will never receive the countenance or protection of your Majesty by the sanction of a law to prevent its exposure to public observation, and the discovery of that dissatisfaction it may have occasioned, which would afford the higher authorities an opportunity of removing them.

20. After a body of English Missionaries have been labouring for about twenty-five years by preaching and distributing publications in the Native languages in all parts of Bengal, to bring the prevailing system of religion into disrepute, no alarm whatever prevails; because your Majesty's faithful subjects possess the power of defending their religion by the same means that are employed against it, and many of them have exercised the freedom of the Press to combat the writings of English Missionaries, and think no other protection necessary to the maintenance of their faith. While the Teachers of Christianity use only reason and persuasion to propagate their religion, your Majesty's faithful subjects are content to defend theirs by the same weapons, convinced that true religion

(a) For these Restrictions in full, see *Oriental Herald*, Vol. I. p. 125.

needs not the aid of the sword, or of legal penalties for its protection. While your Majesty's faithful subjects perceived that Government showed no displeasure, and claimed no arbitrary power of preventing the publication of what was written in defence of the prevailing religion of the country, it was impossible to entertain any such suspicion as that intimated in the 5th article, viz. that Government would interfere with the established faith of the Natives of this country. Nevertheless, if any person with a malicious and seditious design were to circulate an unfounded rumour that Government meant so to interfere with our religious privileges, he would be severely punished by law; but if the Government really intended to adopt measures to change the religion of the country, your Majesty's faithful subjects would be absolutely prohibited by the present Restrictions from intimating the appalling intelligence to their countrymen: and although they have every reason to hope that the English nation will never abandon that religious toleration which has distinguished their progress in the East, it is impossible to foresee to what purposes of religious oppression such a law might at some future time be applied.

21. The office of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta not calling him to preach Christianity in that part of the town inhabited by the Natives, or to circulate pamphlets among them against the established religion of the country, but being of a nature totally distinct, and not at all interfering with the religious opinion of the Native population, they could never dream of vilifying and defaming his character or office.

22. The Judges of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, and of the English Courts of Judicature at the other Presidencies, enjoy, in virtue of their office, the power of protecting their characters, and official conduct from defamation and abuse: since such would be either a contempt of the Court, liable to summary punishment, or punishable by those laws enacted against libel. It is therefore hard to be conceived, that they stand in need of still further protection, unless it should be wished thereby to create an idea of their infallibility; which, however, is incompatible with the freedom allowed to Barristers, of delivering their sentiments beforehand on the justice or injustice of the opinions the Judges may pro-

nounce, and in case of appeal, of controverting the justice and equity of their decision. The only object such a restriction is calculated to attain, must therefore be defeated, unless it be meant thereby to prevent the publication of the pleadings, which, as they take place in an English Court of Judicature, are by law public, and ought to be accessible to all.

23. The seventh restriction, prohibiting defamatory publications tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, is equally unnecessary; since the British Legislature has already provided a punishment for such offences by the Laws enacted against libel.

24. Your Majesty's faithful subjects will not offer any more particular remarks on the superfluous restrictions introduced to accompany those more important ones which are the principal object of Government; and will conclude with this general observation, that they are unnecessary, either because the offences prohibited are imaginary and improbable, or because they are already provided for by the laws of the land; and either the Government does not intend to put them in force at all, or it is anxious to interrupt the regular course of justice, abolish the right of Trial by Jury, and, by taking the law into its own hands, to combine the legislative and judicial power, which is destructive of civil liberty.

25. Your Majesty's faithful subjects have heard, that your Majesty constantly submits to the greatest freedom of remark among your British-born subjects, without losing any part of the homage and respect due to your exalted character and station, and that the conduct of your Ministers is constantly the topic of discussion, without destroying the dignity and power of the Government. While such is the case in a country where it is said above nine-tenths of the inhabitants read newspapers, and are therefore liable to be led by the opinions circulated through the Press, its capability of bringing a Government into hatred and contempt must be far less in a country where the great mass of the population do not read at all, and have the greatest reverence for men in power, of whom they can only judge by what they feel, and are not to be moved by what is written, but by what is done; where, consequently, Government can only be brought into hatred and contempt by its own acts.

26. The Marquis of Hastings, who had associated for the greater part of his life, with Kings and Princes, entertained no apprehension that the salutary control of public scrutiny which he commenced, would bring him or his Indian administration into hatred and contempt; and in effect, instead of such being the result, the greater the freedom he allowed to the European conductors of the Press, it only rendered his name the more honoured and revered in this part of the world; because it was universally believed that his conduct proceeded from a consciousness of rectitude which feared no investigation.

27. But your faithful subjects might forbear urging further arguments on this subject to your Majesty, who with your actions open to observation, possess the love, the esteem, and the respect of mankind, in a degree which none of the despotic Monarchs of Europe or of Asia can ever attain, whose subjects are prohibited from examining and expressing their opinions regarding their conduct.

28. Asia unfortunately affords few instances of Princes who have submitted their actions to the judgment of their subjects, but those who have done so, instead of falling into hatred and contempt, were the more loved and respected, while they lived, and their memory is still cherished by posterity; whereas more despotic Monarchs, pursued by hatred in their lifetime, could with difficulty escape the attempts of the rebel or the assassin, and their names are either detested or forgotten.

29. The idea of the possession of absolute power and perfection, is evidently not necessary to the stability of the British Government of India, since your Majesty's faithful subjects are accustomed to see private individuals citing the Government before the Supreme Court, where the justice of their acts is fearlessly impugned, and, after the necessary evidence being produced, and due investigation made, judgment not unfrequently given against the Government, the Judge not feeling himself restrained from passing just sentence by any fear of the Government being thereby brought into contempt. And your Majesty's faithful subjects only pray, that it may be permitted by means of the Press, or by some other means equally effectual, to bring forward evidence regarding the acts of Government which affect the general interest of the community,

that they also may be investigated and reversed when those who have the power of doing so become convinced that they are improper or injurious.

30. A Government conscious of rectitude of intention cannot be afraid of public scrutiny by means of the Press, since this instrument can be equally well employed as a weapon of defence; and a Government possessed of immense patronage is more especially secure, since the greater part of the learning and talent in the country being already enlisted in the service, its actions, if they have any shadow of justice, are sure of being ably and successfully defended.

31. Men in power hostile to the liberty of the Press, which is a disagreeable check upon their conduct, when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence, have attempted to make the world imagine, that it might, in some possible contingency, afford the means of combination against the Government; but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures which in ordinary times are totally unjustifiable, your Majesty is well aware that a Free Press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world; because, while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the Supreme Government, and thus get them redressed, the grounds of discontent that excite revolution are removed; whereas, where no freedom of the Press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepented and unredressed, innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe; or, if prevented by the armed force of the Government, the people continued ready for insurrection.

32. The servants of the Honourable Company are necessarily firmly attached to that system from which they derive their consequence and power, and on which their hopes of higher honours and still greater emoluments depend, and if it be possible to imagine that these strong considerations are not sufficient to preserve subordination among them, the power of suspension and ruin which hangs over their heads for any deviation from duty, is certainly sufficient to secure that object.

33. After the British Government has existed for so many years, it has acquired a certain standard character in the minds of the Natives of India,

from the many excellent men who have from time to time held the reins of power, and the principles by which they have been guided. Whatever opinion, therefore, may be entertained of the individuals composing it at a particular period, while the source of power remains the same, your Majesty's faithful subjects cannot of a sudden lose confidence in the virtue of the stream, since although it may for a period be tainted with corruption, yet in the natural course of events it must soon resume its accustomed character. Should individuals abuse the power intrusted to them, public resentment cannot be transferred from the delinquents to the Government itself, while there is a prospect of remedy from the higher authorities; and should the highest in this country turn a deaf ear to all complaint, by forbidding grievances to be even mentioned, the spirit of loyalty is still kept alive by the hope of redress from the authorities in England; thus the attachment of the Natives of India to the British Government must be as permanent as their confidence in the honour and justice of the British nation, which is their last Court of Appeal next to Heaven. But if they be prevented from making their real condition known in England, deprived of this hope of redress, they will consider the most peculiar excellence of the British Government of India as done away.

34. If these conclusions, drawn from the particular circumstances of this country, be met with such an argument as that a colony or distant dependency can never safely be intrusted with the Liberty of the Press, and that therefore Natives of Bengal cannot be allowed to exercise the privileges they have so long enjoyed, this would be in other words to tell them, that they are condemned to perpetual oppression and degradation, from which they can have no hope of being raised during the existence of the British power.

35. The British nation has never yet descended to avow a principle so foreign to their character; and if they could for a moment entertain the idea of preserving their power by keeping their colonies in ignorance, the prohibition of periodical publications is not enough; but printing of all kinds, education, and every other means of diffusing knowledge, should be equally discouraged and put down. For it must be the distant consequences of the diffusion of knowledge that are dreaded

by those (if there be any such) who are really apprehensive for the stability of Government; since it is well known to all in the least acquainted with this country, that although every effort were made by periodical as well as other publications, a great number of years must elapse before any considerable change can be made in the existing habits and opinions of the Natives of India, so firmly are they wedded to established custom. Should apprehensions so unworthy of the English nation prevail, then, unlike the ancient Romans, who extended their knowledge and civilization with their conquests, ignorance and degradation must mark the extent of British power. Yet surely even this affords no hope of perpetual rule, since notwithstanding the tyranny and oppression of Gengis Khan and Tamerlane, their empire was not so lasting as that of the Romans, who, to the proud title of Conquerors, added the more glorious one of Enlighteners of the World. And of the two most renowned and powerful monarchs among the Moguls, Ukbar was celebrated for his clemency, for his encouragement of learning, and for granting civil and religious liberty to his subjects; and Arungzebe, for his cruelty and intolerance; yet the former reigned happy, extended his power and his dominions, and his memory is still adored; whereas the other, though endowed with equal abilities, and possessed of equal power and enterprise, met with many reverses and misfortunes during his lifetime, and his name is now held in abhorrence.

36. It is well known that despotic Governments naturally desire the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloquy which ever attends the exercise of tyranny or oppression; and the argument they constantly resort to is, that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since, as a people become enlightened, they will discover that, by a unity of effort, the many may easily shake off the yoke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether; forgetting the lesson derived from history, that in countries which have made the smallest advances in civilization, anarchy and revolution are most prevalent; while, on the other hand, in nations the most enlightened, any revolt against Governments which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is

most rare; and that the resistance of a people advanced in knowledge has ever been—not against the existence—but against the abuses of the governing power. Canada, during the late war with America, afforded a memorable instance of the truth of this argument. The enlightened inhabitants of that colony, finding that their rights and privileges had been secured to them, their complaints listened to, and their grievances redressed by the British Government, resisted every attempt of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance to it. In fact, it may be fearlessly averred, that the more enlightened a people become, the less likely they are to revolt against the governing power, as long as it is exercised with justice, tempered with mercy, and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion.

37. If your Majesty's faithful subjects could conceive for a moment, that the British nation, actuated solely by interested policy, considered India merely as a valuable property, and would regard nothing but the best means of securing its possession and turning it to advantage; even then, it would be of importance to ascertain whether this property be well taken care of by their servants; on the same principle that good masters are not indifferent about the treatment of their slaves.

38. While, therefore, the existence of a Free Press is equally necessary for the sake of the governors and the governed, it is possible a national feeling may lead the British people to suppose, that in two points, the peculiar situation of this country requires a modification of the laws enacted for the control of the Press in England. First, that for the sake of greater security, and to preserve the union existing between England and this country, it might be necessary to enact a penalty to be inflicted on such persons as might endeavour to excite hatred in the minds of the Natives of India against the English nation. Secondly, that a penalty should be inflicted on such as might seditiously attempt to excite hostilities with neighbouring or friendly states. Although your Majesty's faithful subjects are not aware that any thing has yet occurred to call for the precautions thus anticipated; yet should such, or any other limitations of the liberty of the Press, be deemed necessary, they are perfectly willing to submit to

additional penalties to be legally inflicted. But they must humbly enter their protest against the injustice of robbing them of their long standing privileges, by the introduction of numerous arbitrary restrictions, totally uncalled for by the circumstances of the country; and, whatever may be their intention, calculated to suppress truth, protect abuses, and encourage oppression.

39. Your Majesty's faithful subjects now beg leave to call your Majesty's attention to some peculiarly injurious consequences of the new laws that have thus been suddenly introduced in the manner above described. First, the above rule and ordinance has deprived your Majesty's faithful subjects of the liberty of the Press, which they had enjoyed for so many years since the establishment of the British rule. Secondly, your Majesty's faithful subjects are deprived of the protection of your Majesty and the high council of the British nation, who have hitherto exclusively exercised the legislative power in this part of your Majesty's dominions.

40. If, upon representations being made by the local authorities in the country, your Majesty, after due investigation, had been pleased, with the advice of the High Council of the realm, to order the abolition of the liberty of the Press in India, your Majesty's faithful subjects, from the feeling of respect and loyalty due to the supreme legislative power, would have patiently submitted; since, although they would in that case still have lost one of their most precious privileges, yet their claim to the superintendence and protection of the highest legislative authority, in whom your faithful subjects have unbounded confidence, would still have remained unshaken; but were this rule and ordinance of the local Government to be held valid, and thus remain as a precedent for similar proceedings in future, your faithful subjects would find their hope of protection from the Supreme Government cut off, and all their civil and religious rights placed entirely at the mercy of such individuals as may be sent from England to assume the executive authority in this country, or rise into power through the routine of office; and who from long officiating in an inferior station, may have contracted prejudices against individuals or classes of men, which ought not to find shelter in the breast of the legislator.

41. As it never has been imagined or surmised in this country, that the Government was in any immediate danger from the operation of the Native Press, it cannot be pretended, that the public safety required strong measures to be instantly adopted, and that consequently there was not sufficient time to make a representation to the authorities in England, and wait for their decision, or that it was incumbent on the highest Judicial Authority in India to sanction an act so repugnant to the laws of England, which he has sworn to maintain inviolate.

42. If, at your Majesty's faithful subjects have been informed, this Government were dissatisfied with the conduct of the English newspaper, called the 'Calcutta Journal,' the banishment of the Editor of that paper, and the power of punishing those left by him to manage his concern, should they also give offence, might have satisfied the Government; but at any rate your Majesty's faithful subjects, who are natives of this country, against whom there is not the shadow of a charge, are at a loss to understand the nature of that justice which punishes them for the fault imputed to others. Yet, notwithstanding what the local authorities of this country have done, your faithful subjects feel confident, that your Majesty will not suffer it to be believed throughout your Indian territories, that it is British justice to punish millions for the fault imputed to one individual.

43. The abolition of this most precious of their privileges, is the more appalling to your Majesty's faithful subjects, because it is a violent infringement of their civil and religious rights, which, under the British Government, they hoped would be always secure. Your Majesty is aware, that under their former Mohammedan rulers, the Natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussulmans, being eligible to the highest offices in the state, intrusted with the command of armies and the government of provinces, and often chosen as advisers to their Prince, without disqualification, or degrading distinction, on account of their religion or the place of their birth. They used to receive free grants of land exempted from any payments of revenue; and besides the highest salaries allowed under the Government, they enjoyed, free of charge, large tracts of country attached to certain offices of trust and

dignity, while Natives of learning and talent were rewarded, with numerous situations of honour and emolument. Although, under the British rule, the Natives of India have entirely lost this political consequence, your Majesty's faithful subjects were consoled by the more secure enjoyment of those civil and religious rights which had been so often violated by the rapacity and intolerance of the Mussulmans; and notwithstanding the loss of political rank and power, they considered themselves much happier in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty than were their ancestors; but if these rights that remain are allowed to be unceremoniously invaded, the most valuable of them being placed at the mercy of one or two individuals, the basis on which they have founded their hopes of comfort and happiness under the British Power will be destroyed. In former times, Native fathers were anxious to educate their children according to the usages of those days, in order to qualify them for such offices under Government as they might reasonably hope to obtain; and young men had the most powerful motives for sedulously cultivating their minds, in the laudable ambition of rising by their merits to an honourable rank in society; whereas, under the present system, so trifling are the rewards held out to Native talent, that hardly any stimulus to intellectual improvement remains; yet, your Majesty's faithful subjects felt confident, that notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the Natives of India would not sink into absolute mental lethargy while allowed to aspire to distinction in the world of letters, and to exercise the liberty of the Press for their moral and intellectual improvement, which are far more valuable than the acquisition of riches or any other temporal advantages under arbitrary power.

44. Your Majesty has been pleased to place this part of your dominions under the immediate control of the Court of Directors; and this Honourable Body have committed the entire management of this country (Calcutta excepted) to a number of gentlemen styled Civil Servants, usually under the superintendence of a Governor-General. These gentlemen, who are intrusted with the whole administration, consist of three classes; first, subordinate local officers, such as judges of districts, magistrates, collectors, and commercial agents; secondly, officers

superior to them as judges of circuit; and members of different revenue and commercial boards; &c.; thirdly, those who fill the highest and most important offices, as Judges of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, Secretaries to Government, the Members of the Supreme Council, and sometimes a civil servant may rise to the highest office of Governor-General of India.

45. Those gentlemen propose and enact laws for the government of the extensive territory under their control, and also administer these laws; collect revenue of all sorts, and superintend manufactories carried on in behalf of the State; and they have introduced, according to their judgment, certain judicial, commercial, and revenue systems, to which it may be supposed they are partial, as being their own, and therefore support them with their whole influence and abilities as of the most efficient and salutary character. It is also the established custom of these gentlemen to transmit official reports from time to time, to the Court of Directors, to make them acquainted with the mode in which the country is governed, and the happiness enjoyed by the people of this vast empire, from the manner in which the laws are administered.

46. Granting that those gentlemen were almost infallible in their judgment, and their systems nearly perfect, yet your Majesty's faithful subjects may be allowed to presume, that the paternal anxiety which the Court of Directors have often expressed for the welfare of the many millions dependent upon them in a country situated at the distance of several thousand miles, would suggest to them the propriety of establishing some other means besides, to ascertain whether the systems introduced in their Indian possessions, prove so beneficial to the Natives of this country, as their authors might fondly suppose, or would have others believe; and whether the rules and regulations which may appear excellent in their eyes, are strictly put in practice.

47. Your Majesty's faithful subjects are aware of no means by which impartial information on these subjects can be obtained by the Court of Directors or other authorities in England, except in one of the two following modes: either, first, by the existence of a Free Press in this country, and the establishment of newspapers in the different districts under the special patronage of the Court of Directors, and

subject to the control of law only; or, secondly, by the appointment of a commission composed of gentlemen of intelligence and respectability, totally unconnected with the Governing Body in this country, which may from time to time investigate on the spot, the condition of your Majesty's faithful subjects, and judge with their own eyes regarding the operation of the systems of law and jurisprudence under which they live.

48. But the immense labour required for surveying a country of such extent, and the great expense that would be necessary to induce men of such reputation and ability as manifestly to qualify them for the important task, to undertake a work of such difficulty, which must be frequently repeated, present great, if not insuperable obstacles to the introduction or efficacy of the latter mode of proceeding by commission; from which your Majesty's faithful subjects, therefore, do not entertain any sanguine expectations; unless your Majesty, influenced by humane considerations for the welfare of your subjects, were graciously pleased to enjoin its adoption, from a conviction of its expediency, whatever might be the expense attending it.

49. The publication of truth, and the natural expression of men's sentiments through the medium of the Press, entail no burden on the State; and should it appear to your Majesty and the enlightened men placed about your throne, that this precious privilege, which is so essential to the well-being of your faithful subjects, could not safely be entrusted to the Natives of India, although they have given such unquestionable proofs of their loyalty and attachment, subject only to the restraints wisely imposed upon the press by the laws of England, your faithful subjects entreat on behalf of their countrymen, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant it, subject to such avowed restraints and heavier penalties as may be deemed necessary; but legal restraint, not those of arbitrary power—and penalties to be inflicted after trial and conviction according to the forms of the laws of England,—not at the will and pleasure of one or two individuals, without investigation, or without hearing any defence, or going through any of the forms prescribed by law, to ensure the equitable administration of justice.

50. Notwithstanding the despotic power of the Mogul princes who for-

merly ruled over this country, and that their conduct was often cruel and arbitrary, yet the wise and virtuous among them always employed two intelligencers at the residence of their Nawabs or Lord-Lieutenants; an Ukhar-nuvees, or news-writer, who published an account of whatever happened; and a Khoofe-anuvees, or confidential correspondent, who sent a private and particular account of every occurrence worthy of notice; and although these Lord-Lieutenants were often particular friends or near relations to the prince, he did not trust entirely to themselves for a faithful and impartial report of their administration, and degraded them when they appeared to deserve it, either for their own faults, or for their negligence in not checking the delinquencies of their subordinate officers; which shows, that even the Mogul princes, although their form of Government admitted of nothing better, were convinced, that in a country so rich and so replete with temptations, a restraint of some kind was absolutely necessary to prevent the abuses that are so liable to flow from the possession of power.

51. The country still abounds in wealth, and its inhabitants are still addicted to the same corrupt means of compassing their ends, to which, from having long lived under arbitrary government, they have become naturally habituated; and if its present rulers have brought with them purer principles from the land of their birth which may better withstand the influence of long residence amid the numerous temptations to which they are exposed; on the other hand, from the seat of the Supreme Government being placed at an immense distance, and the channel of communication entirely in their own hands, they are left more at liberty to follow their own interests; and looking forward to the quiet and secure enjoyment of their wealth in their native land, they may care little for the character they leave behind them in a remote country, among a people for whose opinion they have no regard. Your Majesty's faithful subjects, therefore, humbly presume, that the existence of a restraint of some kind is absolutely necessary to preserve your faithful subjects from the abuses of uncontrolled power.

52. That your Majesty may be convinced that your faithful subjects do not allude merely to possible abuses, or point out only theoretical defects in

established systems, they beg leave to call your Majesty's attention to the observations contained in a Number of a most respectable Baptist Missionary work, the accuracy of which, although it has now been two years (f) in circulation, in all parts of India, not one of the numerous civil servants of the Honourable Company has ventured to dispute, nor have the flagrant abuses it points out been remedied.

53. It might be urged, on the other hand, that persons who feel aggrieved, may transmit representations to the Court of Directors, and thus obtain redress; but the Natives of this country are generally ignorant of this mode of proceeding; and with neither friends in England, nor knowledge of the country, they could entertain no hope of success, since they know that the transmission of their representations depends, in point of time, upon the pleasure of the local Government, which will, probably, in order to counteract their influence, accompany them with observations, the nature of which would be totally unknown to the complainants,—discouragements which, in fact, have operated as complete preventives, so that no instance of such a representation from the Natives of Bengal has ever been known.

54. In conclusion, your Majesty's faithful subjects humbly beseech your Majesty:—*First*, to cause the Rule and Ordinance and Regulation before mentioned, which has been registered by the Judge of your Majesty's Court, to be rescinded; and to prohibit any authority in this country from assuming the legislative power, or prerogatives of your Majesty and the High Council of the realm, to narrow the privileges and destroy the rights of your Majesty's faithful subjects, who claim your protection, and are willing to submit to such laws as your Majesty, with the advice of your Council, shall be graciously pleased to enact.—*Secondly*, your Majesty's faithful subjects humbly pray, that your Majesty will be pleased to confirm to them the privilege they have so long enjoyed, of expressing their sentiments through the medium of the Press, subject to such legal restraints as may be thought necessary; or that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to appoint a commission of intelligent and independent Gentlemen to inquire into the real condition

(f) No. IV. Quarterly Series of the *Friend of India*, published in Dec. 1821.

of the millions Providence has placed under your high protection.

53. Your Majesty's faithful subjects, from the distance of almost half the globe, appeal to your Majesty's heart, by the sympathy which forms a paternal tie between you and the lowest of your subjects, not to overlook their condition; they appeal to you by the honour of that great nation, which,

under your royal auspices, has obtained the glorious title of Liberator of Europe, not to permit the possibility of millions of your subjects being wantonly trampled on and oppressed; they, lastly, appeal to you by the glory of your Crown, on which the eyes of the world are fixed, not to consign the Natives of India to perpetual oppression and degradation.

LETTER FROM THE MEMBERS OF THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT AT GOA, TO THE HON. LEICESTER STANHOPE.

[AFTER witnessing the treatment received by Colonel Stanhope from the British Authorities in Greece, and the Austrian Authorities in Italy, by the former of whom he was ordered to repair without delay to England, though engaged in the most honourable of all pursuits, that of succouring the oppressed; and by the latter of whom, he was expelled from their territories, though leading a life of the most harmless and inoffensive nature; it will be gratifying to the many who admire the virtues of this excellent man, to peruse the following letter, which, though not of the most recent date, has never before been printed, and has but lately come into our possession.]

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND EXC'T. SIR,
Malwah, June, 1823.

Two letters, which you did us the honour to send us, have arrived; the one written on the 2d of March 1822, addressed to Signior Manuel Fernandez Thomas, Deputy of the Portuguese Cortes; the other dated 1st of May, addressed to us, as members of the Government at Goa.

These clearly evince that freedom of thought and spirit of philanthropy with which you are animated; a freedom and a spirit that have rendered you so distinguished among your countrymen, both in advocating the rights of the Irish Catholics, and in confuting the arguments by which the author of the letters signed "AN OLD INDIAN," endeavoured to show that the establishment of a Free Press in India, was an impracticable undertaking.

It is to us a circumstance peculiarly gratifying, that from the borders of the West, you should be mindful of promoting the welfare of a small tract of territory in India, the name of which though once renowned, is now scarcely remembered. That you may live to see the liberty of the press firmly established on Asiatic ground, is among the sincerest of our wishes: 130 years have elapsed since the British Nation

has spoken with freedom, and has written with freedom; but such is the nature of the human mind, that the uninterrupted enjoyment of a blessing in a great measure diminishes its estimated value.

The greatest happiness that can be possessed in a state of civil society, by the man who thinks, is the unreserved right of freely expressing his sentiments, and from the privacy of his closet, of passing judgment without distinction of rank or station, both on the generations that have passed, and on that which is passing.

He who has lived bowed down beneath the weight of tyranny and intolerance, is condemned to bury his opinions in the recesses of his own breast; to pass in a moment to an opposite extreme, is as if one were to be transported to a new world, or as if an inhabitant of the dark Cimmerian Cave were to be suddenly hurried to the open banks of the wide flowing Nile. Such is the change that we have undergone since the Revolution in Portugal, of the 24th of August 1820. That event, and a knowledge of the sentiments of the greater portion of the Portuguese, urged us to exertion in order to overthrow absolute Government in India; to swear fidelity to the Constitution that the Cortes had

framed, and to continue united to the mother-country.

All this was effected on the 16th of September 1821. One of the first acts that was undertaken, was to order a printing-press from Bombay, as there was not one at Goa. This was found engaged as well in forging every species of insult and libel against ourselves, as in supporting the intrigues and arbitrary acts of a faction of slaves, which on the 3d of December 1821, expelled us from the Government of Goa, and in the May following drove us from the Portuguese territories.

Although the first result of a Free Press in Goa was thus opposite to the end for which it was intended, we entirely agree with you in the acknowledged and general utility of an establishment of that description; an establishment which is the terror of evil doers, the supporter of the just, and the most dreaded enemy of tyranny. "Despots," says a modern philosopher, "have more dread of two pages published without the inspection of a Censor, than of a hundred thousand armed assassins assembled on the frontiers. In all institutions of human origin, evil is committed sooner than good. We trust, therefore, sincerely we trust, that the time may shortly come, when in the Portuguese tongue (which though debased, is still spoken along the whole sea coast of Asia), may appear in print the principles of universal tolerance, and the pure doctrines of civil and religious liberty; which, on coming to the knowledge of the people, cannot fail of being understood and embraced.

If since the invention of printing such precepts had been disseminated through the world, in how different a condition would men now find themselves! Then perchance had been fulfilled the enchanting dream of universal harmony! But alas! most of the works which then appeared were in a great degree useless; and some were so replete with errors of every kind, that they involved mankind in clouds of darkness, which more than three succeeding centuries have been unable to disperse. At its origin printing was as the plank at which the shipwrecked mariner grasps, when wearied by long struggling with the waves, by means of it he is conducted towards the wished for shore, when suddenly an unexpected surge hurries him to a more distant point, and to the same dangers in which had found himself but the preceding moment. Soon as these pure and simple doctrines can be conveyed to the

knowledge of the Indians, so soon is adopted the most effectual, perhaps the only, method that can be taken with a prospect of success, towards effecting reformation in their religious opinions.

Every people established in Hindoostan has opposed the doctrines of the Brahmins, and argued more or less upon the absurdity of the Indian Mythology. It is thus that the Jews have done; it is thus that the Christians of Syria have done; it is thus that the Parsees have done. Their efforts, however, have all proved ineffectual, and there was none among them sufficiently enlightened or endowed to convince or to convert the Brahmins. The monarchs of the Ghizian dynasty, who ruled in Hindoo tan, particularly Subhactagee, or rather Sebegetchin, and Mahmoud, were eager to advance the creed of Mahomet by fire and sword. Secunder L. Aurungzebe, and lastly the unhappy king of Mysore, were no less zealous in the same cause; but, after the most barbarous persecutions, nothing availed. Ruin to many very skilful artists, and desolation to some ill-fated towns and villages, were the only consequences. The religion of the Hindoos prevailed as before; and if some few embraced the cruel doctrines of the Koran, they did but as the Tharjies, mingle them with the obscene and wild relations of the Puranas and other books.

The Portuguese, more systematic and less savage than the Mussulmans, but still possessed of European fanaticism and intolerance effected little more. In Japan it was that Catholicism made rapid and gigantic strides; but the cause was owing to disastrous circumstances; it was owing to the reduction of the Japanese by Tarcorania, one who cemented the most horrid tyranny that ever lowered upon the Eastern hemisphere, by the most sanguinary and cruel laws.

The propagation of a novel worship, which recommended patience and long suffering, and consoled the afflicted spirit with the reward of heavenly glory, was no very difficult undertaking at this juncture; a juncture at which the Japanese deprived of all earthly resource, willingly resigned themselves to death, to avoid worse punishment and torture. It was the same cause, that spread abroad the gospel, and caused the downfall of the Heathen worship throughout the Roman empire, then trodden under foot by tigers in the human shape.

At the same time, all the Catholics

in the Portuguese dominions in Asia do not exceed 200,000, and there is a less number than this in the other parts, in which are to be met many Portuguese families, the major part of whom have adopted a monstrous mixture of rites and ceremonies that no one comprehends, chiefly concerning marriages and funerals.

The French also endeavoured to convert the Gentiles of Asia to Christianity; and though they proceeded by means more praiseworthy than those which the Portuguese had adopted, and employed Missionaries more learned than any that had visited the East, their success in the Peninsula of India, and in Chandernagore, was but ill proportioned to their labour. As to their progress in China, it was momentary; it faded as the flash of a meteor. The Danes entertained missionaries at Tranquebar; the Dutch did the same at Sadras and Palicate, and lastly, England has not been sparing in expense to effect the same purpose. And what have been the consequences? Why, during the greatest fervour of your Missionaries in Serampore, and when the Bible of the Christians was everywhere distributed, a Vishnuvist of Bengal published a work, in which he endeavoured to prove that Christ and Mahomet were two sons, begotten of Vishnu, the Hindoo Deity.

It is a matter of the greatest difficulty to induce a people to change their form of worship, when the Ministers of that worship are enlightened and polished. In order to convert the Indians, it is necessary to commence by converting the Brahmins; these, however, are nearly all men possessed of sufficient knowledge and dexterity to hurl back upon the Christians the incomprehensibility of some points in their religion, and thus keep up a seeming superiority in argument.

And how is it possible to convince a Brahmin of the falsity of Chartah-Bhade-Xastah de Brama, whence the Eternal distributes the government of the world to his three Vicegerents, Brama, Vishnu and Xiveu, and at the same time make him believe the Christian Trinity a doctrine still more incomprehensible? How is it possible to persuade the Indians to believe a creed, of which, that of the Church of Rome is declared by the Portuguese and French to be the true one; that of Luther by the Danes; that of Calvin by the Dutch; and that of the English Church, established and mu-

delled by their kings, not many years ago, by the English.

If any one of the numerous branches of Christianity had been better adapted than another to make proselytes among the Indians, it was most certainly the Catholic. The unity of the Godhead, the doctrines of a pure morality, the admonitions to patience and humility, the pilgrimages and the penitences, the retirement from the world, a contemplative life, and finally, the imposing grandeur of the sacred ceremonies, the magnificence of the temples, the processions and the images, these were circumstances that bore somewhat of similarity to the Indian mysteries, and were well calculated to heat and raise the imaginations of the people. But if the preaching of the Catholic religion gained so few converts, what can be expected from the propagation of the religion of the Church of England; a religion which one of your own Queens, Elizabeth, declared to be too spiritual, and but little suited for making a lively and lasting impression on the minds of the people?

And of what importance is it whether the Indian follow the sect of Brama or of Buddu, of Jaina or of Nanaka? Are the Christians perchance better citizens than they? Let the barbarities, let the revolts, let the crimes that have been perpetrated under the shadow of the cross, reply to this demand.

As to the commercial advantages that might accrue from the conversion of the Indians, these could not be very considerable.

The Natives must always be supported (whatever may be their religion) with the rice, and with the vegetables that the country produces; and must be clad with the light stuffs of their own manufactures.

There are certainly in the Indian superstition, rites and practices extremely licentious, barbarous and cruel, such as the prostitutions observed in the Xacras, and other shameful orgies; the human sacrifices of which there yet appear examples; the burning of widows upon the dead bodies of their husbands; the self-slaughter of many enthusiasts in rivers; in precipices; in bushes, where feed the beasts of prey; in snowy regions, beneath the car of Jagannatha; and finally, the infanticide of the first-born males of those newly married, and of the females among the Rajputs, and other tribes in the West of Hindoostan. Customs such as these cannot be

practised, nor even heard of, without horror! They are as repugnant to reason as they are to nature, and they should be opposed with firmness. Their absurdity is very apparent, and in a short time they will fall into disuse. In regard to other matters, it would be better to leave the Indians unmolested with their four yugas or ages of the world, with their infinite number of deities, both celestial and terrestrial, with their worship of human beings, of quadrupeds, of birds, of fishes, of insects, of serpents, of trees, rivers, and stones, and a thousand other absurdities equal to those of the Greeks, the Gauls, the Egyptians, and the Romans. Time, that alters all things, will soon cause these to disappear; and from their ruins will arise deliriums equally wild, if not more fanciful; for men must continue to be the same that they have once been.

It now remains to speak of the religious intolerance attributed to the Mohanmedans and Portuguese, which you suppose never could effect the conversion of the Indians.

And which is the nation that can boast it never was intolerant? Brahminism even at this present day does not admit Neophytes. Were not the Jews commanded in the Book of Exodus to break down the images and altars of the strangers, and to shun their friendship? Did not the Persians, under Cambyses, destroy the most finished monuments of Egyptian worship? Did they not afterwards in the time of Xerxes likewise deface the divinities of Athens? Even among the Athenians, the most illustrious people of antiquity, it was intolerance that banished Protagoras and Stilpo on account of their religious opinions; it was intolerance that condemned to death Prodicus and his disciple Socrates; it was intolerance that persecuted Alcibiades and Æschylus; it was intolerance that caused the flight of Aristotle.

Plato, one of the most worthy citizens of Great or Little Greece, durst not declare in writing his opinions, concerning the evils that afflict the world, on which he was consulted by Dionysius the Younger.

The Romans, after having more than once destroyed the temples of Isis and of Serapis, banished at length the priests, together with their worship. Druidism was forbidden; the Jews were oppressed and hated; the Christians were delivered up to lions.

The Arabians, in chapter 9th of the Koran, were ordered to wage war

against every country that did not believe in one only God, in the mission of Mahomet, and in a final judgment. Even in modern Europe, where the light of philosophy has shed its beams on every side, even here we see the thunders of persecution hurled against the unhappy Heretics; even here we see scaffolds, gibbets, and other punishments, and torments—*quorum animas meminisse horret*. Already were the horrors of the Inquisition somewhat lessened in the Peninsula; already was civil liberty firmly established among the English; still fanaticism committed ravages in Salem and other parts of British America; and even at this very day, even in the 19th century, six millions of British Subjects, who profess the Romish faith, are not permitted to enjoy all those civil rights which Protestants themselves enjoy.

Nor was it altogether the intolerance and fanaticism of the Moors and Portuguese that prevented the conversion of the Indians. The Mussulmans, it is true, did not weary themselves in discussions. It was the sword of Islam that caused the creed of Islam to prevail. Such, however, was not the course adopted by the Portuguese. Their Missionaries questioned, taught, discussed; they appointed days and hours for arguments and questions between the ministers of either worship; and when the Brahmins were not convinced, they permitted them to depart in freedom, they permitted them to continue in their own opinions. If the Pagodas of the Heathens were razed by the Portuguese, if the obelisks and pyramids were destroyed, if many acts of plunder and of outrage were committed in the conquered countries; these deeds did not originate solely in the fanaticism of religion, but in the fanaticism of war,—a fanaticism that induced Metellus and Silanus to lay waste Macedonia; Mummius, Corinth; and Sylla, Delphi and Athens.

Should it be your wish to see what we have advanced relative to the freedom of discussion between the Portuguese Missionaries and the Brahmins, established by further proofs, you can have these proofs by referring to a work intitled 'O Oriente Conquistado,' (the East conquered,) and also in the Voyages of the Jesuits.

The failure of making converts among the Indians must be attributed therefore to the following causes: the enlightened state of the Brahmins; the abstract and incomprehensible doctrines of Christianity, as already stated;

the law of monogamy; the indissoluble nature of marriage, and other precepts directly hostile to the inveterate habits, inclinations and passions of the people of Hindoostan. There does not exist a civil or religious code that can in all points, suit all people.

Uniting our desires and wishes to your own, we anxiously hope that the liberty of the Press will restore to the East, whence they emanated, those lessons of philosophy and those liberal arts which have been brought to perfection in the West; that among every people the Rights of Man may be respected; and that eventually the God of all nations may be the God of Peace, the God of Justice.

We avail ourselves of the present occasion to entreat you not to permit that noble zeal which you have evinced in advocating the emancipation of your Catholic brethren to diminish or grow cool. All Ireland has been convulsed, and still suffers amidst wants and evils

of every kind, nor can it be foreseen to what the wretched Irish may be urged by desperation. Does there by chance exist in the known world any institution that has been unchangeable? any that will be the same to-day to-morrow, and for ever? Have not many articles of the English Constitution been altered, merely because imperious necessity demanded that alteration? Let not then your endeavours cease, in order that a nation, which is the most illustrious among the nations of the Earth, and which has been for more than a century the bulwark of civil liberty, may likewise become the bulwark of religious liberty. May Heaven prosper and preserve your Excellency.

We have the honour to be, your Excellency's most obedient Servants,

M. J. GOMES GOUR.

J. M. CORREA DA SILVA E GAMA.

G. DE M. PARA PINTO.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

BENGAL.

Calcutta.—Sept. 23. Mr. H. N. V. Hathorn to be Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Shahabad.—30. Mr. G. Fdvey, Jun. to be Head Assistant to the Export Warehouse-Keeper.

MADRAS.

Fort St. George.—Nov. 4. Mr. R. Clarke to be Second Assistant to the principal Collector and Magistrate of Tanjore.

BOMBAY.

Fort St. George.—Sept. 16. Mr. J.

Burnet to be Acting Third Assistant to Collector in the Northern Concan; Mr. L. Wilkinson to be Supernumerary Assistant to the Collector in the Southern Concan.

ECCLIESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS.

BENGAL.

Calcutta.—Sept. 30. Rev. W. Palmer to be District Chaplain at Nusseerabad.

BOMBAY.

Bombay Castle.—Dec. 9. Rev. M. Davies is appointed to the Chaplaincy of Mhow.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Sept. 19, 1824. Capt. C. Fitzgerald, 6th L. C. to be an honorary Aide-de-camp to the Gov.-General.—7. Lieut. W. Foley, 2d Gen. Bat. to be Adj. and Lieut., J. R. Talbot, 59th N. I. to be Interp. and Quarterm.—11. Capt. R. Newton, 44th N. I. to officiate as Aide-de-camp to Brig. Gen. Shuldham, commanding Eastern Division, dated 3d May, 1824.—13. Capt. Riley, 3d N. I. to

Aide-de-camp to Maj. Gen. Gregory, C.B. dated 2d Sept. 1824.—14. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. J. Steel, 31st N. I. to be Adj. to 1st L. I. batt.; Lieut. R. D. White, 6th N. I. to be Adj. to Maj. Gilman's levy at Cawnpore.—15. Maj. Gen. Gregory, C.B. to command Bevan's division of the army on departure of Maj. Gen. Loveday.—18. Capt. Hall to command Artillery Detachment, serving on the Island of Cheduba.—23d. Lieut. A. D. Gordon, 12th N. I. to be an Examiner in the College of Fort William; Lieut. W.

H. Howard to be Interp. and Quarterm. to 1st Europ. Regt.—24. Lieut. Col. A. Lindsay to command Artillery on Chittagong frontier; Major Shaw to assume command of Artillery at Saugor, in Bombay division of Army; Maj. J. P. Boileau, Horse Brigade, to take command of Detachment of Horse Brigade at Cawnpore.—Oct. 2. Lieut. J. W. Rowe, 31st N.I. to be Interp. and Quarterm. vice Leadbeater, promoted; Lieut. W. Rutherford, 2d L. I. batt. 28th N. I. to be Adj.—7. Brev.-Capt. D. Montgomerie, 7th L.C. at Fort St. George, to be Deputy Surveyor-Gen. at that Presidency, vice Mountford, dated 13th July, 1824; Mr. W. Pennington to have temporary charge of the Public Works in the district of Cuttack.—14. Capt. H. Cock, 23d N. I. Superintendent of Tharoas and Pindaree Chiefs, &c. in district of Gorurupore, and Brev. Capt. M. Ramsay, 24th N. I. Assist. Superintendent of Feroye Shaws Canal, in Dehly territory, to be placed at disposal of His Ex. Com.-in-Chief during the war.—21. Lieut. W. R. Fitzgerald, Corps of Engineers, to be Surveyor of Embarkments.—28. Lieut. M. Smith, 23d N. I. to be Assist. to Political Agent at Chittagong.

Fort William, Sept. 23.—The under-mentioned Military and Medical Officers, employed in political and other departments under Government, are placed at disposal of his Ex. the Com.-in-Chief during continuance of present war, or until further orders:

Hyderabad. Capt. J. Campbell, 12th N. I.; Lieut. R. Rideout, 10th ditto; Lieut. C. Sutherland, 26th ditto; Lieut. T. S. Sotheby, Regt. of Artil.; Lieut. G. Twemlow, ditto; Lieut. W. Oliphant, ditto.

Nagpore. Capt. G. Blake, Regt. of Artil.; Brev.-Capt. A. Mackinnon, 42d N. I.; Brev.-Capt. W. B. Girdlestone, 46th ditto; Brev.-Capt. J. C. Wotherspoon, 61st ditto; Lieut. the Hon. P. C. Sinclair, 43d ditto; Lieut. G. Crawford, Regt. of Artil.

Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.—Capt. T. Wardlaw, 45th N. I.; Capt. A. Hardy, 56th ditto.

Neemaur. Capt. D. Pringle, 10th N. I.; Capt. J. W. Douglas, 52d ditto.

Departments of Public Works.—Capt. H. R. Murray, 47th N. I.; Brev. Capt. J. Price, 51st ditto; Lieut. H. E. Pigot, 45th ditto; Lieut. N. Jones, 57th ditto.

Superintendents of Roads. Capt. H. L. Playfair, Regt. of Artil.; Capt. E. R. Broughton, 21st N. I.; Capt. G. A. Vetch, 54th ditto; Lieut. V. Shortland, 37th ditto.

Medical Officers. Assist. Surg. H. P. Saunders, Nizam's service; Assist. Surg. N. Morgau, ditto; Assist. Surg. J. Davidson, Nagpore; Assist. Surg. J. Stewart, King of Oude's service.

Sept. 30. Brig. Gen. Dunkin to assume command of troops assembling at Dacca.—Nov. 10. Maj. Baldoek, 35th N. I. appointed to charge of European invalids at Chunar, from 30th Oct.; and Maj. Wilson, 52th N. I. to that of Native invalid batt. vice Lieut. Col. Alexander, under orders to join his regiment on service.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William.—Sept. 9. 1st N. I. Ensign A. Barclay to be Lieut. vice Goldney, deceased, dated 23d Aug. 1824.

37th N. I. Ensign T. Box to Lieut. vice Scott, deceased, dated 18th Aug. 1824. 23d.

3d L. C. Cornet J. Christie to be Lieut. vice Nind, deceased, dated 21st Sep. 1824. 55th N. I. Ensign C. Graham to be Lieut. vice Squibb, deceased, dated 29th Aug. 1824.

Sept. 30. 2d Europ. Regt. Ens. M. W. Gilmore to be Lieut. from 11th Sept. 1824, vice Bennett, deceased.

31st N. I. Ensign R. Menzies to be Lieut. vice Ingle deceased, dated 15th Sept. 1824. Oct. 7.

2d Europ. Regt. Brev. Capt. and Lieut. J. Marshall to be Capt. of a company, and Ensign G. D. Harvey to be Lieut. vice Irwin, deceased, dated 21st Sept. 1824.

40th N. I. Ensign C. E. Reinagle to be Lieut. vice Alston, dated Oct. 1, 1824.

61st N. I. Capt. J. A. Hodgson to be Major; Brev. Capt. and Lieut. J. C. Wotherspoon to be Capt. of a company; and Ensign J. B. Robinson to be Lieut. vice Martin, dated 3d Oct. 1824.

Sept. 14. The undermentioned Officers are promoted to rank of Brigadier-General during continuance of present war, for purpose of being employed in command of brigades, or on such other special duties as may appear expedient for public services.—Col. J. W. Adams, 16th N. I.; Col. J. H. Dunkin, H.M.'s 44th Regt.; Col. N. McKellar, H.M.'s 1st or Royals; Col. W. Cotton, H.M.'s 47th Regt.

Sept. 21. *Cavalry.* Lieut. Col. L. R. O'Brien to be Lieut. Col. Com. from 7th Oct. 1824, vice Clarke, deceased; Maj. K. Swettenham to be Lieut. Col. from 7th Oct. 1824, vice O'Brien, prom.

2d L. C. Capt. G. Arnold to be Major; Lieut. J. C. Lambie to be Capt. of a troop; and Cornet J. Inglis to be Lieut. from 7th Oct. 1821, in suc. to Swettenham, prom.

GENERAL ORDERS.

THE INDIAN ARMY.

Fort William, Sept. 23, 1824. Major William Dickson, of the 6th Regiment L. C. is suspended from the service, until the orders of the Hon. the Court of Directors shall be received.

In announcing this decision, the Government think proper to publish the causes which have imperatively forced them thus to uphold the discipline of the army.

Major Dickson, on the 22d of May last, even before the promulgation of the new arrangements had reached the station, where he was on duty, addressed a memorial to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, impugning the justice and impartiality of those measures and of the Indian Government; deprecating the injury that would ensue to himself and to the Cavalry Officers at large, from the expected organization, and, in a highly disrespectful tone, thought proper to constitute himself the medium for vindicating their, in his opinion, injured right; also making statements unfounded in fact, tending to excite discontent, and presuming 'to infer that the irregular Cavalry may be kept up as much for the convenience of private patronage as for public expediency.'

Immediately on this document being submitted to Government, a reply was returned, the 15th July, through the Adjutant-General of the army, disproving, by a reference to facts, all Major Dickson's mis-statements. His Lordship, in Council, however, conceiving that Officer to have erred only through a want of judgment, he was merely reprehended for the tone of violence and disrespect which characterized his memorial, and assured that it would be forwarded to the Honourable the Court of Directors by an early despatch.

Major Dickson, nevertheless, after a lapse of nearly three months, repeated the offence, in a long letter addressed to the Adjutant-General of the army, dated 15th August, even before he had received the reply to his first memorial. This second address was only distinguished from the former, by an awkwardly flattering appeal to the Commander-in-Chief, against the measures of the Government, of which his Excellency is a member, or rather against those of the authorities in England, from whom the regulations emanated.

The Government would have been willing to give Major Dickson credit for the feelings which may have induced the apology he has since offered, had not the offence been a *deliberate repetition* of unfounded assertions, and insubordinate insinuations, which, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, demanded his immediate suspension.

RELIEF OF TROOPS.

Head Quarters, Sept. 14, 1824.—With the sanction of Government, the following relief of troops will take place, at the times and in the order hereafter detailed:—2d L. C. from Mhow to Neemuch,

right wing 15th Oct. left wing when relieved by Bombay troops.—3d L. C. from Nusseerabad to Muttra, a wing about 16th Sept. a wing when relieved by right wing of 7th Regt.—5th L. C. from Muttra to Sulthanpore (Benares), a wing 1st Oct. and the other wing when relieved by 2d wing of 3d Regt.—7th L. C. from Neemuch to Nusseerabad, right wing 1st Oct. left wing when relieved by right wing of 2d Regt.—8th L. C. from Nagpore to Bareilly, when relieved by Madras troops.—2d Tr. Horse Brigade, from Mhow to Meerut, when relieved by Bombay troops.—5th Tr. Horse Brigade, from Nagpore to Meerut, when relieved by Madras troops.—6th and 7th Cos. 1st Batt. from Nagpore to Cawnpore, when relieved by Madras troops.—5th Comp. 1st Batt. from Mhow to Allahabad, when relieved by Bombay troops.—H. M.'s 59th Foot, from Cawnpore to Meerut, 1st Nov.—H. M.'s 14th Foot, from Meerut to Ghazepore, 1st Nov.—1st. Eur. Regt. from Nagpore to Cawnpore, when relieved by Madras troops.—2d Eur. Regt. from Dinapore to Cawnpore, 15th Jan.—4th N. I. from Neemuch to Loodhiana, 10th Oct.—6th N. I. from Asserghur to Lucknow, when relieved by Bombay troops.—10th N. I. from Setapore to Nusseerabad, right wing on 10th Oct. left wing when relieved by 34th Regt.—12th N. I. from Meerut to Loodhiana, right wing on 10th Oct. left wing when relieved by right wing of 35th Regt.—15th N. I. from Mhow to Pertab Ghur, when relieved by Bombay troops.—17th N. I. from Nagpore to Bhopalpoore, when relieved by Madras troops.—18th N. I. from Goorgaon and Delhi to Secroora, when relieved by 22d Regt.—19th N. I. from Agra to Hansi, on 15th Oct.—20th N. I. from Secroora to Midnapore, on 15th Oct.—21st N. I. from Lucknow to Muttra, when relieved by 60th Regt.—24th N. I. from Hansi to Delhi, on 10th Nov. when relieved by 19th Regt.—28th N. I. from Pertab Gur to Benhanpore, on 26th Sept.—34th N. I. from Loodhiana to Setapore, on 1st Dec.—35th N. I. from Loodhiana to Meerut, right wing on 10th Oct. left wing when relieved by right wing of 12th Regt.—36th N. I. from Nusseerabad to Agra, about 16th Sept.—37th N. I. from Nagpore to Benares, when relieved by Madras troops.—43d N. I. from Kurnaul to Sangor, right wing on 10th Oct. left wing when relieved by right wing of 53d Regt.—53d N. I. from Sangor to Kurnaul, right wing on 10th Oct. left wing when relieved by right wing of 13d Regt.—55th N. I. from Mhow to Neemuch, when relieved by Bombay troops.—56th N. I. from Delhi to Nusseerabad, on 20th Nov. when relieved by 24th Regt.—58th N. I. from Nusseerabad to Agra, on 15th Dec.—60th N. I. from Bhopalpoore to Lucknow, when relieved by 17th Regt.—63d N. I. from Lucknow

to Delhi, and Goorgaon, when relieved by 6th Regt.

NEW COMPANIES OF PIONEERS.

Fort William, Sept. 16, 1824.—The following resolutions of Government are published for general information:

1st. That three temporary companies of Pioneers, of the usual strength, and accoutred similarly to the same class of men on the permanent establishment, be raised at Chittagong, and the non-commissioned officers for the above companies to be selected from among overseers belonging to such establishments as have been temporarily suspended.

2d. That the command and general superintendence of the department be committed to Capt. J. A. Schaleh, superintendent of canals and bridges, with the official rank of Major, and attached to the Head-Quarters of the army during the present war.

3d. That the following Officers be placed under the orders of Capt. J. A. Schaleh, with the least practicable delay:—Capt. T. Taylor, 5th L. C.; Lieut. J. Bedford, 48th N. I.; Lieut. R. Wroughton, 63d N. I.; Lieut. B. Browne, Artill.; Lieut. R. Wilcox, 59th N. I.; Lieut. R. B. Pemberton, 44th N. I.; Lieut. G. Thompson, Engineers; Lieut. J. A. Crommellin, Engineers.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FIELD HOSPITALS, &c.

Fort William, Sept. 16, 1824.—At the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, the establishment of two Field Hospitals is authorized on the eastern frontier, at such points and from such dates as his Excellency may please to direct.

A central Medical Depot will also be formed at Dacca.

AUGMENTATION TO FIELD BATTERIES OF FOOT ARTILLERY.

Fort William, Sept. 2, 1824.—At the recommendation of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, an addition of 16 spare horses and 24 spare drivers is to be made to each field-battery of Foot Artillery, with horse draught, until further orders. The horses are henceforth to be driven by m. nting the Syces when considered necessary.

FORMATION OF THE 69TH REGIMENT.

Head-Quarters, Nov. 10, 1824.—In pursuance of the order of the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council, under date the 4th Nov., the 69th Regt. N. I. is to be raised and disciplined at Benares; to which station the Officers of the late 47th Regt. N. I. (now posted to the 69th Regt.) are, with the exception of Lieut. Col. Cartwright, who is posted to the 2d Europ. Regt., to proceed without delay.

Lieut. Col. J. W. Blackney, of the

35th N. I., is removed to the 69th Regt., and directed to proceed to Benares with all practicable expedition, and commence the formation of the Regt.; and in order to give it the advantage of a portion of old soldiers, twenty men per company will be drafted from several corps of the line, in addition to a complete complement of Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

THE SEPOYS OF THE LATE 47TH REGT.

Head-Quarters, Nov. 11, 1824.—The Sepoys of the late 47th Regt. who were exempted from the operation of Gov. G. O. of the 4th Nov., are drafted into the 46th N. I., and will proceed under the command of Lieut. Col. Sargent, of the 57th Regt., by water to Assam, to join that corps, as soon as the requisite tonnage can be procured for them.

FORMATION OF TWO REGIMENTS OF LOCAL HORSE.

Fort William, Nov. 11, 1824.—Two regiments of Local Horse, of 8 risallahs each, and 80 officers and men per risallah, will be immediately raised and numbered 6 and 7, on the same scale as in the 2d, 3d, and 4th Regts., and on the like rates of pay, &c.

These corps are to be formed, one in Rohilkund, or in the Meerut district, and one on the western frontier, at such points as his Exc. the Commander-in-Chief may direct. The European and Native staff and establishments to each, will be exactly on the same scale and in the same proportion as in the other regiments of Local Cavalry.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Fort William, Nov. 9.—*Regt. of Artillery.* Major W. S. Whish removed from 2d to 3d batt. vice M^cQuhae; Maj. R. M. O. Gramshaw posted to 2d batt. vice Whish; Capt. E. Ralfe removed from 2d comp. 1st batt. to 8th comp. 2d batt. vice Gramshaw; Capt. H. J. Wood posted to 2d comp. 1st batt. vice Ralfe; 1st Lieut. R. G. Roberts removed from 3d comp. 1st batt., to 7th comp. 4th batt.; 1st Lieut. J. B. Backhouse removed from 3d comp. 3d batt. to 3d comp. 1st batt.; 1st Lieut. E. Madden posted to 3d comp. 3d batt.; 1st Lieut. J. S. Kirby removed from 4th comp. 3d batt. to 5th comp. 2d batt. vice 1st Lieut. P. A. Torckler from latter to former.

FURLONGHS.

To Europe.—Sept. 9. Capt. H. Sinnock, 3d N. I. for health.—13. Ens. L. Hone, 67th N. I. for health.—Oct. 14. Lieut. F. Beaty, 1st Europ. Regt. for health; Surg. W. Farquhar, for health.—16. Maj. B. Thomson, 6th L. C. for health.—28. Surg. H. Moscrop, for health; Brev. Capt. A. Syme, 57th N. I.

for health.—Nov. 4, Maj. J. L. Gale, N.I. for health; Lieut. R. Balderston, 43d N.I. for health; Lieut. C. Bracken, 45th N.I. for health; Lieut. J. S. K. Briscoe, 9th Madras N.I. for health; Lieut. R. Deacon, 16th Madras N.I. for health.—Nov. 11, Surg. J. Hare, H.C.'s apothecary, for health; Assist. Surg. W. Duff, for health.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Sept. 21, Capt. J. Gayne, 26th N.I. to be Paymast. to Field Force in Doobah, vice Browne, promoted.—28, Lieut. E. A. M'Curdy, 27th N.I. to be Aide-de-camp to Maj. Gen. H. Hall; Lieut. R. Thorpe, 27th N.I. to be Quarterm., Interp., and Paymast. to that corps, vice M'Curdy.—Oct. 8, Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) G. Hutchinson, 24th N.I. to be Brig. Maj. to troops serving at Sholapoor; Lieut. R. B. Fitzgibbon to act as Assist. Adj. Gen. of Army until further orders; Lieut. C. H. Græme, 5th L. C. batt. as Quarterm., Interp., and Paymast. during absence of Lieut. Fitzgibbon; Lieut. F. Whynnyates, of Artill. to be ditto to Horse Brigade, vice Levy; Lieut. A. G. Hyslop to be Adj. to ditto, vice Whynnyates; Lieut. R. Seton to be Quarterm., Interp., and Paymast. to 4th Batt. vice Polywhiele; Lieut. C. Hosmer to be Adj. to ditto, vice Seton; Lieut. J. N. R. Campbell, 2d L. C. to be Quarterm., Interp., and Paymast.; Lieut. W. D. Dalzell, 16th N.I. to be ditto, vice M'Farlane; Lieut. J. Randall to be Adj. vice Dalzell; Lieut. J. Cuxton, 19th N.I. to be Quarterm., Interp., and Paymast. vice Bonnette; Lieut. H. T. Hitchins to be Adj. vice Webbe; Lieut. R. J. Nixon, 25th N.I. to be Quarterm., Interp., and Paymast. vice Pace; Lieut. J. C. Stedman, 34th N.I. to be Quarterm., Interp., and Paymast. vice Armstrong; Lieut. H. Wright, 37th N.I. to be ditto, vice Clarke; Ensign J. Gordon, 28th N.I. to be Aide-de-camp to Lieut. Gen. Bowser, commanding in Mysore, vice Brodie; Lieut. J. Briggs, 13th N.I. appointed to first class of Survey-branch attached to Quarterm. Gen. department of Madras troops at Rangoon; Lieut. Col. C. Hopkinson to command Artill. serving with the Madras division at Rangoon, vice Burton.—22, Capt. H. A. Millar, 49th N.I. to command detach. at Cuddapah.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George.—Sept. 10, 6th L. C. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Babington to be Captain and Cornet, E. Armytage to be Lieutenant, vice Johnson, deceased, dated 20 May 1824.—28, 4th L. C. Lieut. and Brevet Capt. J. C. B. Doveton to be Captain and Cornet; A. Borradaile to be Lieutenant, vice Patullo, deceased, dated

24 Sept. 1824.—16th N.I. Lieut. A. Mac Farlane to be Captain, and Ensign O. F. Sturt to be Lieutenant, vice Trotter, deceased, dated 19 Aug. 1824.—Oct. 8, 5th N.I. Ens. S. Prescott to be Lieutenant, vice Malres, deceased, dated 19 Sept. 1824.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—Sept. 24, Surgeon J. C. Atkinson to have charge of Lunatic Hospital, the Female Asylum, and North Western District; Ass. Surg. Sheddén, appointed to Collectorate of Coimbatore, vice Jones, promoted; Ass. Surg. A. N. Magrath, appointed to Zillah of Chingleput, vice Reed, promoted.—Oct. 8, Surg. M. S. Moore to be Staff Surgeon to Field Force in Doobah, vice Trotter; Surg. A. B. Peppin to be Garrison Surgeon of Trinchinopoly, vice Wyse.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Head Quarters. Sept. 28.—Col. H. S. Scott, from 34th to 4th N.I.; Lieut. Col. Com. C. T. G. Bishop appointed to 35th N.I.; Lieut. Col. H. Swayne appointed to 2d N.I.; Lieut. Col. F. W. Wilson removed from 2d to 35th N.I.; Lieut. Col. H. Bowdler appointed to 41st N.I.; Lieut. Col. H. W. Sale removed from 41st to 49th N.I.

Cadets Posted.

J. Oakley to 6th L. C.; W. Elsey, 43d N.I.; H. Wakeman, 42d do.; H. A. Holcombe, 18th do.; R. K. M'Leod, 43d do.; E. V. P. Holloway, 42d do.; J. C. Dardell, 39th do.; R. Shirreff, 2d do.; W. Russell, 18th do.

Cadets appointed to do duty.

Oct. 4.—C. M. West, H. Marshall, W. E. L. Evelyn, H. Griffiths, and W. Beaumont, with 33d N.I.; C. A. Moore, and T. J. Fisher, 1st do.; W. W. Cooke, 21th do.; and J. Wilkinson 33d do.

Removals in Infantry.

Oct. 9.—Col. T. Boles from 32d to 49th N.I.; Lieut. Col. Com. M. L. Pereira from 48th to 33d N.I.; Lieut. Col. J. Brodie from 33d to 25th N.I.; Lieut. Col. G. Jackson from 8th to 21th N.I.; Lieut. Col. J. S. Fraser from 29th to 33d N.I.; Ens. C. Pickering, of 49th regt. posted to 2d batt. Pioneers, vice Cuxton.

Removals and Postings in Artillery.

Oct. 13.—Capt. J. G. Bowser from Horse Brigade to 1st batt.; W. T. Lewis posted to 1st batt.; F. Bourd to 2d batt.; T. Biddle to 2d batt.; J. Lambie to 1st batt.; J. M. Ley to 2d batt.; T. T. Paske from 2d to 4th batt.—First Lieutenants T. Dittmas to 1st batt.; T. H. Humphreys to 2d batt.; J. T. Ashton to 2d batt.; G. A. Goldingham to 1st batt.; S. S. Treves to 2d batt.; J. W. Crogon to 2d batt.; N. H. Fish to 2d batt.; T. K. Whistler to 1st batt.; W. H. Miller to 1st batt.

Oct. 14.—Lieut. Colonel S. Cleveland

posted to 2d batt. Artillery, and appointed to command Artillery with Nagpore Subsid. Force; Maj. J. Wilkinson posted to 1st batt. Artillery; Capt. G. Conran removed from 1st batt. to the Horse Brig. Artillery; Capt. R. G. Polwhele posted to 2d batt. Artillery; Lieut. C. Hosmur removed from Horse Brigade to 4th or Gohundauze batt. of Artillery; Assist. Surg. F. Godfrey removed from 2d to 40th regt.; and Assist. Surg. J. Morton from 40th to 2d regt.

Oct. 22. Assist. Surg. G. Beetson to do duty under Garrison Surgeon of Fort St. George until opportunity offers for his proceeding to Bangalore.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 23.—Lieut. Col. G. Brooks, 3d N. I. to be a Member of the Standing Committee of Survey vice Roome, resigned.—25. Lieut. Graeme, 3d Cav. to be Quartermaster of Brigade at Poonah, vice Willoughby.—Oct. 2. Capt. G. B. Aitcheson, 6th N. I. to be Acting Superintendent of Bazaars in the Deccan, vice Sandwith.—The following Cadets and Assistant Surgeons having reported their arrival, are appointed as follows: Mr. H. Bury and the Hon. A. O. Murray to be Cornets, Mr. S. A. Crofton to be Ensign; and Mr. A. J. Montefiore to be Assistant Surgeon.—Oct. 5. Lieut. J. Sanders, 15th N. I. to be Line Adjutant at Deesa, vice Froward; Lieut. A. W. Pringle, 14th N. I. to be Quartermaster of Brigade, vice Willoughby.

13th N. I.—Oct. 6. Lieut. A. Bradford to be Interpreter in Hindoostance and Quartermaster, vice Spence, transferred to 14th regt. 1st Oct. 1824.

5th N. I. Ens. H. Wood to be 2d or Mahratta Interpreter, 1st Oct. 1824.

21st N. I. Ens. R. Long to be 2d or Mahratta Interpreter, 1st Oct. 1824.

Oct. 11.—Lieut. Col. Wilson, 2d L. C. to command Malwa Field Force; Assist. Com. Gen. Ellis, from Surat Div. to be Assist. Com. Gen. at Mhow; Capt. G. W. Gibson, regt. Artillery, to be Dep. Com. of Stores at Mhow; Lieut. Athill, from Sholapore, to be Executive Engineer at Mhow; Lieut. H. Keddington, 22d N. I. to be Garrison Staff Officer at Asseenghur; Lieut. Willoughby to be Dep. Assistant Quarterm. General with Malwa Force; Capt. Hart to be Dep. Assist. Quarterm. Gen. in South Concan.

The following Cadets for Infantry and Cavalry, having reported their arrival, are appointed as follows:—Mr. W. Meeke to be Cornet; and Messrs. E. George, J. G. Gordon, and A. S. Hawkins to be Ensigns.

Oct. 15.—Lieut. G. R. Lyons, Hon. Artillery, to succeed Capt. Gibson as Dep. Com. of Stores at Knirah.—21.

Lieut. J. Tait to be Assistant to batt. of Pioneers, vice Goddard, promoted, dated 15 Oct. 1824; Capt. A. B. Campbell to be Sub. Assist. Com. Gen. on the Estab.; Ens. D. Davidson, 17th regt. N. I. to act as an Assist. to Revenue Surveyor in Guzerat during absence of Lieut. Dumaresq.—26. Lieut. Betk, 10th regt. to assist Capt. Hart in repairing the Roads down the Kommarlee Ghant, and thence to Chaploon; Capt. M. Baguold, 23d regt. N. I. to be a Brigade Major to the Forces, dated 11 Nov. 1824; Capt. W. H. Sykes, 17th regt. N. I. to officiate as Statistical Reporter.—30. Ensign G. M'Donnell, 11th regt. N. I. to be Interpreter & Quartermaster in Hindoostance, dated 1 Dec. 1824.—Dec. 6. Lieut. G. W. Blackley, 14th regt. N. I. to act as Adjutant until further orders, vice Pouget, promoted, dated 2 Dec. 1824.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 23.—Surgeon Smyttant to have Medical charge of the Gaol, and duty of attending Coroner.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Oct. 15.

6th Regt. N. I. Ensign R. Farquhar to be Lieutenant, vice Gibson, deceased, dated 27 June 1824.

4th Regt. N. I.—Nov. 30. Sen. Lieut. J. Finlay to be Captain, and Ens. R. Bouchier to be Lieutenant, vice McCullum, deceased, dated 10 Nov. 1824.

14th Regt. N. I.—Dec. 4. Lieut. L. R. Home to be Captain, and Ensign C. W. Wenn to be Lieutenant, vice Dunlop, deceased, dated 3d Dec. 1824.

19th Regt. N. I.—Dec. 6. Ens. E. H. Hart to be Lieutenant, vice Morley, deceased, dated 30 Nov. 1824.

10th Regt. N. I. Sen. Lieut. P. W. Pouget to be Captain, and Ens. J. Hay to be Lieutenant, vice Galloway, deceased, dated 2 Dec. 1824.

MEDICAL PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 23.—Ass. Surg. J. McNeil to be Surgeon, vice Ogilby, dated 19 July 1824.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Bombay Castle, Oct. 15.—Lieut. H. Hart, 6th regt. N. I. to take rank vice Maxwell, deceased, dated 17 Mar. 1824; Lieut. T. Ridout, ditto ditto, vice Aitcheson, promoted, dated 1 May 1824.

MEDICAL ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 23.—Surgeon F. Sheppee to take rank, vice Sharpe, retired, dated 22 July 1823; Surg. W. Purnell, ditto, 8 March 1824; Surgeon W. Frazer, ditto, on New Establishment, 1 May 1824; Surg. L. Hathway, ditto, ditto, 1 May 1824.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Bombay Cadets.—Sept. 25. Lieut. J. Finlay, 3d N.I. and F. Edlerston of 4th N.I. permitted to exchange Corps.—Oct. 2. Second Lieut. G. Dravley, 3d regt. N.I. to exchange with Second Lieut. E. W. Jones, 4th regt. N.I.—5. Lieut. R. Trovvard, 13th N.I. transferred to Rajcote as Line Adjutant, vice Worthy, promoted; Lieut. W. Noton, Quartermaster and Interpreter to 22d N.I. and Lieut. G. Macintosh, same regiment, doing duty as Quartermaster and Interpreter to Marine Batt. are permitted to exchange Appointments.

Cadets permanently posted.

Oct. 15. F. J. Bordwine to Engineers.—Cornets: G. W. Mouey, 3d L. C.; T. B. Hamilton, 1st L. C.; G. G. Maler, 3d L. C.; J. Penny 1st L. C.—Ensigns: W. Jones, 20th N.I.; D. Graham, 19th N.I.; R. E. Phillips, 7th N.I.; H. H.

Doherty, 18th N.I.; A. Shephard, 24th N.I.; W. Thatcher, 7th N.I.

Dec. 7.—Capt. J. Snodgrass, Assistant Com. Gen. is transferred from the Baroda Subsidiary Force to the Poonah Division of the Army, from the 1st inst.

FURLOUGHES.

Bombay Castle, Sept. 23.—Lieut. O. Poole, 9th N.I. and Lieut. C. H. Wells, 16th N.I. to Europe for health.—Oct. 8. Capt. J. Farquharson 8th N.I. to Europe on private affairs.—Nov. 26. Lieut. J. Hardy, 2d Grenadier regt. to Europe for health, for three years.—30. Lieut. Col. W. Turner, 1st Regt. L. C. to the Cape, and eventually to Europe, for health; Capt. E. Pearson, 15th N.I. to Europe, for three years, on sick Certificate; Assistant Surgeon D. Stewart, of Medical Establishment to Europe for health.—Dec. 4. Capt. Goodfitt, 16th regt. N.I. to Europe for three years, on furlough.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the London Gazettes.]

BENGAL.

11th Light Dragoons. Lieut. C. Wetherall to be Captain by purchase, vice Durie, who retires, dated 29 June 1824; Cornet A. Ahmuty to be Lieutenant by purchase, vice Wetherall, ditto; Gent. Cadet F. D. George, from Royal Military College, to be Cornet by purchase, vice Ahmuty, dated 24 March 1825.

64th Foot. Capt. John Lintott, from half-pay 60th Foot, to be Captain, vice Kelly, appointed to Rifle Brigade, dated 9 April 1825; Ensign W. M. Brownrigg, to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Howard, killed in action, dated 29 May 1824; C. Savage, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Brownrigg, ditto.

34th Foot. Lieut. Francis Bernard, from half-pay 21th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Coghlan, appointed to the 61st Foot, dated 9 April 1825; Geo. Green, Gent. from the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, to be Ensign, vice Campbell, appointed to the 72d Foot, dated 7 April 1825; Ens. J. Campbell to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Michell, dead of his wounds, dated 1 July 1824; Ens. F. Tudor, ditto, dated 10 Feb. 1825; E. Enns, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Campbell, dated 24 March 1825.

59th Foot. W. Jesse, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Jones, promoted in 56th regt. dated 9 April 1825.

MADRAS.

1st Foot. Lieut. John Nelson Ingram to be Captain, dated 7 April 1825.—To be Lieutenants, Ens. Edward K. Strathern, Butler, dated 7 April 1825; Lieut. John Simpson, from half-pay 21st Foot,

vice Ingram, dated 8 April 1825.—To be Ensigns: Thomas Wood, Gent. from the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, dated 8 April 1825; Alexander M'Kenzie, Gent. vice Butler, dated 9 April 1825.

30th Foot. Lieut. M. Schoof, from 67th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Deane, who exchanges, dated 3 June 1824.

54th Foot. Capt. Arthur Frederick Barbauld, from the half-pay of the 18th regt. to be Captain, vice Campbell, appointed to the 99th regt. dated 8 April 1825; Ens. Henry William Harris to be Lieutenant without purchase, dated 8 April 1825; Henry Carleton Bordes Serjeant, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Harris, dated 8 April 1825; Ensign F. Gonsidine to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Claus, deceased, dated 6 June 1824.

BOMBAY.

4th Light Dragoons. To be Captains without purchase: Lieut. F. D. Daly, vice Sale, deceased, dated 26 June 1824; Capt. J. Elliot from half pay 21st Light Dragoons, vice Barlow, deceased, dated 1 July 1824; Cornet J. S. Smith to be Lieutenant, vice Daly, dated 10 Dec. 1824; E. Harvey, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Smith, dated 24 Mar. 1825; Serj. Maj. J. Harrison, to be Adjutant, with rank of Cornet, vice Dixon, dated 25 June 1824; Cornet and Adut. G. Dixon to be Quartermaster, vice Allen, deceased, dated 25 June 1824.

47th Foot. D. Campbell, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Murphy, promoted in 60th regt. dated 11 April 1825.

67th Foot. Lieut. C. Deane, from 30th

Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Schoof, who exchanges, dated 3 June 1824.

CEYLON.

16th Foot. To be Captains: Lieut. Samuel Browne, dated 7 April 1825; Lieut. John D'Arcy, from the 17th Light Dragoons, dated 8 April 1825.—To be Lieutenants: Ens. Charles Frederick Thompson, dated 7 April 1825; Lieut. Brickell Alexander, from half-pay 56th Foot, dated 8 April 1825.—To be Ensigns: John Mac Intosh, Gent. dated 8 April 1825; Bryan Keating O'Dwyer, Gent. vice Thomson, dated 9 April 1825.

45th Foot. Lieut. Lambert Cowell, from the half-pay of the 19th regt. to be Lieutenant, vice Goodriff, appointed to the 66th regt. dated 8 April 1825.—To be Ensigns: Robert Lewis, Gent. from the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, dated 7 April 1825; George Christopher Barnewall, Gent. vice Powell, whose appointment is not to take place, dated 8 April 1825; Brev. Lieut. Col. Ximenes, from 62d Foot, to be Lieut. Col. without purchase, dated 25 March 1825.—To be Captains: Lieuts. R. Kelly & H. Forbes, dated 25 March 1825; Lieut. A. A. Van Cortlandt, from 8th Light Dragoons, dated 26 March 1825.—To be Lieutenants: Ensigns J. Macintyre, T. Fman and N. Sykes, dated 25 March 1825; Lieut. A. A. Armstrong, from half-pay Newfoundland Fencibles; Lieut. A. Clarke from ditto, 22d Foot (repaying the difference); Lieut. R. C. Elliot, from ditto of regiment; Lieut. R. S. Knox, from ditto 91st Foot; Lieut. J. M. Goodriff, from 7th Foot; Lieut. A. G. Sedley, from 3d Royal Vet. Batt.; Lieut. J. Forbes, from half pay of the regt.; Lieut. T. Chadwick, from half-pay 7th West India Regt.; Lieut. G. Bell, from half-pay 34th Foot; Lieut. W. Metge, from half-pay 48th Foot; Second Lieut. J. Geddes, from Royal Staff Corps, vice Kellie, dated 26 March 1825; Ensign G. Buller, from

63d Foot, vice Forbes, dated 26 March 1825.—To be Ensigns: Ens. A. Armstrong, from half-pay 1st Garrison Batt. dated 25 March 1825; Ens. R. Stanford, from half-pay Cape Regt. dated 26 March 1825; J. Du Vernett, Gent. vice Eman, dated 27 March 1825, and H. C. Powell, Gent. vice Sykes, dated 25 March 1825.

CAPE.

6th Foot. Captain Edwin Irwin, from half-pay 87th Foot, to be Captain, vice Ralph Meredith, who exchanges, dated 7th April 1825.—To be Lieutenant: Second Lieut. Wm. Pottinger, from the Royal Artillery, dated 9 April 1825.—To be Ensign: Ensign Edward Kirwan, from half-pay 88th Foot, vice John Atholl Bannatyne Murray McGregor, who exchanges, dated 7 April 1825; J. A. B. McGregor, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Foley, promoted, dated 24 March 1825; Lieut. R. Hart, from 72th Foot, to be Capt. without purchase, dated 25 March 1825.

[From the *Indian Gazette*.]

BENGAL.

Fort William, Oct. 30.—Lieut. T. S. O. Halloran, H.M.'s 44th Regt. to be Brigade Major to Brig. Gen. Dunkin, and directed to proceed to Dacca.

FURLONGHS—HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

To Europe.—Sept. 6. Lieut. Browne, 44th Foot, for health.—21. Lieut. Sperling, 16th Lancers, on private affairs; Ens. Thomson, 69th Foot, for one year, for health.—22. Lieut. and Adj. Purcell, 46th Foot, for health.—Oct. 1. Lieut. Norman, 59th Foot, for health.—Lieut. Pigot, 59th Foot, for health.—Nov. 10. Capt. Carr, 41st Foot, for health; Capt. Ellis, 16th Lancers, for health.—13. Brev. Maj. Howard, 30th Foot, for health.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Sept. 1. The lady of T. J. Turner, Esq., civil service, collector of Sibpore, of a daughter.—At Kurnaul, the lady of J. McDowell, Esq., superintendent surgeon, of a daughter.—3d. At Aurungabad, the lady of Capt. F. Patterson, Aurungabad division, of a son.—6th. At Nussערabad, the lady of Lieut. Pennefather, 3d L.C., of a son.—At Cawnpore, the lady of Lieut. Worral, of a daughter.—7th. At Benares, the lady of Lieut. R. C. Dickson, of art., of a son.—10th. The lady of Lieut.-Col. Becher, of a daughter.—At Coddrai, Tirhoot, the lady of R. S. Cahill, Esq., of a son.—At Goruckpore, the lady of F. Currie, Esq., C.S., of a daughter.—12th. At Futtichburgh, the lady of Lieut. J. F. Hutton, of engineers, of a son.—13th. At Kaz Gunge, the lady of Capt. Scott, adj. Gardner's horse, of a daughter.—15th. The lady of Capt. Eastgate, of a daughter.—At Intally, Mrs. M. A. Burgess, of a daughter.—16th. The lady of W. P. Muston, Esq., of a daughter.—At Serampore, Mrs. J. Hugginson, of a son.—17th. At Bishop's College, the lady of the Rev. Principal Mill, of a daughter.—19th. At Bareilly, the lady of Lieut. Griffiths, of a daughter.—At Cawnpore, the wife of Dr. A. Davidson, of a daughter.—20th. At Benares, the lady of Capt. S. Watson, 55th N.I., of a son.—21st. At Chowringhee, Mrs. W. Fendall, of a daughter.—At Bankipore, Mrs. J. Gray, of a son.—24th. At Bareilly, the lady of W. Chalmers, Esq., M.D., of a daughter.—At Chinsurah, Mrs. C. Barber, of a daughter.—At Midnapoor, the lady of Lieut. V. Shortland, superintend. N.D., Cuttack Road, of a son.—26th. At Chowringhee, the lady of J. A. Dorin, Esq., C.S., of a son.—At Barrackpore, the lady of Capt. C. F. Wild, 24th N.I., of a daughter.—27th. At Secora, the lady of Capt. H. James, 20th N.I., of a daughter.—At Barrackpore, the lady of Maj. W. Swinton, of a son.—29th. At Howrah, Mrs. Cliffe, of a daughter.—Oct. 1. Mrs. O. F. Benms, of a son.—3d. At Barrackpore, the lady of Mr. Superintend. Surg. Brown, of a son.—Mrs. D. Gomes, of a daughter.—The lady of J. W. Hogg, Esq., of a son.—The lady of P. Stewart, Esq., M.D., of a son.—5th. At Allipore, the lady of G. Gooch, Esq., civil service, of a daughter.—6th. The lady of N. Hudson, Esq., of a daughter.—7th. At Benares, the lady of J. M. Macnab, Esq., civil service, of a son.—8th. At Hoogly, the lady of W. H. Belli, Esq., of a daughter.—11th. At Jubulpore, the wife of

Lieut. M. Nicolson, of a daughter.—15th. At sea, on board the Larkins, the lady of Capt. Jordoun, of a daughter.—19th. Mrs. M. Martin, of a daughter.—At Moorshedabad, Mrs. A. Smelt, of a son.—20th. The lady of Mr. F. D. Bellow, supervisor of Ghauts, of a son.—21st. At Coolbariah, the lady of G. Barton, Esq., of a son.—At Arrah, the lady of W. Lambert, Esq., civil service, of a son.—22d. At Ghazee-pore, Mrs. Watson, of a daughter.—24th. At Battora, near Jaunpore, the lady of Major H. Wrottesley, of a daughter.—25th. At Cawnpore, the lady of J. Wemyss, Esq., civil service, of a son.—26th. At Buxar, the lady of Capt. J. Oliver, Assist. Poona Stud, of a daughter.—The lady of Capt. T. Baker, of the ship Nearchus, of a daughter.—27th. At Barrackpore, the lady of Maj. W. Swinton, of a son.—Nov. 1. At Arrah, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Com. Baldock, of a son.—4th. In Fort William, the lady of H. Cavell, Esq., of a son.—7th. Mrs. J. Lord, of a son.—9th. Mrs. A. J. Boillard, of a son.—11th. At Ballygunge, Mrs. Gordon, of a son.—17th. At Calcutta, the lady of J. McKenzie, Esq., of a son.—At Chowringhee, the lady of Capt. R. Horne, of R.N.I., of a daughter.—At Calcutta, the lady of Lieut. J. A. Scott, 1st Reg. I.C., of a son.—18th. In Fort William, the lady of Maj. W. H. Dennie, H.M. 13th Light Infantry, of a son.

Marriages.—Sept. 3d. Mr. T. P. Whittebury, to Eliza Emily, eldest daughter of the late Dr. J. Spratt, civil service, Bencoolen.—12th. At Dinapore, Mr. J. Dobson, of the central board of revenue, to Miss F. Chamberlain.—16th. Mr. T. W. Dalrymple, coach-maker, to Mrs. Nicholls, widow of the late S. Nicholls, Esq.—20th. R. Wells, Esq., civil service, to Frances, second daughter of W. Trower, Esq.—25th. Mr. W. K. Ord, to Mary Ann, second daughter of the late D. Templeton, Esq.—Oct. 2d. Lieut. C. Fowle, 65th N.I., to Mary Anne, second daughter of W. Thomas, Esq., surg. 4th N.I.—Mr. T. Mitchell, master of the H.C.'s brig Torch, to Miss M. Wright.—5th. J. Williamson, Esq., of Serampore, to Mrs. A. Carey, relict of the late F. Carey, Esq.—11th. At Dum-Dum, Capt. C. Graham, of Artillery, to Mary, third daughter of the late Col. Taylor, of Riverhill, Kent.—13th. Mr. J. Moore, to Miss A. I. Mackenzie.—18th. At Seunderabad, Lieut. J. W. Poyntz, H.M. 36th Reg., to Miss E. T. Stoddard.—21st. J. Lowe, Esq., to Mrs. Bennett, relict of the late W. R. B. Bennett, Esq., civil service.—29th. At Delhi, Mr. J. George, to

Miss Charees, eldest daughter of Capt. Charees.—At Panerput, Mr. W. Kelly, to Miss A. Lamaister.—Nov. 13th. Mr. W. S. Blackburr, to Miss J. G. Ross.—Lately, T. Palmer, Esq., to Miss J. H. Adams.—16th. At Calcutta, Lieut. J. Butler, 3d N.I., to Miss A. Gunn.—20th. Lieut. C. Burrowes, 45th N.I., to Miss Winkle, eldest daughter of the late Capt. J. Winkle, 49th Reg. N.I.

Deaths.—Sept. 17. At Buxar, Agnes D. H. Plantagenet, infant daughter of Maj. R. P. Field.—18th. Wm. Manning-~~ton~~ Esq., aged 32.—19th. John Marriott, son of W. Denman, Esq., aged three years.—21st. At Dum-Dum, J. E. Ferguson, son of the late Rev. Mr. Ferguson, parish of Ringussie, Perthshire.—At Banda, Julia Chalotte, infant daughter of G. Malawaring, Esq.—Capt. P. P. Nind, 3d L.C.—22d. At Itally, Mr. W. Butler, late head assist. in Adj. Gen.'s office.—At Nussacerabad, of dropsy, Lieut. Col. G. V. Barnes, commanding 36th N.I.—23th. At the age of 74, Joseph Barretto, Esq., one of the oldest inhabitants and most respectable merchants of Calcutta.—27th. Mrs. E. Boardman.—30th. At Chowringhee, Mrs. Skakespear, the lady of J. T. Shakespear, Esq., civil service, aged 41.—Mrs. Isabel Han, aged 54.—Oct. 1. Mrs. F. D'Rosario, aged 45.—Lieut. J. Alston, 40th N.I., aged 35.—At Pulicat, J. W. Moodie, Esq.—3d. At Neasuray, Mr. R. Summers.—At Barrackpore, of cholera, Maj. C. Martin, 61st N.I. aged 45.—At Hindown, Ens. J. Chesney, 28th N.I.—4th. At Dacca, Shearman Bird, Esq., one of the judges of the Prov. Court of Appeals and Circuit. Mr. Alex. Aubert, aged 40.—5th. At Cawnpore, Mrs. Ellary, wife of Quart. Mast. W. Ellary, H.M.'s 59th Regt., aged 27.—6th. At Howrah, Mr. S. Ritherdon, aged 27.—7th. At Dacca, Charles, the youngest son of the Rev. W. Parish, aged three years.—At Lucknow, Frances Sophia, daughter of Capt. A. Roberts, aged two years.—8th. Benjamin Fort, Esq., aged 27.—Mr. John Turner, aged 51.—9th. Mr. Gabriel D'Cruz, aged 34.—10th. At Dacca, Lieut. Col. R. A. C. Watson, 44th N.I.—Mr. Patterson, Surg. of the ship Henry Porcher.—11th. Maj. Arthur Owen, 29th N.I., aged 25.—12th. At Ran-goon, Lieut. J. Lindesay, 34th Regt., or Chitragole L.I., son of V. Lindesay, Esq., of Balmungie, Effeshire, aged 21.—At Mhow, Assist. Surg. H. Fraser, 15th N.I.—14th. At Saugor, Lieut. T. B. Malden, 21st N.I.—15th. At Delhi, Mr. J. T. Brown, registrar to Board of Revenue, W. P.—21st. Of cholera, Capt. G. Bun-von, commander of the ship Cornwall.—2d. At Delhi, Mr. J. Gould, Surveying Depart.—24th. Maj. W. McQuhae, Beng. Artill., aged 38.—31st. Mr. M. Bull.—Nov. 7th. At Coxially, near Cishuagur, Mr. Geo. John Wheatly.—At Dinapore, Caroffie, the lady of Capt. R. A. Thomas,

48th N.I.—8th. At Secroly, Maj. Gen. R. B. Gregory, C.B.—9th. At Trincomalee, Capt. J. Cooke, A.D.C. to Right Hon. the Gov. Gen. of India, and Lieut. in the Royal Marines.—10th. G. Crump, Esq.—11th. Lieut. Harthwait, 27th Regt.—13th. At Chaudernagore, Miss M. Brunet.—17th. At Allipore, Anna Maria, wife of G. Gough, Esq., civil service.—At Cos-simbazaar, H. W. Droz, Esq.—P. A. Toickler, Esq.—Mrs. O. Eminaz.

MADRAS.

Births.—Sept. 13th. At Secunderabad, the lady of Lieut. Col. Bowdler, commanding 41st N.I., of a son.—21st. At Palamcottah, Mrs. P. Carlier, of a son.—23rd. At Secunderabad, the lady of Lieut. H. R. Kirby, 4th N.I., of a son.—Oct. 5th. At Wallajahbad, the lady of Lieut. G. Brady, 33d N.I., of a son.—6th. At Tanjore, the wife of the Rev. G. Sperschneider, of a son.—12th. At Poon-amallee, the lady of W. R. Smith, Esq., medical estab., of a son.—13th. At Chit-toor, the lady of R. Gibbon, Esq., of a daughter.—At Secunderabad, the lady of Capt. Walker, assist. adj. gen., of a daughter.—14th. At Kilpauk, Mrs. C. P. Gordon, of a daughter.—15th. The lady of Lieut. Col. Com. Wahab, of a daughter.—30th. The lady of Capt. T. S. Watson, of the Artillery, of a son.—Nov. 1th. At Tanjore, the lady of Capt. Fyfe, of a son.—11th. At the Presidency, Mrs. Chas-teauvill, of a son.—The lady of E. Mundell, Esq., Paymaster of H. M. 6th Regt., of a daughter.—21st. The lady of Lieut. E. Dyer, 46th Regt. N. I., of a daughter.—26th. The lady of J. Savage, Esq., of a daughter.—Lady of J. McLeod, Esq. of a son.

Marriages.—Oct. 18th. At Secunder-abad, Lieut. J. W. Poyntz, H. M.'s 30th Regt., to Eliza Theodosia, daughter of the late Quart.-mast. Stoddant, H. M.'s 31th Regt.—23d. Arathoon Kerakoose, Esq., to Miss Hosanna, eldest daughter of Seth Sam, Esq.—27th. At Quilou, Capt. C. Maxtone, commanding Resi-dent's escort, to Bellina Sophia, fourth daughter of Lieut. Col. Com. Welsh, com-manding Travancore sub-sid. force.—28th. At Cuddapah, Mr. G. Walton, missionary, to Anna, daughter of Lieut. Col. Han-kin.—Lately. Mr. W. Grant, to Miss Biles.—Mr. Roberts, of the Church Missionary Society, to Miss Mary Lee.—Nov. 5th. At Secunderabad, to W. P. McDonald, 41st Reg. N. I., to Charlotte, daughter of A. Scott, Esq. C. S.

Deaths.—About the latter end of Aug-ust, in the house of Herbert Compton, Esq., Advocate-General, Alfred Dica-cci, Esq., Naturalist de Regt. deputed to India by the Institute of France &c. Corresponding Memb. in the Div. of Na-tural History, Memb. of Asiatic Soc. of

Deaths.—Oct. 1st. At Pallat, J. W. I. leader, aged 39.—At Vizagapatam, Mrs. Lawson, widow of the late Capt. P. Lawson.—At Vepery, Mrs. M. McDand, 22d. At Nellore, Capt. R. Robinson, 1st N. I.—21st. At Negapatam, Mrs. Iovet.—30th. At Madras, Mr. J. Gore.—At Vepery, Mr. J. F. Forbes.—Nov. 2d. At Gooty, Capt. C. Templer, 8th L. C.—At the Presidency, the daughter of A. C. Angelo, Esq., Madras, civil service.—7th. At Negapatam, Mrs. E. A. Brulle, aged 41.—6th. At Dharwar, Lieut. and Adj., R. Sewell.—At Cannanore, Lieut. J. H. Graham.—9th. At Tokah, J. Gordon, Esq., Madras Medical Establishment.—11th. At St. Thomas's Mount, the Rev. A. X. De Casta.—12th. At Chingput, M. A. Elizabeth, only daughter of S. Boileau, Esq., civil service.—17th. At Rangoon, Conductor W. Lawrence, of Ordnance department.—At Bellary, Mr. J. C. Davies.—Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Justice and Lady Franklin.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Sep. 19th. At Ahmedabad, the lady of J. Williams, Esq., civil service, of a daughter.—20th. At Surat, the lady of G. W. Anderson, Esq., of a son.—Oct. 3d. The lady of the Hon. Sir C. H. Chambers, pulsing justice of the Supreme Court, of a daughter.—4th. At Cambay, the lady of Lieut. W. Reynolds, Revenue and Topographical Survey Dep., of a daughter.—At Colabab, the lady of W. C. Ramsay, Esq., of a daughter.—5th. At Poonha, Mrs. C. Ducat, of a son.—6th. At Surat, the lady of J. Taylor, Esq., civil service of a son.—7th. At Surat, the lady of E. Grant, Esq., civil service, of a son.—15th. At sea, on board the Larkins, the lady of Capt. Jourdan, of a daughter.—26th. The lady of G. L. Elliot, Esq., civil service, of a son.—Nov. 15th. At Rajcote, the lady of Capt. J. Worthy, of a son.—24th. At El-luhpore, lady of Capt. W. Ledlie, Bengal Estab., of a daughter, still-born.—27th. Lady of Lieut. Col. Shoulham, Quart. Mast. Gen., of a son, still-born.—Dec. 6th. The lady of Rev. E. Mainwaring, Chaplain, of a son.

Marriages.—Oct. 26th. R. T. Webb, Esq., civil service, to Caroline, third daughter of W. Payne, Upper Baker-street, London.—Nov. 30th. Mr. J. B. Egan, Mil. Auditor, Gen. Officer, to Mrs. A. Morgan.—Dec. 9th. At St. Thomas's Church, Ens. H. H. Doherty, 18th Reg., Bombay. N. I., to Miss E. Bellasis.

Deaths.—Sep. 8th. At Bassadore, in the Persian Gulf, Lloyd Walker, Esq., Surg. of the cruiser Ternate.—23d. A. V. Horne, the wife of L. W. Brownne, Esq.,

a Solicitor of the Supreme Court, aged 47.—26th. Capt. S. C. Crooks, 40th, N. I.—Oct. 6th. Mr. J. Mitchell.—10th. At Chaulore, Ens. T. Noad, 23d N. I.—14th. Mrs. Mitchell, widow of the late Mr. J. Mitchell.—Nov. 1st. Lieut. Col. J. Knowles, C. B., Madras establishment, aged 50.—9th. On board the ship Simpson, Capt. J. M. Cullin, 4th Reg. N. I.—Dec. 1st. At Poonah, Capt. M. L. Galloway, 10th Regt. N. I.—2d. On board the Dorrothy, Capt. W. F. Dundlop, 14th Regt. B. N. I.—4th. At Surat, Lieut. W. H. Ottey, 3d Regt. L. C.—8th. Lieut. J. H. Heathcot, Regt. of Artillery.—9th. At Bombay, Rev. J. Nicols, Missionary.

SINGAPORE.

Marriage.—June 9th. Andrew Farquhar, Esq., to Miss Elizabeth Robinson.

Deaths.—Aug. 20th. Peniston Lamb, Esq., of the Bengal civil service.—27th. On board the ship John Adam, in the Straits of Malacca, Capt. C. E. Smith, commander of the said ship.—26th. On board his own ship, in the harbour, Capt. J. Park, of the Jupiter, free trader.—Oct. 21st. Mr. C. J. Alford.

CEYLON.

Marriage.—Sept. 23. At Colombo, Mr. J. C. Holdsteyn, secretary to the sitting magistrate of Kandy, to Miss Mary Deane.

Death.—Oct. 9. At Trincomalee, Capt John Cooke, A.D.C., to the Right Hon. the Gov. General of India, and Lieut. in Royal Marines.

PENANG.

Birth.—Aug. 19. At Suffolk, the lady of the Hon. W. E. Phillips, Governor, &c., &c., of a son.

Deaths.—Aug. 20. Mr. R. B. Smith, Bengal ordnance commissariat.—22d. Edward, infant son of the Hon. W. E. Phillips, aged three days.—Sept. 8. Joseph Hodgson, Esq., late purser of the H.C.'s ship Sir David Scott.—Oct. 8. At his residence at Kelso, the Hon. John Macalister, Esq., senior member of council of this presidency, after a service of nearly 20 years.—20th. After a short illness, the Hon. Sir Francis S. Bayley, recorder of this island and its dependencies.

CHINA.

Birth.—Nov. 3. At Macao, the lady of Wm. H. C. Plowden, Esq., of a daughter.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—April 22d. In Lower Brook-street, the Hon. Mrs. Barrington, of a son.

Marriages.—March 26th. At Kensington, A. Temple, Esq., of Kemsey, Worcestershire, to Louisa Anne, youngest daughter of the late J. R. Carnac, Esq., member of Council, at Bombay.—April 4th. At Gloucester Lodge, Brompton, the Earl of Clanricade, to Harriet, only daughter of the Right Hon. George Can-

ning.—5th. At St. James's Church, C. Ross, Esq., son of General Ross, to Lady Mary Cornwallis, fourth daughter of the Marquis of Cornwallis.

Deaths.—March 3d. At Melnathort, Mr. W. Stevenson, late ordnance keeper, at Fort William.—16th. At Rye, Major R. Hay, Bengal N.I.—April 7th. Drowned in the River Thames, Capt. Pitcher, of the East India trade.—17th. At his house on Stamford Hill, Mr. Patrick M'Lachlan, in the 49th year of his age.

SUPPLEMENTARY CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

[From the Indian Gazettes.]

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, Nov. 26.—Mr. R. Cathcart to be Dep. Collector of Calcutta; Mr. A. W. Begbie, ditto of Banda.—Dec. 16. Mr. E. Deedes, Second Assistant to the Export Warehouse-Keeper. 17. The Hon. W. Hh. Melville, to be Agent of the Gov.-General at Moorsheadabad; Mr. A. Grant, to be Assistant to the Secretary to the Government in the Persian Department.

MADRAS.

Fort St. George, Dec. 2.—Mr. A. Wilson be 3d Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Western Division; Mr. J. Paternoster, to be Register to the Zillah Court of Masulipatam; Mr. A. Cheaps to be Register to the Zillah Court of Bellary; Mr. C. P. Browne, to be Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Rajahmundry; Mr. G. A. Smith, to be Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Masulipatam.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Dec. 15, 1824.—Assist. Surg. H. Clark is appointed to the 1st reg. light cavalry, and directed to join at Purneah without delay.

Assist. Surg. J. Colvin is appointed to the Medical charge of the Dinapore Local Battalion, and directed to proceed and join without delay.

Assist. Surgeons, G. W. Boyd, who were appointed, temporarily, on the Establishment, by Government General Orders of the 2d inst., are directed to proceed by water to Dacca without delay, where they will receive further orders.

Assist. Apothecary Cullington, who was posted to the Garrison of Fort William, General Orders of the 7th Sept. last, having arrived at the presidency, will relieve Apothecary Lamborn, lately prom.

Apothecary Lamborn is appointed to do duty at the General Hospital until further orders; and Apothecary Samuel George is appointed to the Hospital of his Majesty's Royal regiment.

MEDICAL PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, Dec. 9, 1824.

The Governor-General in Council is pleased to make the following Promotions in the subordinate branch of the Medical Department:—

To be Apothecaries:—Assist. Apothecary G. D. Wiltshire, Frederick Short, Andrew Long, Henry Jenkins, James Concannon, William Hannah.

To be Stewards:—Assist. Apothecary John Bennett; Assist. Steward John Wm. Tibbitts, Robert Marrow, Charles Hyde.

To be Assistant Apothecaries:—Hospital Apprentice Robert Henry Bain, Richard Macauliffe, John Kidd, Hugh Carroll, John O'Connor, James Bain, Henry Watson, Francis Pingault, Dennis Marshall, John Wilson.

To be Assistant Stewards:—Hospital Apprentice John Hinder, Henry Leach, James Pluck.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Dec. 11th, 1824.—The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to direct the following removals

and posting to place in the regiment of artillery—

Capt. W. Oliphant, from the 15th comp. 4th batt. to the 4th comp. 1st batt. vice Smith; Capt. C. Smith, from the 4th comp. 1st batt. to the 8th comp. 2d batt. vice Ralfe; Capt. H. Ralfe from the 8th comp. 2d batt. to the 15th comp. 4th batt. vice Oliphant removed; 1st Lieut. J. S. Rotten from the 2d comp. 3d batt. to the 8th comp. 4th batt. vice Bennet from the latter to the former: This exchange will take place on Capt. Brooke's arrival at Kurnaul; 1st Lieut. R. G. Roberts, from the 7th comp. 4th batt. to the 2d comp. 2d batt. vice Here deceased; 1st Lieut. W. J. Symons, from the 1st comp. 1st batt. to the 7th comp. 4th batt. vice Roberts removed; 1st Lieut. E. H. Ludlow (new promotion) to the 1st comp. 1st batt. vice Symons removed; 1st Lieut. O. Baker, from the 6th comp. 1st batt. to the 2d comp. 4th batt.; 1st Lieut. H. N. Pepper (new promotion), to the 6th comp. 1st batt. vice Baker removed; 1st Lieut. C. Dallas, from the 1st comp. 3d batt. to the 14th comp. 4th batt.; 1st Lieut. H. Humphrey, from the 5th comp. 3d batt. to the 1st comp. 3d batt. vice Dallas removed; 1st Lieut. J. Cartwright, from the 2d comp. 4th batt. to the 5th comp. 3d batt. vice Humphrey removed; 1st Lieut. L. Burroughs, from the 2d comp. 4th batt. to the 2d comp. 3d batt. vice Williams deceased; 1st Lieut. A. Campbell from the comp. 1st batt. to the 6th comp. 3d batt. vice Beddingfield from the latter to the former; 1st Lieut. W. J. Macvity, from the 4th comp. 3d batt. to the 4th comp. 2d batt. vice Hughes from the latter to the former; 1st Lieut. P. Jackson, from the 7th comp. 2d batt.

to the 4th comp. 1st batt. vice Dyke from the latter to the former; 1st Lieut. H. Rutherford, from the 8th comp. 1st batt. to the 7th comp. 1st batt. vice Brind from the latter to the former.

2d Lieut. F. Grove, from the 3d comp. 2d batt. to the 5th comp. 3d batt.; 2d Lieut. J. Edwards, from the 4th comp. 2d batt. to 2d comp. 3d batt.; 2d Lieut. G. J. Cookson, from the 4th comp. 1st batt. to the 3d comp. 3d batt.; 2d Lieut. W. S. Piliam, from the 1st comp. 2d batt. to the 1st comp. 1st batt.; 2d Lieut. W. E. J. Hodson, from the 3d comp. 2d batt. to the 1st comp. 3d batt.; 2d Lieut. G. Ellis, from the 1st comp. 2d batt. to the 8th comp. 1st batt.; 2d Lieut. F. R. Bazely, from the 1st comp. 2d batt. to the 5th comp. 1st batt.; 2d Lieut. J. Abbott, from the 5th comp. 2d batt. to the 2d comp. 1st batt.; 2d Lieut. F. R. Bollen, from the 4th comp. 2d batt. to the 6th comp. 1st batt.; 2d Lieut. E. D'A. Todd, from the 2d comp. 2d batt. to the 4th comp. 1st batt.; 2d Lieut. G. T. Graham, from the 7th comp. 2d batt. to the 1st comp. 2d batt.; 2d Lieut. F. K. Dnn-can, from the 7th comp. 3d batt. to the 4th comp. 2d batt.; 2d Lieut. T. E. Sage, from the 8th comp. 2d batt. to the 1st comp. 2d batt.; 2d Lieut. G. D. Scott, from the 6th comp. 3d batt. to the 5th comp. 1st batt.; 2d Lieut. F. Galskell, from the 6th comp. 2d batt. to the 3d comp. 2d batt.

The officers removed from the 6th and 7th companies 1st batt. to Sangor, will join when the companies arrive there.

The officers removed from Dnn-Dnn to the upper provinces will be directed to proceed so soon as their services can be dispensed with after practice.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

(From the Indian Gazettes.)

FURLOUGHS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Dec. 13, 1824.

—The permission granted by their Excellencies General Sir Alexander Campbell and the Hon. Lieut.-General Sir Charles Colville to the undermentioned Officers respectively, is confirmed for the reasons assigned:—

4th Dragoons. Colonel Dalbiac to the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, or eventually to Europe, for two years, for the recovery of his health, under very particular circumstances.

68th Foot. Colonel Bruce, to Europe, for one year, for the recovery of his health.

The undermentioned Officers have received his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's leave of absence for the reasons assigned:—

16th Lancers. Captain Greville, from

10th December to 24th April 1825, to Calcutta, on most urgent private affairs.

16th Lancers. Brevet Captain Hake, from 25th December to 24th April 1825, to visit Benares, on private affairs.

59th Foot. Lieut and Adj. Carmichael, from 25th Dec. to 25th February, 1825, to visit Lucknow and Delhi. Lieut. Macdonald, from 25th December to 25th February 1825, to visit Agra and Pntichgur. Ensign McGregor, from 25th December to 25th February 1825, to visit Lucknow and Delhi.

87th Foot. Ensign Smyth, from 10th December to 24th January 1825, to Calcutta, on most urgent private affairs.

The appointment of Captain Browne, *11th Dragoons*, to the charge of Invalids to England, is cancelled at the request of that Officer, and he has 4 months leave of absence from this date to enable him to rejoin his corps.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BENGAL.

Births.—Nov. 11. At Nagpore, the relict of the late Capt. A. Stewart, of 31st Regt. N.I., of a son.—15. At Rajcot, the lady of Capt. J. Worthy, of a son.—9th Dec. At Bolarum, the lady of J. Bushby, Esq., of a daughter.—At Moorshedabad, the lady of S. G. Palmer, Esq., of a son.—11th. At Malda, the lady of the late Capt. T. Ward, of a daughter.—14th. At Barrackpore, the lady of Lieut. Col. Boyd, 65th Regt., of a son.—17th. At Ballygunge, the lady of Capt. Mylne, of H.M. 114th Dragoons, of a son.—19th. At Chowringhee, the lady of F. Law, Esq., civil service, of a son.

Marriages.—Dec. 4th. At St. Mary's church, Lieut. and Quart. Mast. C. Sinclair, 24th Regt. N.I., to Miss S. Balfour.—24th. At Calcutta, Mr. J. Bowers, to Miss S. Lynch.

Deaths.—Dec. 6th. At Jubhulpore, the infant daughter of Lieut. Wright.—13th. At Calcutta, Peter, the infant son of Mr. T. B. Scott.—19th. At Serampore, Edward, the infant son of Capt. D. Thomas.

MADRAS.

Birth.—Dec. 4th. Charlotte, the wife of Mr. C. J. Jones, of a son.

Deaths.—Nov. 27.—At Trichmopoly, Cornet W. G. C. Dunbar, 5th Light Cav.—Dec. 6th. At Arcot, Selma Jane, daughter of J. Stephenson, Esq.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Nov. 24. At Bombay, the lady of Lieut. Col. Cooper, of Engineers of a son.—25th. At Matoonagah, the lady of Maj. Stevens, of a son.—26th. At Quilor, the lady of Lieut. W. H. Smith, 15th Regt. N.I., of a son.—27th. At Bombay, the lady of Lieut. Col. Shuldham, of a son.

Marriages.—Nov. 19th. At Bombay, Capt. W. R. Dexter, Regt. of Art., to Miss S. C. Pinchard, daughter of J. Pinchard, Esq., Taunton, Somerset.—30th. Mr. J. B. Eagan, to Mrs. A. Morgan.

Deaths.—Nov. 21st. At Saltara, Thomas, the son of Capt. H. Adam, 6th Regt.—24th. At Bombay, F. Ayrton, Esq.—25th. J. W. Cherry, Esq., collector of the Northern Concan.

DISPOSITION OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN INDIA.

Forces in the Burman Territories under Sir A. Campbell, K.C.B.

BENGAL DIVISION.

Artillery.—7th and 8th Companies, 3d Batt. 169
His Majesty's 41st Regt. 500
His Majesty's 38th Regt. 800
Native Infantry, 40th, (at Che Juba) 900
H.M.'s 47th Regt. (under orders to Rangoon) 800

3160

MADRAS DIVISION.

European 2260
Native 900

Artillery, 2 Comps. European, 1 Native 240
His Majesty's 41st Regt. 900
His Majesty's 89th Regt. 800
Madras European Regt. 500
Native Infantry, 3d Regt. 900
Ditto ditto 7th ditto 900
Ditto ditto 9th ditto 900
Ditto ditto 12th ditto 900
Ditto ditto 18th ditto 900
Ditto ditto 34th ditto 900
Ditto ditto 43d ditto 900
1st Battalion Pioneers 800

9900

Nov. 1894.

Intoto

European, 2260 + 3160 = 5420 } 13,000
Native, 900 + 7140 = 8040 }

Rangoon Force 13360
Chittagong 9750
Dacca 3900
Sylhet 8100
Assam 3800

Troops in actual movement before }
the Burman Territory } 37,810

Company's Troops of the Bengal Presidency.

Bengal Native Infant. 74,000 ... 68 Battalions
16 Regt. Irregulars ... 16,000 ... 16 ditto
8 Native Cavalry ... 6,400 ... 8 L. C.
2 European Regts ... 1,500 ... 2 Battalions
Artillery ... 1,920 ... 3 ditto
Horse ditto ... 560 ... Brigade
Native Artillery ... 1,700 ... 1 Battalion
14 Provincials ... 14,000 ... 14 ditto
Regts. Local Horse ... 5,400 ... 5 Regts.
Scabundahs ... 2,000 ... 2 ditto
Body Guard ... 400
Grenadier Battalions 4,000 ... 4 ditto
Pioneers ... 720

Total in Beng. Ter. 127,100

Madras Europeans 2,700
Bengal ditto 2,260

Madras Natives 5,030
Bengal ditto 7,140
In Nav. Body-Guard, part of Rocket }
Troop, from Bengal, embarked } 300

Troops at Rangoon .. 13,360

British Forces in India.

533

CHITTAGONG FRONTIER.

Under Brig. Gen. Morrison, Col. of H.M.'s 44th.

H.M.'s 44th Regt. Artill. Detachment	900
N.I. 47th, 62d, 27th, 30th, & 45th Bengal	6,350
10th and 16th Madras	2,000
Artillery Detachment	2,000
Provincial Battalion, Major Levy	500
Flotilla of armed Vessels and gun-boats (perhaps)	9,750

N.B.—47th, and part of 62d and 26th, shot and disbanded, for mutiny at Berhampore, when under orders to march for Chittagong.

DACCA. HEAD QUARTERS.

Brig. Gen. Shouldam, Col. 46th N.I.

Detachment of Artillery	200
5 Companies of Pioneers	400
7th and 44th Regts. N.I.	1,800
Dacca Provincial Battalion and Flotilla	3,000

SYLHET FRONTIER.

B. Gen. Cotton, 67th Foot (or 47th).

His Majesty's 54th Foot	1,000
Detat. Artillery	6300
Native Infantry - 42d Regt., 26th, 7th, 44th, 14th, 39th, 52d	800
Sylhet Local Corps and Gun Boats	8100

ASSAM.

Brig. A. Richards, 46th N.I.

Detat. of Artillery	500
Flotilla Gun Boats	1800
Native Infantry 46th, 57th	200
Rungpore, Champinoo, Dingapore, Local Corps, Two Troops irregular Horse	2,500

FORT WILLIAM AND CALCUTTA

His Majesty's Royals, Detach. Artill.	950
Detach. N.I. from Barrackpore	400
Native Militia of Aleypore	1600
	2,950

PRESIDENCY DIVISION.

Head Quarters, Barrackpore

N.I. 10th, 61st, and 68th Regts	2700
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BERHAMPORE,

His Majesty's 67th Regt.	800
Native Infantry. 28th and 42d	1800
Provincial Batt. and 8d Company Hill Rangers	1500
	4100

CAWNPORE.

1st Troop Horse Brigade, H.M.'s 10th	3000
Lancers, 9 Comp. Artillery, 2 Europ. Regt.	3000
Native Infantry	3000
Levy Recruits and Prov. Battalion	8800

MEERUT.

Five Troops Horse Brigade, H.M.'s 11th	2300
L. Dingpore, H.M. 50th Foot	900
30th Regt. Native Infantry	3100

Company's Troops	127100
King's Troops. 11th and 16th Drag. 13th, 14th, 39th, 44th, 59th, & 67th	7000
Bengal Total	134100

DINAPORE.

European Troops	1000
Native Ditto	2000
	3000

Before Burm. Ter.	37610	In the Field.
Fort William	2950	
Barrackpore	2700	Principal Stations,
Berhampore	4100	from which Troops
Cawnpore	8600	can be marched to
Meerut	3100	the Frontiers.
Dinapore	3000	
	62000	

Company's Troops of Bengal Presid.	127100
King's Ditto of Ditto	7000
	134100

Suppose the other Two Presidencies equal	268500
	402600

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA.

Extract of a Letter, dated Bombay, Sept. 25, 1824.

Our monsoon closed on the 7th inst., a full month earlier than usual, having given us only 32 inches of rain, instead of the average quantity of about 85. Last year's supply was only 66 inches. Most serious apprehensions of distress are now entertained for want of water throughout the Deccan, and in Cutch and Kattwar; and already the population of the two latter has begun to migrate towards the Indus. In this island, the tanks are none of them full, and several nearly dry, and measures are in contemplation to provide for the expected distress of the last months of the dry season, which was even partially felt during last May and June.

The crops are of course deficient, and the prices of grain high and rising. Rice is 2 rs. per bag dearer than last year; Common Bengal Moorkey being now saleable at 7 instead of 5 rs. Grain, for which we depend upon the cultivation of the neighbouring districts, bears fully double its ordinary price, being at about 40 rs. per Candy, instead of 16 & 17 to 20. The latter will experience a further advance, if the feeble hopes still cherished of partial showers be, as we fear they will be, disappointed.

The accounts relative to the Cotton crop are very deplorable: it is apprehended that nearly the whole will be destroyed by the scorching rays of an unclouded sun, usually veiled in September. Prices have consequently very much advanced in the country; and one letter quotes China Market at 145 rs. per Candy, about 40 rs. higher than its value in June.

Freights will, for the same reason, range low, perhaps lower than during any period since 1821. £9 can no longer be obtained for tonnage disengaged.

INDIAN SECURITIES.

CALCUTTA PRICE CURRENT, Dec. 25, 1824.

Freight to London still rates at 5*l*. to 7*l*. per Ton

COURSE OF EXCHANGE, PRICE OF BULLION.

Current value of Government Securities.

	Rs. As.		Rs. As.	
Remittable Premium.....	32	4	to	33 0
Non remittable ditto.....	3	0	—	7 8

Bank of Bengal Rates.

Per Cent.

Discount on Private Bills.....	5	0
Do. on Government Bills of Exchange.....	4	0
Interest on Loans on Deposit, open date.....	4	8
Do. 3 Months certain.....	4	4

Rates of Exchange.

Buy.		Sell.
1 <i>l</i> . 10 <i>s</i> . 8 <i>d</i> . to 1 <i>l</i> . 11 <i>d</i> . On London, 6 Months' sight, in S. Rs.		1 <i>l</i> . 11 <i>d</i> . to 2 <i>l</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .
Bombay, 30 Days' sight, per 100 Bombay rupees.		92
Madras, ditto, 94 to 98 sicca rupees per 100 Madras rupees.		
Bank Shares, Premium.....	56 0 to	60 0

Price of Bullion.

	S. Rs.		S. Rs.	
Spanish Dollars, sicca rupees.....	209	0	to	209 8 per 100
Doubloons.....	30	8	to	31 8 each
Joca or Pezas.....	17	8	to	18 0
Dutch Ducats.....	4	4	to	4 12
Louis D'ors.....	8	4	to	8 8
Silver Five Franc pieces.....	190	4	to	190 8 per 100
Star Pagodas.....	3	6	to	3 7 6 each.
Sovereigns.....	10	0	to	10 8
Bank of England Notes.....	10	4	to	10 12

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.	Date.
April 1	Off Plymouth..	Fanny ..	Laird ..	Cape ..	Nov. 18
April 10	Scilly ..	De Cock ..	Martin ..	Mauritius ..	Dec. 29
April 12	Off Portsmouth	Berwickshire ..	Shepherd ..	China ..	Nov. 18
April 12	Cowes ..	Hope ..	Sweet ..	Manilla ..	Nov. 6
April 13	Off Portsmouth	Thos. Countts ..	Chrystie ..	China ..	Dec. 18
April 13	Off Portsmouth	Duchess of Athol	Danell ..	China ..	Dec. 1
April 13	Off Portsmouth	Catherine ..	M'Intosh ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 19
April 13	Cowes ..	George Home ..	Young ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 12
April 13	Liverpool ..	Dorothy ..	Ga'nock ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 2
April 13	Chauuel ..	Macqueen ..	Walker ..	China ..	Dec. 15
April 14	Off Portsmouth	Medway ..	Wight ..	Bengal ..	Oct. 18
April 14	Off Portsmouth	Asia ..	Lindsay ..	Rangoon ..	Sept. 30
April 14	Cowes ..	Asia ..	Eastwich ..	China ..	Nov. 20
April 15	Off Dover ..	Sir Geo. Osborne	Coulson ..	Cape ..	Feb. 6
April 16	Off Plymouth..	Kerswell ..	Armstrong ..	Cape ..	Jan. 27
April 20	Off Isle of Wight	Kat. Stew. Forbes	Chapman ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 14
April 21	Off the Start ..	Earl of Balcarras	Cameron ..	China ..	Jan. 8
April 21	Off Foscarr ..	Pss. Charlotte	M'Kean ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 15
April 22	Off Dover ..	Carn Brea Castle	Davey ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 11
April 23	Off Plymouth..	Castle Huntley ..	Drummond ..	China ..	Dec. 22
April 24	Downs ..	Triumph ..	Green ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 15
April 24	Downs ..	Jupiter ..	Young ..	Singapore ..	Sept. 8
April 24	Off Portsmouth	Css. Harcourt ..	Bunn ..	Mauritius ..	Jan. 22
April 24	Off Dover ..	Nerina ..	Northwood ..	Cape ..	Jan. 25
April 24	Off Plymouth..	Glydesdale ..	M'Gill ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 4
April 25	Off Portsmouth	Barossa ..	Hutchinson	Mauritius ..	

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Nov. 8	Cape ..	Ogle Castle ..	Weynton ..	London
Nov. 28	Bengal ..	Elizabeth ..	Swann ..	London
Dec. 22	Bengal ..	Nimrod ..	Speers ..	London
Dec. 31	Bengal ..	Circassian ..	Dowthwaite	London
Dec. 31	Bengal ..	Morley ..	Halliday ..	London
1825.				
Jan. 4	Cape de Verds..	Prudent ..	Gulliver ..	London
Jan. 22	Cape de Verds..	Harvey ..	Peach ..	London
Jan. 24	Cape de Verds..	Prince Regent ..	Rowe ..	London
Jan. 27	Cape de Verds..	Echo ..	Duntop ..	London
Feb. 1	Cape ..	Driver ..	Neilson ..	London
Feb. 5	Port Prayo ..	Lady Campbell ..	Irvine ..	London
Mar. 3	Madeira ..	Pero ..	Rutier ..	London
Mar. 4	Madeira ..	H. M. S. Boadicea		Portsmouth
Mar. 6	Madeira ..	Do. Owen Glendower		Portsmouth
Mar. 8	Madeira ..	Coromandel ..	Boyes ..	London
Mar. 12	Madeira ..	Guardian ..	Sutherland	London
Mar. 12	St. Helena ..	Lavinia ..	Brooks ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commandr.	Destination.
Mar. 30	Deal	Atlas	Hunt	Madras
April 3	Deal	Batavia	Blair	Batavia & Singapore
April 4	Liverpool	Christopher Scott	Wise	Batavia
April 5	Deal	Harmony	Butler	Cape
April 10	Liverpool	Indian	Shannon	Bengal
April 14	Portsmouth	Africa	Skelton	Maurit. Ceyl. Beng.
April 12	Deal	Minerva	Probyn	Madras and Bengal
April 13	Plymouth	Lady Nugent	Coppin	Madras and Bengal
April 14	Plymouth	Spring	Hackman	Cape and Singapore
April 15	Deal	Recovery	Chapman	Bombay
April 16	Deal	Warren Hastings	Mason	Madras and Bengal
April 16	Deal	Charles Grant	Hay	Madras and Bengal
April 17	Deal	Pss. Char. of Wales	Biden	Madras and Bengal
April 21	Deal	Royal George	Reynolds	Madras and Bengal
April 24	Deal	Sir E. Paget	Geary	Madras and Bengal
April 24	Deal	Nourmahd	King	Batavia and Singap.

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commandr.	P. of Depart.	Destination.
Jan. 25	21.34 S. 62 E.	Salmon River	Gransmore	Singapore	London
Jan. 27	10.21 S. 86 E.	Ganges	Lloyd	London	Madras
Feb. 1	25 S. 35 E.	Dumra	Hamilton	China	London
Feb. 10	11.30 S. 32.19 W.	Gen. Kyd	Nairne	London	Bengal & China
Feb. 10	Near Trinidad.	Monmouth	Simpson	London	Cape
Feb. 18	3.40 N. 19.50 W.	Woodlark	Brown	London	Singapore
Mar. 9	4.7 N. 22.5 W.	Thames	Dewar	Ceylon	London
Mar. 11	4.11 N. 21.20 W.	Waterloo	Alsager	London	Bengal
Mar. 23	45.26 16	Cath. Green	Fox	Bombay	London
April 8	20 League W. of Scilly.	Chris. Scott	Wise	Liverpool	Batavia
April 13	Off Tuskar.	Indian	Shannon	Liverpool	Bengal
April 16	45.33 N. 17.35 W.	Barossa	Hutchinson	Mauritius	London
April 16	22.4 S. 28.30 W.	Vansittart	Dalrymple	London	Bombay
April 16	Off Java Head.	Scorpion	Rixson	Singapore	Bengal
April 16	1.37 N. 22.30 W.	Sealeby Castle	Newall	London	Bengal & China
April 17	48.4 6.	Lady Nugent	Coppin	London	Madras & Beng.

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

ARRIVALS FROM INDIA.

By the *Berwickshire*.—From China: Lieut. Frankland, 67th Regt.; Mrs. Frankland and two children; Mrs. H. Gosling, Capt. Stratton, Madras N. C.; Mr. J. Stell, R. N.; Lieut. Blyth, 49th Regt.; two children of W. Lester, Esq.; B. C. Service; and infant daughter of E. P. Smith, Esq.

By the *Catherine*.—From Bengal: Mrs. and Mast. Patton, Mrs. Nicol, Mrs. Nind, and two children; Maj. H. Thompson, Capt. A. Syme, Lieut. Balderston, Drs. Moscrop and Farquharson, two Misses Fullerton, Mast. and Miss Bennett.

By the *Thomas Coutts*.—From China: Capt. Hutchinson, R. N.; Cornet Lindsay, Mad. Cav.; and Mr. J. Sinder.

By the *Duchess of Athol*.—From China: Lieut. Col. Coombs, Mrs. C. and three children, G. B. Robinson, Esq.; Major Peach,

Bengal N. L.; Mr. Dashwood of the Cape; Mr. J. Marshall, ditto, two Masters Pivon.

By the *George Home*.—From Bengal: Lieut. Puller, Madras Army, and Mr. Reid.

By the *Cape Packet*.—From Mauritius: Major-Gen. Sir T. Pritzler and Lady, Capt. Weatherall, Aide-de-Camp, Col. and Mrs. Hodgson, and one child.

By the *Resolution*.—From Mauritius: Mrs. Parker, Mr. and Mrs. Ingelton, and two children, and Mr. Innes, R. N.

By the *Triumph*.—From Bombay: M. L. R. Reul, H. C. S.; Capt. James and Henderson, H. C. S.; J. L. Lant, G. de Magalhães, and A. du Rocha, Members of the Portuguese Government at Goa; Mrs. Hickes and child; Mrs. Rickettes and child, Mrs. Chaplin and child, Col. Hickes, Capt. Tiedell, Capt. Hardy, Lieut. Campbell, Dr. Stewart left at Cape.

By the *Katherine N. Forbes*.—From Bombay: Mrs. Mayne and two children, Mrs. Woodhouse

and three children, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Lighton and two children, Mrs. and Miss Fyfe; Mr. Woodhouse, late Registrar of the Bombay Court; Mr. Hunt, and Major Pearson; Col. Turner left at Cape.

By the *Sir George Osborne*.—From Cape: Mr. and Mrs. Lamertz and two children; two Masters Clements; Mrs. Bainbrick, Mrs. Kettle and three children.

By the *Ganges*.—From Bombay: Mrs. Barlow, Miss Hodge, Col. Dolinar, Capt. Hughes, Ward, Mason, and Goodill; and Lieut. Dunne.

By the *Kerswell*.—From the Cape: Mr. Durhan, and Capt. Bounnoy.

By the *Corn Bica Castle*.—Col. (died at sea) and Mrs. Garner; Lieut. Col. Mrs. Masters, and Miss Sweetenham; Mrs. Mao Chynock, Col. M. White, G. Pennington, Lieut. Col. Paterson, Capt. Ross and Hammond, Master Jenkins, and Miss H. Gladwin.

By the *Castle Huntley*.—From China: Capt. R. Elliott, R. N., and Master Lane.

By the *Jupiter*.—From Penang: Mrs. Howarth and Miss Wallis.

By the *Asa*.—From Rangoon: Mr. Bedford, of H. M. Ship Andromache.

By the *Thames*.—From Ceylon: E. Bletchman, Esq., and Lady, left at the Cape; Major and Mrs. Martin, Capt. Taice and Malcolm, Mrs.

Malcolm and four children; Dr. Dermott, 1st Ceylon Regt.; Lieuts. Conrady, Murray, and Henley, 16th Regt.; Rev. Mr. Bayley, Mrs. Bayley, and two children; Sergeant and Mrs. Silar, 16th Regt., and two children.

PASSENGERS EXPECTED.

By the *Upton Castle*.—From Bombay: Mrs. Manuwing, Mrs. Hessman and two children; Mrs. Knowles, Mrs. Crawford, and two children; Miss Graves, J. H. Crawford, Esq.; Capt. Hammond, Robertson, and Farquharson, Bombay Army; Lieuts. Layton, Bombay Army; and Fitzmaurice, H. M. 4th Drag.; three Masters Kemball, and Masters Elderton, Hough, and Lawrence; Misses Palm and M'Donald; Col. Ogilvie, and three children of Dr. Huxwood's.

PASSENGERS OUTWARD.

By the *Lady Nugent*, Coppins. —For Madras and Bengal: Lieut. Col. and Mrs. Campbell, Major and Mrs. Holloway, Capt. and Mrs. Mallett, Lieut. and Mrs. Bremner, Lieut. and Mrs. Barnes, Miss Col. Pollock, Miss Mahon, Miss Pollock, Miss Barnes, Miss Menzies, Lieut. Stewart, Cadets Pollock, Loflie, Johnstone, Morgan, M'Donald, Shakspear, Eult, Hay, Mr. M'Lean, and Mr. Beecher.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday April 27, a Special General Court of Proprietors was held for the despatch of business.

The Chairman, CAMPBELL MAJORIBANKS, Esq., took the Chair at twelve o'clock, and moved that the Court do confirm the Resolution of the General Court of the 23d ult., approving of the resolution of the Court of Directors of the 26th of January last, for the appointment of a person in the capacity of First Assistant in the office of Surveyor of Buildings, at a salary of 350*l.* per annum. The resolution was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN then moved, that the Court do confirm the Resolution of the General Court of the 23d ultimo, approving the Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 5th January last, granting to Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., a Pension of 1,000*l.* per annum, on the grounds therein stated.

Sir C. FORBES and General THORNTON, bestowed high eulogiums on the distinguished abilities of the gallant officer, and expressed a hope that his services would not be lost to the Company or the country in general.

The motion was then carried.

The CHAIRMAN laid before the Court the draught of a Bill now before Par-

liament, "For further regulating the payment of the Salaries to the Judges of his Majesty's Courts in India, and the Bishop of Calcutta, and for authorizing the Transportation of Offenders from the Island of St. Helena, and for the providing for the administration of Justice in Singapore and Malacca, and in certain Possessions on the coast of Coromandel, and in the northern Circars."

Mr. GAHAGAN condemned the practice which prevailed, and of which the present Bill was an instance, of huddling together in one Act of Parliament, subjects which were totally distinct from each other. In the Bill before the Court, Bishops and burglars, Judges and murderers, were mixed up in a way which was by no means respectful to some of the parties. Such a system of legislation must make "confusion worse confounded." The practice should be altered. (*Heard*.)

Sir C. FORBES concurred in the observations which had fallen from the hon. Proprietor.

Mr. ASHILL stated, that in the framing of the Bill under consideration, he and the Right Hon. Secretary for the Board of Control, had copied as closely as possible the Act of the 53d of the late King.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD took that opportunity of suggesting, that a clause should be introduced into the bill, to regulate the manner in which the Supreme Government should exercise the power of banishing British subjects from India, if that power were to be suffered to exist. The banished person should, at all events, be sent home direct, instead of going round by a coasting voyage. The hon. Proprietor then proceeded to allude to the memorial which he understood Mr. Arnot had presented to the Court of Directors, and expressed his belief, that no member of the Direction could read the statement of sufferings of that unfortunate man, without feeling commiseration for him.

The CHAIRMAN interrupted the hon. Member, by suggesting, that it would be better at present, to leave the case of Mr. Arnot to the Court of Directors.

Mr. D. KINNAIRD said, he would adopt the suggestion of the Chairman; and the more readily, because he believed that the feelings of the Court of Directors were consonant with his own. (*Hear, from behind the bar.*) Here the conversation ended.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that as he was related to Capt. Cobb, to whom the next Resolution to be submitted to the Court related, he would, from motives of delicacy, resign the Chair to his colleague, the Deputy-Chairman. He then retired.

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN (Sir G. Robinson) took the chair, and submitted a Resolution of the Court of Directors of the 30th ult. ; viz.—“That it is the

opinion of this Court that the commander and owners of the ship Kent are fully acquitted from all imputation of neglect or misconduct in respect to the loss of that ship.”

Sir C. FORBES approved of the conduct of Captain Cobb, the Captain of the vessel, but thought that the Resolution should have censured the conduct of the officer who took a lighted candle into the hold, in which there were spirits, by which act of imprudence—he had almost said madness—the dreadful accident was occasioned. He likewise expressed his opinion that if ships were allowed to sail in pairs, as was formerly the case, fire might be extinguished, and, at all events, all lives might be saved. The honourable Bart. also stated, he was certain that every ship which had carried out troops to India lately had been over-crowded.

Mr. HUGH LINDSAY and the Deputy-Chairman denied that the Company's ships had been over-crowded, and stated that every attention was always paid to the comfort of the troops.

Mr. CARRUTHERS said, that the accident had not occurred from negligence. The officer who had been alluded to did not carry a lighted candle into the hold, but a lamp, which was placed in a lantern, called a “bull's eye.” The accident was occasioned by the bursting of a spirit barrel during a lunge of the ship.

After a few words from Mr. Trant, the ballot on the question was fixed to take place on Wednesday, the 11th of May; and the Court adjourned at two o'clock.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Communication of an OCCASIONAL READER, correcting an error in the article entitled ‘Sketch of the Six Days’ War at the India House, taken on the Spot,’ came too late for insertion, this month. It shall appear in a succeeding Number.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 18.—JUNE 1825.—VOL. 5.

FINANCIAL STATE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

It was the boast of Augustus, that he had found Rome a city of brick, and would leave it a city of marble. Our ambition must be supposed to be of an opposite kind with regard to India, so long as we permit the Company to scrape off and convey to England a large proportion of its revenue, as if it were something superfluous and "excrecent;" and to borrow money from a country which they designate and treat, not as a creditor, but as a debtor.—COLONIAL POLICY, AS APPLICABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

WE trust the sordid maxim will soon be exploded for ever, that the possession of India should be viewed as beneficial to England, only in so far as it may be able to furnish a surplus revenue to this country. After having seized upon an extensive territory, to which our only title is that of superior force, by what law, human or divine, shall we be justified in continuing yearly, from generation to generation, to drain its inhabitants of their wealth; acknowledging no limit to our rapacity, but that of our power of extorting revenue, and no better object than to enrich ourselves with the spoils? But setting aside the cruelty and injustice of the conqueror, in acting the part of so barbarous a taskmaster to helpless Hindoostan, Great Britain is capable of deriving other advantages from her protégé, of a higher and better order; and though the most important of these are now, and have long been, sacrificed to a monopoly, they ought never to be lost sight of. By the absolute control exerted over these extensive territories, new marts may be created for British commerce in the heart of Asia; and the productions of the East exchanged for the manufactures of the West, with mutual benefit to both. New fields of enterprise may be opened for the capital and talent of this nation, which are now pressing for employment in every quarter of the globe, by which the resources of India and the power of England in that country would be simultaneously augmented to an incalculable degree. But by a miserable system of exclusion and monopoly, both countries are obstinately debarred from enjoying the blessings of Colonization. Even now, however, the civil and military service of India provides for a great number of British youth; and it is therefore vain for certain writers to pretend that there is no national advantage but surplus revenue. Ultimately many of them retire from active duty, and spend in their native land the fruits of their savings, or the pensions belonging to their rank; by which a sum calculated to exceed two millions sterling is annually attracted to this country—a steady influx of wealth much greater than the surplus revenue could ever be expected to yield. Above all, our national pride is gratified by these splen-

did possessions. It would be a noble, and in every respect a praiseworthy feeling, if we had only the ambition of governing them well. As the first of civilized states, we ought chiefly to regard the glory that must result to the national character from the introduction of our learning, language, and institutions, among the people of Asia. We ought to look forward to the founding of a great empire in the East, which might become a source of mutual strength, and an everlasting monument to British fame in that part of the globe. It is truly lamentable to think that such great objects should be lost sight of and despised, for the sake of wringing from the helpless people of India something in the shape of surplus revenue, to slake the golden thirst of a few commercial monopolists.

The few advantages actually derived from India, even under the present system, are not to be regarded as a present to us from the East India Company. They are, in fact, only such as it cannot possibly withhold from us; for if the army of India could be officered, and the revenues of India collected, as safely and cheaply by the agency of foreigners as of British subjects, the Company would soon carry much farther its favourite system of banishing and excluding from its territories all natives of the United Kingdom. The nation has to thank itself for leaving these princely possessions so long in the hands of a Company of Traders, and resting contented with obtaining from them a very minute portion of the benefits doled out as gifts. It was by *British* valour that the Company's dominions were at first acquired; and by this alone they have since been defended and preserved. The credit and the arms of the British nation have alone supported the power of the Company from the beginning; and if these aids were for a moment withdrawn, it would dwindle into its original insignificance. Instead of deriving any strength from the employment of such an instrument of government, it is a source of weakness: since the credit and authority of this country, by being delegated to a Company of traffickers, are sullied and lowered in the estimation of neighbouring states. This system, so disadvantageous in every other respect, will be found to be no less so in a pecuniary point of view, to which we mean at present to confine our attention; and for this purpose to enter upon an examination of the Work of Mr. Tucker, briefly noticed in our last Number.¹

It may perhaps be useful to make our readers first acquainted with such particulars concerning the author as may enable them to estimate more fully the weight due to his opinions. He was at one time high in civil office in India; then went into mercantile business as a partner in the House of Palmer and Co. He subsequently returned to the Government employ, and became Accountant-General under Lord Minto's administration; and after revisiting Europe, served, on his return to Bengal, as Secretary in the Colonial Department, under Lord Hastings. He is stated to have been the author of the measures for reducing the interest of the debt to six per cent. in 1811, when he was Accountant-General. The change was of unquestionable expediency to the Company's interests; but the mode of effecting it was complained of, as having been conducted unfairly, and in a manner that deceived and blinded the holders of the Company's paper, as to the objects contemplated by Government, which were

¹ A Review of the Financial Situation of the East India Company in 1824; by Henry St. George Tucker, Esq. London 1825.

studiously kept secret. But for this Mr. Tucker cannot be held justly responsible: since, whatever be the blame, it rested with his superiors in the Government, he being merely a Secretary. He enjoys the character of being an able and well-intentioned public man; but, from habit and other causes, strongly partial to the views of his honourable masters; besides which, he aspires to be one of that body himself.

The chief object of his present volume is, to combat the opinions of the foreign political economists, who hold that the East India Company is a burden upon this country to the extent of above two millions sterling per annum, and that this famous body, so supported by the nation, and by a false credit, is in fact in a state of bankruptcy. With the view of proving the contrary, Mr. Tucker exhibits a statement of the Indian revenue and expenditure, for thirty years preceding 1822. On balancing the results, we find that on the whole period there is a surplus of above six crores (6,03,90,529) of rupees; or an average annual surplus of 20,10,00 rupees. "But," he observes, "the surplus revenue realized in India cannot all be considered as clear and independent income, subject to no further deduction; for there is a large disbursement in this country on account of our Eastern possessions, which is not included in the Indian accounts, but which properly constitutes a charge upon the local revenue. This disbursement (he says) was hitherto inconsiderable; but from the augmentation of our army, and other causes, it has gradually increased, and now amounts to a large sum annually. No useful purpose (he, however, adds) would be answered by exhibiting the particulars of the home charge for a series of years; nor is there, indeed, materials for a retrospect beyond 1813, when the political and commercial charges were for the first time separated and particularly distinguished." Without these particulars, thus avoided, being taken into account, it is, however, evidently impossible to arrive at any result whatever. In 1821—2, this home charge is stated to amount to 1,434,327*l.*, and is now supposed to be a million and a half. The author gives us to understand that it has recently been considerably increased; but he does not specify any items that would account for its having suddenly swelled to such an amount, if it had been before inconsiderable. A statement of the actual amount might at least have been given as far back as to 1813; but even this is omitted. "Prior to that period," he says, "the home charge seems to have been estimated by the Court of Directors at 850,000*l.* per annum;" or nearly one-half less than it is at present. Supposing this to be a fair estimate, as there is no cause assigned for much previous fluctuation in this branch of expenditure, it may perhaps be assumed as the best index of the thirty years preceding 1822. Then taking it at 2*s.* 6*d.* the rupee, we have—

Average Indian surplus revenue, in the thirty years preceding 1822.....	S. R. 20,00,000
Home charge.....	63,00,000
	<hr/>
Average deficit annually.....	S. R. 47,90,000

or nearly six hundred thousand pounds sterling sunk every year. It does not appear for what purpose Mr. Tucker has brought forward the data from which these conclusions flow, since he does not himself attempt to draw any inference whatever from them. But turning away his eyes from the general result of the thirty years enumerated, he fixes upon the two last years, viz. 1822 and 1823, when the Marquis of Hastings's administra-

tion had brought the finances into a state of unparalleled prosperity, and closes with the result of these two single instances, as a refutation of M. Say, whose calculations referred to a time long previous, namely, 1806; and to be worth any thing, must have been founded on a much broader basis of experience. If, after the example of Mr. Tucker, we were to take the years 1824 and 1825, when the Indian revenue is swallowed up by the Burmese war, how different would the result be from that of his two previous years! yet equally to be relied on as a test of the prosperity of the Company's finances. It is in this manner he exhibits the surplus revenue of 1821-2 as being 691,477*l.*; and that of 1822-3 as about a million sterling: an instance confessedly unparalleled, and which may never be equalled again.

Taking the most favourable revenue period of any length, namely, from 1813-4 to 1821-2, including nearly the whole of the Marquis of Hastings's prosperous administration, and part of Lord Minto's peaceful one, the average Indian surplus of these nine years is—

	S. Rs. 78,72,167
Deducting the home charge of 1,386,748 <i>l.</i> calculated at	
2 <i>s.</i> per rupee	1,38,67,480
Average deficit	S. Rs. 59,95,313

Thus, instead of Mr. Tucker's *surplus* of 691,477*l.*, we have clearly a *deficiency* of about 600,000*l.* not differing materially from the average deficit on thirty years; and even if we take the average between the home charge of 1813 and that of 1821-2 as a standard, although the former is, we suspect, estimated a great deal too low, we have still a deficiency of upwards of 331,000*l.* annually. But the increase of territorial debt during the same period has been sufficiently rapid to warrant us in taking even the highest estimate of the deficiency in the revenue; the amount in 1793 being little more than five crores; in 1822, twenty-seven and upwards; giving an excess of about twenty-two millions. A large portion of this, it is true, must have been contracted merely for the purpose of being shared as dividend among the Proprietors of East India stock; which does not mend the matter. It is also to be considered that their financial difficulties have been accumulating at this rapid pace, notwithstanding subsidies, to the amount of a million and a half sterling, from Native Princes; an irregular mode of replenishing the public treasury, which cannot be well calculated upon in future; Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and others treading in their footsteps, having already left few hoards of Eastern riches for their successors to plunder.

If we take the growth or diminution of the Company's debts as the test of its financial prosperity, these speak the same language with the excess of their territorial charges above their revenue. In 1793, the total debt at home and abroad, exhibited on the books, was 15,962,743*l.*; in 1805, it was 31,638,827*l.*; in 1814 and 15, it amounted to 47,994,604*l.*; in 1823-4, to the sum of 61,949,818*l.*

The historian of British India has justly observed, that "in estimating the financial condition of a great Government, the annual receipt, as compared with the expenditure and the debt, where debt is incurred, are the only circumstances which are usually taken into reckoning, and make up the account. The goods and effects in hand, which are necessary for the immediate movements of the machine, and in the course of immediate

consumption, justly go for nothing: since, if any part of them is taken away, it must be immediately replaced, and cannot form a part of a fund available to any other purpose, (as the liquidation of debt,) without diminishing some other fund to an equal degree. Departing from this appropriate rule, the East India Company (he adds) has availed itself of its mercantile capacity, to bring forward regularly a statement of assets as a compensation for its debts. This, however, is objectionable on a second account; because, according to the mode in which this statement is framed, it may exhibit at pleasure either a great amount or a small. Some of the principal articles have hardly any marketable value, and could produce little, if the Company were left to dispose of them to the best advantage; yet the Accountants of the Company assign to them any value which seems best calculated to answer their masters' designs. Houses, for example, warehouses, forts, and other buildings, with their furniture, constitute a large article; set down at several times the value, probably, at which they would sell. Debts due to the Company, and arrears of tribute, form another material ingredient, of which a great proportion is past recovery. A specimen of the mode in which the account of the assets is made up, may be seen in the following fact: that 1,733,328*l.*, as due by the public for the expedition to Egypt, was continued in the Bengal accounts as an asset, after the expense had been liquidated in England; and upwards of two millions sterling, due to the Company by the Nabob of Arcot and Rajah of Tanjore, is continued in the Madras accounts as an asset, though virtually remitted, and extinguished upon the assumption of the territory of the Carnatic." Mr. Mill, therefore, concludes, that "the account of assets exhibited by the East India Company, deserves very little regard in forming an estimate of its financial situation."

M. Say, evidently going upon the authority of Mr. Mill, committed a mistake in supposing the latter to have admitted the assets in that part of his History, (Vol. vi. p. 544,) where he states the debt, both at interest and floating on the face of the Company's accounts in 1805, to have been upwards of thirty-one millions. The truth is, that Mr. Mill, in that statement, had rejected the assets for the reasons above assigned; and it would be more to the purpose if Mr. Tucker could destroy Mr. Mill's data, than to detect an error in M. Say's calculation. Our author, indeed, offers some apology for the assets: observing, that it *may be* apprehended that a portion of them (such as the value of stores, debts owing to the Government, &c.) cannot justly be regarded as a real available resource applicable to the discharge of debt. "It is," he confesses, "certainly true, that we cannot tender our creditors military and marine stores in satisfaction of their legal claims upon us; but it is equally true, that these indispensable articles have been procured at a certain cost; that they represent a certain determinate value, and that this value is *ultimately realised*; since, on being used or expended, they serve to defray charge, and prevent the disbursement which must otherwise have taken place in procuring them." But he does not inform us how the value of indispensable marine and military stores is to be "ultimately realised" from a territory which has never yet defrayed the expenses attending it; whose revenues are becoming more and more forestalled by the debts accumulating upon them. Desperate debts, or nominal claims upon detroned Princes, are still more nugatory. But the secret

comes out, that the Company musters this formidable array of dead and live stock, to be used as a set off against the British nation. "It is kept in sight, with a view to some future adjustment with the Crown;" that is, it is to serve ultimately as a pretext for transferring the debts contracted by the Company to the public burdens of this country, when it shall refuse to renew the Charter. In return for all the privileges and patronage these monopolists have so long enjoyed, the tea-tax of millions annually, which they have levied on the subjects of the United Kingdom, besides all the money they have been allowed to borrow and share amongst them, they are now meditating how they may repay to the British nation in nominal property, and lay upon her gulled shoulders a debt of fifty or sixty millions more than she already has to bear. The following table show the mode in which this is proposed to be effected; and the reader will observe, that in proportion as the debt swelled in amount, taking the periods before noticed, the assets were also raised to balance it:

Year.	Actual Debts.	Supposed Assets.	Acknowledged Deficiency.
1792-3	15,983,626 <i>l</i> .	13,541,670 <i>l</i> .	2,441,956 <i>l</i> .
1814-15	47,994,694 <i>l</i> .	39,784,889 <i>l</i> .	8,209,805 <i>l</i> .
1823-4	61,949,818 <i>l</i> .	54,357,625 <i>l</i> .	7,582,193 <i>l</i> .

Nothing then can be more clear than this, that the operations of the Company are bringing upon this country an increase of debt of about a million and a half sterling annually, leaving us only a distant and doubtful chance of repayment, from that estate which is pretended to have been improved and stocked to so large an amount. But with all these improvements, we see that the Company has never realised from it, on an average of years, sufficient to clear its expenses. Therefore, if these assets are of any pecuniary value whatever to us, it is on the presumption that India will be better and more profitably governed in the hands of the Crown, which is the strongest financial argument the Company could furnish for its own destruction. The expediency of its abolition will appear the more urgent, if it be considered, that in addition to this, its monopoly of the tea trade absorbs two millions a year of British capital, and lays a tax to that extent on one of the first necessities of life.

That no solid improvement has taken place in the Company's financial condition during the last thirty years, is freely admitted by Mr. Tucker; who says, that if he were called upon to point out the period when its finances abroad were in the most prosperous state, he would probably fix on 1792-3; for we then (he says) possessed an annual surplus sufficient to liquidate the public debt in little more than three years. In 1821-2, even according to his account, the debt could not be cleared off in less than fifteen years. But if, even, in this very favourable instance, the home charge of a million and a half be deducted, the real surplus is only about 26,000*l*.; a sum almost evanescent compared with the amount of the debt, and if really applied to its extinction, the Company's dividend must cease for ever. In other words, the enormous machine employed to rule India, being deprived of the substance which enables its wheels to move, must be immediately broken up as unfit for use. Lord Hastings conceived it possible that India might yield an annual surplus of four millions sterling. In making this very sanguine calculation, he ought to have asked himself, if it were probable

a state so critically situated could long remain at peace? if it were probable his successors should so far excel those who had gone before him, as to have both the forbearance to abstain from war, and the wisdom to avert its evils? The history of the last two years has shown, that such rulers are not always to be met with; that the East India Company is neither capable of selecting them, nor, (in having turned against Lord Hastings himself,) of estimating their value, when it has by accident found them. Even Mr. Tucker grudges to allow the noble Marquis his full merit; narrowing it to the good fortune of coming just in time to collect and store up the fruits of that system which his predecessors had planted and reared. But from what has since happened, when that frugiferous plant was still more matured, and Lord Amherst arrived to gather in the vintage, it appeared to be a tree that would yield bitter fruits as well as sweet. Is it not probable that they will, in future, be often of the worse description? This will depend much on the personal character of those invested with the supreme power in India, who are but too apt to abuse it, from the total absence of control on the spot, their great distance from the seat of Government, and their independence of those they profess to serve. A peaceful Governor, as in the case of Lord Minto, may be the cause of future disturbances, from disaffection gathering strength and confidence under his forbearance; and others will seek rule in India, as a theatre whereon to display their ambition. Therefore, on every view of the subject, the chances are decidedly against any permanent improvement which could redeem the evils of the past.

Proceeding now to the most important part of the subject—the effect of this system upon India, we contend that that country is impoverished by it chiefly in three modes: 1st, By the large sums raised in taxes, duties or loans, amounting to upwards of a million annually, drained off by the Company to feed its trade, or furnish its dividends. 2dly, By the funds, estimated to amount to one and a half or two millions annually, transferred to Europe as the private fortunes or earnings of the Company's servants, civil and military. 3dly, By a ruinous system of collecting the revenue, in the shape of taxes on the gross produce, on the prime necessities of existence; often irregular in their amount, and unlimited in their extent, so as to cramp industry and check all improvement. “It is obvious,” says an acute observer,² “that the sources of public revenue must have been exhausted long ago, had not the extension of our dominion continually opened fresh springs to supply it. When Parliament, therefore, in a sort of legislative preamble, passed an abstract declaration of censure on the prosecution of schemes of conquest in India, it ought, in all consistency, to have superadded a resolution stigmatizing the conversion of an exclusive trading Company into a syphon for draining a conquered province of its wealth.” One effect of this undoubtedly is,

² Colonial Policy, as applicable to the Government of India, 8vo. published by J. M. Richardson, 23, Cornhill.

We take this occasion to observe, that if Mr. Tucker had read this excellent work with the attention it deserves, he never could have fallen into the errors with which his book abounds.—We may add, also, that if there be any among our readers who desire to have a clear, comprehensive, and philosophical view of the political as well as commercial relations between Great Britain and India, we know of no work to which we could with greater confidence refer them than this.

to stimulate the production of certain Indian commodities fit for European consumption; to cause these to be transhipped, even if it should be at a loss, and forced upon the home market at a disadvantage; the supply in this case not being regulated by the demand, but by the necessity of transferring property from Asia to Europe in one shape or another. Thus India is at once stripped of this large amount of wealth, and defrauded of the natural advantages of her trade. To render her situation still more cruel, a discouraging duty is laid upon her sugar, which would form one of the chief articles of export; not to mention the destruction of her ancient staple export to England of piece-goods, by the unheard-of "protecting duty" of 67 per cent., exacted for many years past. The obvious tendency of these combined causes is, to depreciate the rate of exchange between India and this country; in consequence of which, the Indian treasury was some years past surcharged with capital for want of the means to remove it to London. One of Lord Hastings's public services was, to lower the rate of exchange on the interest of the territorial debt, which the public creditors were before entitled to have remitted to Europe at 2s. 6d. per rupee. He reduced it to 2s. 1d., thereby enabling the Company to effect a saving of about twenty-four per cent. But it is very doubtful whether that peculiar body will feel any gratitude to him for such a piece of service; since, as Mr. Tucker hints, it is liable to be viewed as having smoothed the way for the Crown to undertake the management of the territory. He says:

"The obligation to pay the interest of the debt in England opposed one great obstacle to the resumption of the charter, because it was heretofore maintained that the Company constituted the only safe and convenient organ of remittance. That obligation has now been withdrawn in a great degree: the Company have succeeded in rendering a great portion of the debt a *local demand*, the interest of which is payable only in India; and as the local revenue is *quite adequate* to the payment, the Crown, in assuming the territory, would have no *inconvenient engagements* or financial difficulties to encounter."

Since it is assumed, as a matter of course, that the English nation must ultimately be saddled with all the incumbrances the Company may have contracted, although certainly this was not "written in the bond," the sooner such a charter is abolished the better; for these monopolists, worse than Shakspeare's Jew, not only claim their "pound of flesh," but all the blood that may thence be made to flow.

Mr. Tucker assumes gratuitously, "that a surplus revenue of two millions annually may be drawn from India 'without impoverishing the people;'" an hypothesis too extravagant to need refutation. But should the surplus exceed that sum, he then thinks the people should be allowed to taste some of the blessings of good government, which being made to depend on so very uncertain a contingency, can be regarded only as idle dreams conjured up to delude us with visionary prospects of future good, which are never to be realised, but serve to seduce our attention from existing evils, which ought to be remedied without delay.

"If," says he, "it were in our option to extend the annual tribute to four millions, I should not hesitate to say, that considerations of policy, of justice, and humanity, would all alike concur to condemn the unmeasured exaction. If the public revenue should unexpectedly become more productive, it would" (*then, not now?*) "be the duty of Govern-

ment to repeal or to reduce objectionable taxes ; to increase the judicial and other establishments, so as to render justice more accessible to the great body of the people ; to endow public institutions for providing better means of education ; or hospitals for the care of the sick and the destitute ; to construct roads and bridges, reservoirs and water-courses ; to support caravanseries for the accommodation of the traveller ; and otherwise to promote those objects which may conduce to the comfort and convenience and well-being of our Native subjects." All these things are to be taken into consideration *after* the surplus revenue swells "unexpectedly" to three or four millions per annum ! Till then, or in other words, while the Company's existence is prolonged, adieu to all hope of public improvement for India or its millions of inhabitants. How lamentable it is to see a vast country thus placed under the control of some few thousand persons in a remote quarter of the globe, who have little or no interest in the fate of their subjects but as to their capability of being the payers of taxes,—distance having cut off that sympathy between the governors and the governed, which serves to mitigate even the worst of despotisms !

We shall pass over the intermediate part of the Work, which treats of the sources of revenue in India, as we intend to make this the subject of a separate article in our next, and proceed at once to the last chapter—on the Financial and Commercial Situation of the East India Company. In this we are told, that "The Honourable Court (of Directors) cannot be reproached with inattention to the commercial interests of the Company, real or supposed." On the contrary, a very narrow commercial spirit was known to prevail at a former period in their councils ; and it is even now more than suspected, that the feelings of the merchant prevail over the views of the statesman." This we believe to be a just picture ; and that the great object of these commercial rulers has continually been, to wring as much as they could out of their territorial possessions, to make up the losses on their commerce. How far this was done previous to 1813, while the commercial and political accounts were not separated, cannot now be easily ascertained.³ But when a separation became unavoidable, the plan for carrying it into effect, submitted by the Court, strongly evinced this leaning in favour of the trade. In the same spirit, Mr. Tucker labours to prove that territory should be considered as debtor to commerce ; and that, should the Company's charter be resumed, the Proprietors have a right to share among them every particle of property in their hands which has assumed a commercial form, and that India or England must be loaded with the Company's territorial debt. The gentlemen of Leadenhall-street have been willing enough to enjoy the sweets of political power and patronage ; but when these come to a close, they wish to avoid paying the price of debt by which they have acquired and too long exercised them. The monopoly which, in spite of every thing done to restrain its usurpations, crept gradually from the sea-shore to the heart of India, and has so long drained its very veins, would now shrink within its commercial shell, leaving to us only the exhausted carcass of that country upon which it

³ Between 1793 and 1809, the sum of thirty-one millions seems to have been drawn from India by the Company ; and during that period, while dividing this spoil among them, most of it borrowed money, above twenty millions were added to their debts ; which debts, we are now told, must be paid by the people of England.—*Colonial Policy, as applicable to the Government of India*, p. 102.

has been feeding. But we have not space here to discuss how far England is to be saddled with the Company's debts; which shall also be matter of consideration at a future period.

Mr. Tucker enters into a long argument, to show that the Company's China trade averages a profit of 450,000*l.* annually, even although it be conducted in the present style of wasteful expense.⁴ Great Britain, then, is taxed to the amount of two millions yearly on tea, in order to yield that sum; which is employed to pay the Proprietors of East India stock a dividend of 10½ per cent., while other capitalists can only obtain three or four.⁴ Some small fraction of it may go in liquidation of the charges incurred for governing India. Therefore Mr. Tucker concludes, the tax levied by the Company's monopoly ought to be viewed by the people of England in the same light as revenue paid to Government to meet the public expenditure. The first part of his book is written for the purpose of proving that India yields a surplus revenue of about two millions, which may add to the public wealth of this country: the latter, to prove that the people of England ought to be very well contented to pay a tax of two millions on tea, to assist in defraying the expenses of India. We leave our readers to form their own opinions on such glaring contradictions; and to say whether it be better to go on paying a heavy tribute to the Company; or to purchase the removal of so odious a nuisance by agreeing at once to pay its debts. As few Ministers possess the nerve and the honesty to propose this, we sincerely hope that Mr. Canning, whose power and principles alike fit him for the task, will live to confer this benefit on his country and on mankind.

Mr. Tucker concludes his volume with some important reflections on the constitution of the Government of India. He says:—"It is not a pure despotism, as has been alleged. It is a Government of law and responsibility, acting under numerous salutary checks. The administrators of that Government exercise a delegated power; they are accountable agents." But to render responsibility of any value, the controlling power must rest in some quarter where the injured has a ready means of making his complaints heard, and where some security exists that justice will be done. In this case, first, the channels of communication are in the hands of the oppressors themselves, and the public voice is silenced; then the controlling power is immensely distant: lastly, it is composed of persons who have generally a common interest with the oppressors, or know and care little or nothing about the persons who are oppressed. Mr. Tucker seems fully to admit that the responsibility exists in theory only, and not in practice, to any useful purpose. But he intimates that, though the vast powers vested in the Company's agents be grossly abused with impunity, "it is not that responsibility does not *attach*, but that it has not been duly *enforced*." Then what is the value of such responsibility? Instead of a security *against*, it is a cloak *for*, oppression: as every ephemeral despot can rely on the support and protection of the authorities at home.

But with regard to the home Government, Mr. Tucker is more clear and decided. He maintains that the machine does not "work well."

⁴ It is true that the present purchasers of India Stock pay at a corresponding rate for their capital, but that does not affect the argument, as applied to the original holders.

The two administrative bodies, he describes as "conflicting, not concurring authorities;" and their collision as calculated to produce delay and incongruities, and sometimes an absolute suspension of the functions of Government. But in the same manner, and with equal truth, it may be said, that the two Houses of Parliament are also "conflicting" bodies; witness the Catholic Question; and the same argument may, therefore, be employed against the British Constitution. The fact is, however, that the "Honourable Court," of which Mr. Tucker aspires to be a member, would be glad to get rid of the Board of Control altogether; feeling its "control," however slightly exercised, to be a very great incumbrance. In what follows we fully concur, and trust it will make a due impression on all impartial minds: "The great defect," he observes, "of the system, is, the total absence of all responsibility. By responsibility, I mean not merely liability to penalties imposed by law: high public functionaries can seldom be brought to punishment: but if the individual be *identified with his acts*, an operative principle is supplied in the honest love of fame, and in the dread of public odium. Public censure, justly incurred, is one of the severest punishments to which a mind not hardened and callous can well be exposed." Therefore, the Company's servants in India, having no other effectual check on the spot, are relieved from this one also, and act as unbridled despots; since the responsibility he speaks of to the home Government is almost quite nugatory. "But (he goes on to say) the administrative authorities at home are so constituted, that responsibility, the best check and restraint upon the exercise of power, is nowhere found to attach to any beneficial purpose. When divided among numbers, responsibility is necessarily reduced to a fraction of small value; but the practice of deciding public questions by ballot is calculated to do away even the semblance of it." Nothing can be more just: secret ballot, in electing representatives or rulers, is salutary, because it leaves private judgment free to act, uninfluenced by hope or fear; but secrecy in the votes of legislators or managers is a shield for their improper conduct, screening them from the inspection and control of those to whom they are justly responsible. This responsibility, already so much attenuated, is again divided between the Court and the Board of Control; so that it becomes at last the mere shadow of a shade.

ANTICIPATION OF FUTURITY.

THE misty veil of Time is rent:
 I see the nations bow
 Before a form which age hath bent,—
 That, little heeded, now
 Doth walk among them calm and mild,
 And simple as an unweaned child,
 Preluding on the lyre of Fame,
 And feasting on his future name:
 As sits some eagle on the peak
 Of mountains vast and hoary,
 Till through the darkling clouds doth break
 The red dawn's piercing glory;

Anticipation of Futurity.

While round him owls and birds obscene
 Shriek many an uncouth note, I ween,
 Misdeeming that his wing of might
 Shall never wane in morning's light:

So round the future Bard prevail—
 The sneer, the ready lie,
 And calumny's concerted tale,
 And envy's prophecy:
 He heeds them not, for he can see,
 Through fate's dark hanging drapery,
 His niche in Fame's Elysian pile
 Now brightening 'neath that Goddess' smile!

Let souls whose lamp is for a day
 Press through the bustling crowd,
 Its short-lived glory to display
 And boast, while yet allowed:—
 He smiles and waits till these are gone,
 Whose everlasting lamp burns on,
 And, when the rest are quenched in night,
 Throws forth a still-increasing light.

They court the crowd: he stands aside
 And marks the changing scene,
 Where some are surfeited with pride,
 Some agonized with spleen;
 Some rush on life, as on the waste
 The courser with unthinking haste
 Rushes, and, when his entrails burn
 With raging thirst,—finds no return.

Who nurses thoughts for distant days
 Will lead them from the throng,
 To thread with Truth those secret ways
 Where Nature steals along;—
 As mothers from the tainted town
 With anxious hearts are ever known
 To lead their sons, till ripening years
 Have grafted hopes on waning fears.

The Bard that weaves this little rhyme
 Has hopes—and who has not?—
 To tenant some small nook of time—
 Some consecrated spot
 In Mem'ry's ever-widening land,
 Where Homer's shade and Milton's stand,
 With a spare leaf or two of bays
 To kindle up the hope of praise!

ON ENTHUSIASM IN THE AFFAIRS OF LIFE.

AUTHORS are a kind of spies, which society despatches into the regions of thought and contemplation, to observe the face of things, and to draw up correct reports of their discoveries. It falls to the share of some of them to observe very little, and even that little with abundance of incorrectness and misapprehension. For this, many causes might be assigned; but the principal we take to be, a desire to discover in the regions they examine, what those regions never contained, and (arising out of their consequent disappointment) a disposition to set off what they see, in false or inadequate colours. Nothing that has ever yet been made the subject of contemplation, has received such various treatment as man's passions and weaknesses, not one of which has escaped the panegyric and satire, balanced exactly against each other, of numerous witty writers, according as they were inspired by cheerful or gloomy ideas. Among these passions or frailties of human nature, (we will not quarrel about their nomenclature,) we have observed that the teeth of repression have fastened with peculiar frequency and eagerness on enthusiasm. Even philosophy has not appeared to disapprove of this; probably, because enthusiasm is presumed to act in opposition to her calm dictates, to pluck up what she has planted, overthrow what she has built, and piercing the soul, like the Phrygian measures of old, to excite a specious of religious frenzy, that hurries men into extravagance and folly. We fear it must plead guilty to part of this charge. History testifies that it has been the cause of great disorders in the world; and we all know that it held up the light of false expectation to our youth, causing our fancy to scale heights, and our reason to make calculations, which a man sobered by adversity would be ashamed to dwell on, even in his dreams. It is therefore granted to be the parent of much absurdity. But this concession, as the reader will observe, does not appear to include an acknowledgment that enthusiasm never produces any good, or even that its effects are more mischievous than beneficent; nay, that, upon the whole, were an equal balance struck, we have any greater reason to complain of it, than of the least harmful passion we possess. Let us consider it in its nature and effects. It is, as all allow, a magnanimous passion, strikes deep root even in a barren fortune, and is rarely to be overthrown by adversity. It is no parasite to be seen at the tables of the great; heroes, projectors, founders of religions, poets, artists, and political reformers, are the men it smiles on and inspires. It is friendly, but not social; loves the *tête-à-tête*, but avoids the merry-making; breathes sometimes in a senate, but is the informing soul of a popular assembly. Public virtue lives and dies with it. It affects democracy, and produced all the glory of the Athenian commonwealth. In private life, it is the soul of love and friendship: you may reckon on an enthusiast as long as his enthusiasm lasts; he will never desert you, till he becomes quite another man. Nor is this change easily brought about, where the passion had firm root in the mind at first; for it is exceedingly fond of old associations, and turns back with a delight which is utterly indescribable to every thing that can recall its early hopes and joys. Poor men, who raise themselves above their original stations by

any other means than mere sordid money-making, will all be found to have been enthusiasts in their way: they cherished some particular train of ideas, by pursuing which up and down the world, they at length fell in with Mammon, and put their hands into his coffers. Enthusiasm has some natural affinity with greatness,—swells the desires and capacities of the soul, gives energy to the will, and daring to the hand, makes pastime of toil, and sheds a glory round the head of enterprise. Men of more contemplation also possess it; but in them it is a purer and more temperate fire, and, like a well-trimmed lamp, burns on steadily to the end of life—by no means resembling the bickering torch-like blaze, in which the enthusiasm of the hero bursts forth. The poor student, who meditates on philosophy in his thatched cottage, may hide in his bosom the ambition and enthusiasm of an Alexander, but he conceals his passion with the ashes of learning, never suffering it to blaze forth, unless when his fancy is to be warmed and enlivened for some daring flight, or his resolves to be invigorated under the pressure of chilling adversity. If a man indulge himself with moderate solitude, especially in places abounding with woods and rivers, or near the sea shore, he may strengthen considerably his natural enthusiasm, which is apt to cool in cities, by too close a connexion with art. For this purpose it is that imaginative persons visit the ruins of antiquity, or spots rendered famous by illustrious deeds, or by having been the habitation of great and wise men, as Thermopylae, or Marathon, or Athens; nor can there be any doubt that the mind feels a new elevation in such places: no Englishman could tread the fields of Agincourt, of Cressy, of Poitiers, without experiencing a glow of enthusiasm, which would have been warmer and purer had it been recorded that the heroes who left their bones to whiten on those celebrated spots, had died in defence of man's freedom and rights. It is often thought that the disdain of worldly distinctions, ranks, and pleasures, expressed by persons really fond of retirement, is affected and hypocritical; but it may not be: they view the world from a distance, and it must needs follow that its concerns and troubles appear little and insignificant in their eyes. Let the busiest man in 'Change-alley be placed in the midst of a storm on the Atlantic, on the heights of the Andes, or in the interminable forests that stretch through the heart of America, and he will look upon the price of stocks as a matter of small importance. What such vast scenes would do for him, is wrought in others by those sweet little patches of solitude that may be found in England. The vast machine of business, going round perpetually in this city, stuns and perplexes us with the noise of its movements: we gather up our thoughts, and unwind our designs, as in a dream; nor does habit do any thing more than render our dreams more undisturbed. The face of nature awakens us. On the banks of rivers, in the darkness of woods, our mind appears to gain its original serenity, and spreads before itself, in a kind of internal perspective, the whole tract of its thoughts and speculations. Over whatever arises, enthusiasm sheds a tinge of pleasantness, which braces the resolution, and stimulates it to new exertion. The passions, thus diverted from their objects for a moment, return to it with redoubled force; as the hammer strikes harder when it has been lifted up considerably above the anvil.

No man ever performed any thing remarkable, who was not thoroughly possessed by enthusiasm; a passion compounded of desire, daring, and

unquenchable energy. The want of it is denominated "poorness of spirit," as if it were the rich juice that fertilized the mind. Virgil was well persuaded of this, when he exclaimed :—

For they can conquer, who believe they can !

Julius Cæsar was a great enthusiast, and believed that heaven and earth were interested in his success. His rival was doubtful, wavering, suspicious, had no dependence on fortune ; in a word, was "poor-spirited." Youth, in general, possesses something of this passion, and to a certain point it holds out very well ; but at length, like a spent wave, it ceases, in the greater number, to buoy them up ; they turn a cold look upon the scenes of life, imagine the *moyens de parvenir* to be all exhausted, and sink into listlessness and hopelessness for the remainder of their existence. Man is a *Sybarite* in thinking : he loves to let his ideas remain in the order in which they entered his mind, and is naturally averse to rouse them into that ferment, in which they strike, as it were, of their own accord, into new channels. But this holds not with the enthusiast. His brain is the very furnace of invention : theories and novelties flit before his fancy like bees ; his soul is in an orgasm ; he stamps the work of his intellect on words and notions, and pours out his riches before mankind. It is the want of this natural intoxication that drives men to the habit of drinking ; for when that pleasurable exaltation of mind, which enthusiasm produces, dies away with youth, leaving a mere dry matter-of-fact plodding *homunculus* behind, what is there left to this miserable little personage with which to season life, but his dinner, his goblet, and his segar ? Real enthusiasts are sober, severe men, given rather, as Lord Shaftesbury observes, to melancholy than mirth ; because, in the intervals of their vehement transports, there is an ebbing of the spirits, a recoiling of their physical energies, which makes the mind droop and seem bewildered for a season. In reading the histories of half-civilized nations, we have observed that men of this cast readily obtain co-operators among such people, in their designs and enterprises ; and this, principally, because in those stages of society enthusiasts abound : and even the generality, from their manner of life, have minds less strongly tied down to modes and precedents, than afterwards in a more settled and advanced state of civilization. As the arts of life approach perfection, men begin to rely more upon those arts, and less upon themselves ; their enthusiasm and energy, being seldom called forth, evaporates by degrees ; the bold enterprising character becomes more rare ; cunning takes the place of wisdom and courage ; improvements in laws and arts come to be regarded as visionary ; it is thought advisable "to let well alone," and to give up all hopes of better ; philosophy and learning fall into disrepute ; *royal roads* to knowledge are discovered, by which a man may master all the arts and sciences in a very short time : the human mind falls upon these crutches, and when it comes to this, one is hardly sorry to observe the babblings of its dotage silenced by the terrors of a revolution.

It is humiliating to observe, how general a tendency there is in mankind towards the trifling and the little ; nine-tenths of the conversation of the world are expended on nobody knows what ; and millions live and die without ever knowing what it was to form an opinion, or possess an idea of their own. Nay, it happens sometimes that very dignified and

honourable personages, whose smiles and frowns express more language than it is possible for us to conceive,—we say, it sometimes happens that august personages of this description have no more original ideas than a drayman. Notwithstanding this, it is a settled maxim amongst us moderns, that the nonsense of such persons is infinitely more valuable than the wisdom of any other man whatever, and to think otherwise is looked upon as vastly impertinent. But the enthusiast is no respecter of persons: as all are equal in the sight of God, so are they in his sight; the vehement transports of his benevolence, in which he has an eye to the good of all men, are not to be checked by ranks and titles; he spurs them when they are perked up in his face instead of merit, and will have to see the man himself. Hence enthusiasm is rude, resembling, not the ambling poney, which its rider may stop and turn, and trot and gallop, as he pleases, but the untameable war-horse, “that pricketh his ears, that paweth at the sound of the trumpet, and listeneth not to the voice of his rider!” Under its influence, the soul is no longer passive to the inroad of ordinary conceptions; a divine breath appears to rouse some hidden nature, some bias to sublimity, some bright train of thought, as a vein of gold in the earth might be uncovered by an earthquake. The man is rapt, lifted up, inspired. It is during such moments, that men fashion those designs and perform those actions, which are regarded, in their causes and nature, as something more than human; during such an access of enthusiasm, did Curtius drive his war-horse into the gulf, and Decius devote himself to the infernal gods, for the Roman people. Nor were their deaths unhappy; for their lives and enthusiasm were extinguished together. Had either of those brave men made a vow to devote himself a twelvemonth, nay, a month after, he would have been to be pitied; on coming to himself, he would have perceived the rashness of his vow; nature, which in the warm moment urged him on, would have deserted him on reflection; a thousand ties binding him to life, invisible in the blaze of passion, the calm light of reason would have discovered; his parents, his wife, his children, his friends, his hopes and expectations, would have assailed the sanctity of his vow—and instead of a willing sacrifice, he would have fallen a reluctant victim! That such would have been the case, we have a strong proof in the behaviour of the Roman army, which was caught in the Forks of Caudium. Having marched incautiously into that dangerous defile, they discovered, on drawing near its farther outlet, that it was closed with vast stones and trees, and, on marching back, found that the entrance had also been blocked up behind them by the enemy. The surrounding hills were high, of difficult access, and covered moreover with hostile troops. On perceiving their position, the soldiers were seized with a stupor, their courage failed them, their limbs trembled with terror; and men, whose business was war, no sooner lost their enthusiasm, than, like sheep, they gazed upon each other, gave up their arms, passed under the yoke, and sneaked back to Rome in the lowest stage of dejection.

There is much less enthusiasm in countries under kingly government than is produced by republican institutions, as there is much less virtue and energy of every kind. Legislators have an eye, however, rather to peace than to energy, believing, perhaps, that happiness is thereby more surely attained. But “the soul’s joy,” as the poet observes, “lies in doing,” not in being hushed and calmed down to tranquillity; and,

therefore, wherever man's energies, mental and bodily, are called most powerfully into action uncontrolled, or controlled only by the law, there happiness is sure to be most generally and exquisitely tasted. At Athens the sovereign power was seated nominally and truly in the people, who in the course of one year enjoyed, in the exercise of it, a greater sum of happiness than can be conceived to be spread in a century over the hearts of any modern nation. That men generally believe they were great and happy is proved by this:—there is no man who has ever heard a rational account of their institutions that does not wish he had lived when those institutions flourished, unless he be one whose consciousness of demerit, or littleness of soul, assures him he would have made no figure among those great-minded men. Closet politicians, such as Hume, may be incapable to conceive such a “mobbish government,” to use his own paltry and disgraceful expression, but men of nobler minds will be able, without half his learning, to comprehend and value it as it deserves. The happiness and glory of our own country have been in proportion to our treading in the steps of Athens, and have fallen short only, where we have fallen short of her example.

In private life we have a less glowing enthusiasm than the Greeks and Romans, which may be owing, perhaps, to the character of our religious belief, the tendency of which is to deaden the intensity of our affections for all terrestrial things, our country, our wives and children, and our friends. “Life,” said the Pagans, “is not to live, but to be happy!” their happiness, too, consisted in performing mere worldly virtues, patriotism, justice, beneficence, neglecting or contemning our higher virtues of abstinence and self-mortification. But it is still natural for great thoughts and actions, nay, for all intense passions and affections, and, in early life, even for common and casual attachments, to excite enthusiasm. The youth and girl of sixteen experience most commonly the enthusiasm of love; their imaginations are warm and vivid, their hopes extravagant, their fears swallowed up in their hopes. The swain, however homely in exterior, appears an Adonis to his enamoured mistress, while she on her part seems to be more beautiful than Helen or Venus herself. There is a slight haze over the imagination at such times, that tinges all objects, and makes the mind doat on it knows not what. Visions of bliss hover upon the fancy, which seems to wander through delightful groves, where—

“Empty dreams on every leaf are spread.”

Alas! these visions do not last! the tide of youthful spirits upon which they floated dries away for the most part in manhood, leaving a small rill shrinking with the march of years, until in old age scarcely a drop is left to trickle through the cold crannies of the mind! How few, but how glorious are the exceptions to this general truth! men having a degree of energy that is never to be exhausted, because directed very early into one single channel, in which it is gilded, but not absorbed, by the rays of fame and honour. When the mind has long made its election of a track, and caused all its powers to verge and slope towards that direction, it may appear, as to other things, a little too indolent and remiss, but all exact observers of human nature will allow that a man should appoint himself a task, and consider every stroke that does not tend towards its fulfilment as a piece of supererogatory labour. A man with great political designs will cultivate powerful friendships, multiply

creatures, create dependents, but will keep the secret of his heart locked from all; his success hinging on obedience, not on participation of knowledge. In small matters, closeness obstructs very often the accomplishment of a purpose; for a man's friends move in the dark respecting his wishes, and sometimes defeat them by trying to serve him. It is far better for a man to be able to communicate his own enthusiasm to his friends; and this is done by openness and sincerity, because upright and noble views have a natural charm for mankind, and they will in all cases co-operate for the accomplishment of them, unless checked by some strong motive of self-interest. A man who has never been in the company of an enthusiast will hardly be able to conceive the glow of spirits, the bright conceptions, the new trains of association, the bold magnificent hopes which overflow from his discourse, and communicate themselves by a kind of infection to all who hear him. People believe themselves to be new beings while they listen, and the spell continues associated ever after with his name, whose sound recalls to their minds the pleasantest hours they ever, perhaps, passed in their lives. We have observed, however, that the old proverb, "like affects like," holds good in this as well as in most other instances; for only those possessing very exalted feelings, and who have the simplicity of heart to forgive their having been moved, retain a grateful remembrance of the man who opened, if we may be allowed the metaphor, the floodgates of their souls, and set loose the whole stream of their emotions. Colder minds, raised to enthusiasm in such a moment, remember it with a sort of resentment, as if violence had been used to wrench off their covering of circumspection, and show how common prudence is melted by the warmth of passion. We once knew a man who could be wrought up to any pitch of feeling, and turned to any bent while strolling in the fields, or sitting on the cliffs by the seaside, on a summer's evening; but who cooled as he drew near the town, and had his mind at the freezing point in his own house. Without doubt this arose from a feebleness of mind which could not be moved, unless totally surrounded by things possessing some degree of novelty. His imagination was expanded by the presence of the phenomena of nature, but not being sufficiently vigorous to retain the impression, shrunk back on their being withdrawn to its original cold insignificance.

Some minds feel the presence of superior men irksome and disheartening. It puts them out of conceit with themselves. They are more full of hopes and designs among inferior persons, converse more at their ease, are merry, because there they feel their own consequence undiminished. In the company of greater men they are in a state of eclipse: no one marks them; they would shine, but cannot; become uneasy, fidget, grow angry with themselves, retire. Upon the same principle, dwarfs hate giants, and, in fact, all persons above their own size. It is observed by Quintilian, that it was a question in his time, whether youths should be put at first to study the most perfect models of composition, or such as were nearer their own capacities. He decidedly, of course, in favour of the best, because he thought it preposterous to copy in perfection while excellence was within reach. Another reason, which, perhaps, he did not think it judicious to mention, might have determined him: this course would tend to discourage the inferior and inadequate from the pursuit of eloquence, while it roused and animated the youth of real genius. By pursuing this train of thinking, we may discover the reason

why the sons of great and amiable men have rarely equalled their fathers. In the first place, they perceive, as soon as they begin to perceive any thing, that they already stand, through their parent's honours, upon a certain high ground, from whence they may, without any exertion of their own, look down upon the greater part of mankind. This itself takes away a great incentive to labour. But a more effectual cause remains: being impressed, from their earliest years, with the grandeur of their sires, a conviction of their own vast inferiority immediately arises, and this same hope, and with it emulation, which being never felt without a mixture of envy, is incompatible with filial affection. These youths, thus overshadowed by the greatness of their fathers, like the young scions that dwindle at the foot of vast forest trees, contract an habitual conviction of inferiority, view the heights of fame as inaccessible or forbidden grounds, relax their energies, curb their expectations, and acquire the stamp of mediocrity. Few can conceive how much the perpetual presence of superior genius weighs down and oppresses; it is felt as a standing reproach and ever-recurring memento of comparative insignificance: but when that superior genius is a father, the mind becomes content to identify itself with and participate his greatness, and looks upon the emulation that would urge it to contend in the race of fame as a kind of parricidal envy. It is scarcely possible for a youth, determined to dispute the palm of superiority with his father, to escape this envy. Alexander felt it in so extravagant a degree that he killed one of his friends, merely for dwelling on his father's praises *unseasonably*, as his courtiers were of opinion. This reasoning does not apply to middling endowments of any kind, for men can participate mediocrity without much contention; but no one would willingly step from the pinnacle of glory to make room for another, were he even his son; and no son, while he revered his father, could conceive the desire of thrusting him from his station to place himself in his stead. Scaligers may produce Scaligers, and the Le Fevres beget Madame Dacier; but we nowhere read of the younger Homers, or Virgils, or Shakespeares, or Miltons, or Raphaels, or Michael Angelos. If they had children, they were hidden by excessive light, like a star in the neighbourhood of the sun, and were satisfied with the paternal glory. In truth, we learn that there was in the island of Chios a race of men who called themselves Homeridae, or descendants of Homer, but they wrote no Iliads, contenting themselves very wisely with getting their bread by reciting that of their great ancestor. We catch a glimpse of Milton's daughters, also, in pouring oil, as it were, on their father's lamp, (for reading the ancients to him resembled some such process;) but we never learn that they tried their hands at a 'Paradise Lost' of their own.

The Greeks thought, we may be sure, that few fathers could bear to be overshadowed by their children's glory, for they represented Jupiter, the most wise as well as most powerful of the gods, repressing the vast desires he felt for Thetis, because it was decreed by the Fates, (to which even he was subjected,) that the son she should bring forth would prove greater than his father. They could not have chosen a more complete way of showing, that the more exalted and ambitious kind of souls are aptest to feel the most vehement thirst of glory; which was farther illustrated by the preference given to love and enjoyment, over the fierce and doubtful transports of fame, by the modest and amiable Peleus. A fine moral lesson was also attached to this story: for Achilles, who knew that his own

glory was built on the moderation of his parent, repaid his sire with the most perfect gratitude and filial love; so it was likely that the old Argonautic hero, in his retirement in *Phthia*, experienced more exquisite delight from the odour of his son's renown, which fame waited to his retreat, than he might perhaps have felt at the head of his conquering myrmidons before the walls of Troy. As for the son, he is represented as full of anxiety for the welfare of his parent; even in the regions of the dead, his ghost conjuring Ulysses to inform him of his state:

Say if my sire, the reverend Peleus, reigns
Great in his *Phthia*, and his throne multitudes
Or, weak and old, my youthful arms demands;
To fix the sceptre steadfast in his hands?

So full of truth and beauty is the old mythology!

Religious enthusiasm does not come within the scope of this essay: it is a distinct thing, and has been handled already by the most eminent writers. That other state of mind of which we have been speaking, is founded in different principles; is compatible with the most unbounded knowledge; is not repugnant to wisdom; has a close connexion with happiness; is inevitably consequent on vigour and energy of mind. The spread of luxury and wealth and superficial acquirements saps its foundations insensibly: it requires a clear and deep mind. Of all the vices, none is so opposed to it as hypocrisy, for enthusiasm is independent and sincere. It is also delicate, and resents mean suspicions, and all presuming upon its condition. The oppression it is compelled to endure wears away its benevolence, contracts the stream of its affections, projects its yearnings forward upon futurity, and engenders schemes of self-aggrandizement, familiarizing it, at the same time, with Machiavellian maxims and principles. An enthusiast, become misanthropical, is the most dangerous of men: he looks thenceforward on human nature as an enemy's country, over which it is glorious to obtain triumph and exercise command; and, living for himself alone, he sheathes himself in insensibility and the gloom of his opinions. Such are the peculiarities of Enthusiasm.

TYRTÆAN AIRS.—No. II.

Hark! the battle shout is raised!

HARK! the battle shout is raised, and I must speed away,
For all the clouds that dim our hopes must fall in showers to-day,
Or lower above our heads laid low in yonder flowery plain,
Before the day shall bend its brow towards the west again,
Bethink thee, girl, our love arose beneath no peaceful bed,
I wooed thee in the pause of war, the short recoil of power,
Which now returns with giant force to bear our freedom down,
And we must fight,—or love and live beneath a tyrant's frown!

But cheer thee, maid; this sword has been in many a fierce fray,
Without the mighty power of love that keens its edge to-day,
Nor are the foes who wait us now more brave than they who fell;
When first thou saw'st me climb these walls, and rescue thee—farewell!

BION.

GENERAL SKETCH OF THE LITERATURE OF THE HINDOOS.

NO. I.—*Sacred Literature.*

At a time when Indian literature has attracted a greater degree of attention than at any former period, we conceive that a general view of its different branches will be found peculiarly interesting. In executing this task, it is not our intention to give a detailed enumeration of the titles of books, or the names of authors; we shall content ourselves by mentioning the principal works, and stating the information which is to be derived from them. The history of Indian literature, like every other branch of history among the Indians, is involved in considerable obscurity; and, therefore, any attempt at a chronological arrangement would be attended with difficulty and uncertainty. On this account we shall divide the literature of the Indians into classes, as the best means of giving a correct and complete view of its contents. Indian literature may be divided into three parts: 1st. Sacred Literature, or that part which contains the writings considered as the records of their religion, and written by inspired authors; 2dly, Polite Literature, including works of poetry and imagination; and, 3dly, Scientific Literature, or that part containing their works on matters of Science. We must, however, here observe, that we shall only be able to give a sketch of that part of Indian literature which is composed in the Sanscrit language.

As to the value of Sanscrit literature, there are many and very different opinions. It is recommended by some as containing the most curious and important information, and possessing compositions of extraordinary beauty; whilst it is considered by others to be a collection of the most trivial and tedious compositions, and entirely destitute of any merits which could recommend it to the attention of Europeans of taste. We could quote great names of high authority on both sides of the question; but we find that most of the parties have derived their opinions, not from the original compositions, but from translations and accounts of others, which have been either too strongly biassed in favour of Indian writings, or prejudiced against the productions of a people so different in every respect from themselves. We shall not give an opinion on either side of the question, but leave our readers to judge for themselves. Before we quit this part of the subject, however, we must make one remark of a general application. On no question is there a greater difference of opinion than on the true principles of taste: there is a difference between different nations, and, in the same nation, at different periods. It would, therefore, be in vain to seek for any principles of taste which are applicable to the literature of every people. There are some general rules of good taste founded on the nature of the human mind, to the judgment of which the productions of every age and every country must be submitted. Beyond these general and fundamental principles, we think that a peculiar path is opened to every nation. The literature of a country will, in general, be influenced by its nature, its inhabitants, and, above all, by the religious and political institutions by which it is governed. *Shakspeare* is certainly an admirable poet, and one of the brightest geniuses that ever adorned a nation; but we conceive that it would be unjust if we were not to permit the Spaniards to consider their *Calderon*

as the very first of dramatic writers, or the Italians to praise their Dante as the first of poets. These considerations ought at least to prevent us from altogether refusing any merit to Oriental productions, merely because they are not constructed on the principles of European taste. It is much more common to condemn the spirit of a nation, different from our own, than to possess the capacity of comprehending it in its own light. By these remarks we do not wish to deny the faults which are peculiar to Indian literature, but only to induce others to take a more liberal and rational view of it.

Before we proceed to speak of that part of Indian literature which we have called *sacred*, and which certainly consists of the most ancient writings existing in the Sanscrit language, we shall say a few words on the antiquity of these compositions. To assign to them the age which is absurdly claimed for them by Indian tradition, would be quite ridiculous; but we are far from regarding them as productions of a modern date. From the accounts left by the Greeks and Romans, it appears pretty evident that India, at the time of Alexander the Great and his successors, was, with respect to its civilization, the manners of the inhabitants, and its political institutions, in the same state as at the beginning of the invasions of the Mohammedans, and the first arrival of the Portuguese. The picture of India, as drawn in the Greek and Latin authors, corresponds exactly with the accounts contained in their own ancient writings. We, therefore, consider it as not at all improbable that the Indians at this time were in possession of written books; whether any of these books are still in existence, is a very different and much more complicated question, which we have not the means of answering. It is clear, that of the works we at present possess, parts are of considerable antiquity, but not the whole: their form and present arrangement are of modern date. To deny any antiquity to Hindoo civilization, would involve us in much greater difficulties than if we assigned to it just so much as is consistent with historical accounts, and the deductions which may be drawn from them. The political and religious institutions of the Indians are of such a peculiar nature, so intimately connected with even the most minute observances of their life and manners, and possess such a powerful influence on the people, that many of them could not have taken place without the lapse of ages. They may be compared to the immense, and now deserted, temples of Ellora and Elephanta; but to contend that these have been erected by a single generation, would be to attribute to one generation such an extraordinary union of vigour, strength, and perseverance, as is scarcely within the limits of human exertion.

Of ancient Indian literature, the Védas form the oldest, and, in some respects, the most interesting part. Their priority, in point of antiquity to any other composition in the Sanscrit language, is unquestionably proved by their dialect not being framed according to the rules of classical and refined Sanscrit; by their containing doctrines very different from those in the modern Mythology; and particularly from their containing no traces of the incarnation of the Deity,—a creed which has given birth to no small number of traditions. The Védas are considered as revealed by Brahma, and are regarded by the Indians as their holy writ and unquestionable authority in all religious questions; even their writers on philosophy, morals, astronomy, or any other branches of science cultivated by them, refer to passages of the

Vedas as to sacred authority. The whole of the Vêdas, or at least those which remain, are very voluminous: some parts appear to be lost, but by far the greater part is extant, and we possess the whole of what has been collected in our libraries. It is to the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Colebrooke [Vid. Vol. VIII. of the *Asiatic Researches*] that we are indebted for the most accurate and detailed account of their contents; as all previous accounts were, in many respects, extremely imperfect.

The Vêdas are four in number, and are named the *Rîch*, *Yajush*, *Saman*, and *Atharvan*; the last, however, is probably of a later compilation than the first three. They are said to have been brought into the present arrangement by Duâpâyana, who for this reason is termed Vyâsa, or Vêda—Vyâsa signifying the compiler of the Vêdas. If this be correct, (and there is no reason for doubting this part of the traditional history relating to the Hindoo scriptures,) parts of the Vêdas must have existed anterior to the age of Vyâsa; and it would be incorrect to assign to every part of them the same date. From passages of the calendar (*Jyôtiish*) attached to the Vêdas, and the situation of the solstitial points mentioned in these passages, it would appear that the calendar was regulated in the fourteenth century before the Christian era: this would also fix the date of Vyâsa about the same period. The genuineness of the whole of this bulky collection cannot be well disputed, though, probably, some parts, and certainly others, are productions of a later date than the rest. The fourth Vêda is of a more modern date than the other three. The Vêdas are not, nor do they pretend to be, the work of a single man; but they consist of a collection of hymns, prayers, and tracts on divinity, which are the productions of different authors. Each Vêda contains two principal parts: the one called *Mantras*, or hymns, prayers, and invocations, and the other, *Brâhmana*, or divinity; to the last are attached the *Upanishads*, or tracts on various points of Indian theology. These Upanishads are the work of which Anquetil du Perron has published a Latin translation, from a Persian version of the original text. Our readers will best judge of the value of Perron's work, when they recollect that the meaning of the original is often very obscure, and that the Persian is still more so; after which comes the Latin translation, which is quite unintelligible: and what is most surprising, is, that on this bad translation most of the views respecting the religion of the Indians have been founded.

The information contained in the Vêdas is chiefly interesting as far as it relates to the ancient form of the Hindoo worship. Some few facts relating to the ancient geography of the country may be derived from them; and some of the historical traditions may serve as specimens of the manner in which simple traditionary records have been amplified by later poets and mythologists. The doctrine which is taught in the Vêdas is not polytheism, but it inculcates the worship of three elementary deities, resolvable into one supreme universal soul. The following passage, among others, is both curious and interesting: "The deities are only three, whose places of abode are the earth, the intermediate region, and heaven, *i. e.* fire, air, and the sun. Other deities belonging to these several regions are parts of those three gods, and are variously named and described on account of their different operations; but, in fact, there is only one great Deity, *the Great Soul* (*Mahân âtmâ*).” This passage shows, to use Mr. Colebrooke's words, that the ancient Hindoo religion, as founded on the Indian

scriptures, recognises but one God, yet not sufficiently discriminating the creature from the Creator. The inferences deducible from an examination of the Vêdas; and from a comparison of the religious doctrines chiefly contained in the Purânas and other mythological poems; are, with respect to Indian history, of considerable importance. "The real doctrine," continues the author just quoted, "of the whole Indian scriptures, is the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the apparent polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements, and the stars and planets, as gods. The three principal manifestations of the divinity, with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the other gods of Hindoo mythology, are indeed mentioned, or at least indicated, in the Vêdas. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of that system; nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any other portion of the text which I have yet seen, though such are sometimes hinted at by commentators."

The study of the Vêdas is of great interest to the Indian philologist; their style is abrupt, obscure, and of a certain ancient rudeness; and the dialect is remarkable, as that from which the fixed and classical Sanscrit of subsequent writing has been derived. Several systems of philosophy have been founded on them, and the different founders all quote passages of the Vêdas in support of their systems: the same is the case in treatises on laws, ethics, and the other sciences. The literature belonging to the Vêdas is very extensive: grammatical rules for the ancient dialect, commentaries which require the further assistance of commentators to be explained, and various tracts on their religious rites and ceremonies, may be considered as appendixes to them. It will not be foreign to our subject here to mention a curious instance of European literary forgery connected with the Vêdas, and which has given rise to several erroneous opinions among European writers of the greatest celebrity. A Catholic missionary, probably Robertus de Nobilis, a man still of great fame among the natives on the coast of Coromandel, and possessed of uncommon learning and talents, composed, in Sanscrit, an imitation of the Vêdas, for the use of the missionaries in converting the Hindoos,—thus conveying to the Indians, Christian doctrines in a form congenial to the manners and customs of the inhabitants. Of what use this production has been to the missionaries, we are not aware; but its merits, although a forgery, are considerable. Voltaire received, in the year 1761, a translation of one of these four spurious Vêdas, called the *Elow Vêdam*, (a corruption of *Yajur Vêda*), which he presented to the Royal Library at Paris, and which was afterwards published with a preface by the learned Baron de S. Croix. To Voltaire this was a discovery just as he wished,—doctrines, similar to those of the Christians, contained in a Sanscrit work of high reputed authority, were what he wanted; and the passages in his works are not few in which he speaks of the ancient religion of the Indians, as mentioned in this production. "The deductions drawn by him from the circumstances detailed in this work, stand in need of no other refutation, when it is considered that the work itself is a complete forgery. The remaining parts of this forgery have since that time been discovered in the library of the Roman missionaries, at Pondicherry; and the late Mr. Ellis has, in the fourteenth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, given an interesting account of them."

The next work of sacred authority with the Hindoos, is, the Laws of

Menu, which have been translated by Sir William Jones. As this work is more generally known and read in Europe than any other Indian composition, we need not dwell long on it. The appellation of the laws of *Menu* is not exact, as *Menu* is only one of the interlocutors in the book, and is not even the pretended author of any part. The most correct view of it is, to consider it as a collection of ancient legal practices and rules, here collected into one body, and arranged under one system. The first collection of laws seems in all countries to have been formed in the same manner; and the Sanscrit terms for this collection of legal rules, *Smṛiti*, or recollection, tends to establish this opinion. It is not a mere body of laws, like the modern collections: but, besides civil laws, it contains an exposition of all the religious duties and ceremonies to be observed by the different castes at different times. It begins with the creation of the world, and the legendary history of the primitive ages. Its interest is sufficiently acknowledged by all who have examined it; and it is the more interesting, as it is the only work of the kind to which we have access, transmitted to posterity by a people under a sacerdotal form of government. It not only throws great light on the ancient moral, social, and intellectual state of India, but it is of great use in elucidating the nature of other institutions subject to the same form of government, and an equally powerful and despotic priesthood. The date of this production is not fixed, and can hardly be determined but by an approximative calculation. It is undoubtedly more recent than the *Vēdas*, which are frequently mentioned in it. It has been illustrated by several commentators, who, however, seem to have introduced the notions and ideas of modern times, and of later religious sects, into the ancient text of *Menu*.

In describing that part of the ancient Indian literature which consists of sacred poetry, and is often indiscriminately mentioned under the name of *Purāṇas*, we must exempt from this appellation two works, which, by some, are incorrectly included under this title—the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*. These two works are, in every respect, different from the *Purāṇas*. The latter must be considered as merely compilations from, and arrangements of, a systematical mythology, executed by the priests, and differing according to the times, countries, and religious sects for which they are adapted. The *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* contain poetical traditions of historical facts, and of much greater antiquity than the *Purāṇas*.

The *Rāmāyana* is the reputed work of Valmiki, a name involved in mythological legends, which we shall not endeavour to unravel. It contains the traditions relative to the birth, migration, and exploits of *Rāma*, the son of *Dasaratha*, one of the reputed kings of *Ayōdhyā* or *Oude*; and also the adventures of *Rāma* and his beloved *Sitā*; her capture by *Ravana*, sovereign of *Lankā* or *Ceylon*, who is finally conquered and killed by *Rāma*; together with the recovery of *Sitā*, and *Rāma*'s return to *Ayōdhyā*: these are the leading traits of this long and celebrated poem. The subject is a very familiar one in Indian poetry, and has been treated of by many subsequent writers of different merits. The conquest of *Ceylon* by a prince of the north of India, seems to be the groundwork of this story, to which many embellishments, and merely fictitious legends, have been attached. It consists of seven books, and is extended to the reputed length of 27,000 stanzas,—a number which we rather think

below than above its real amount. This work, or at least the greater part of it, has more the appearance of being the production of one man, than any other to which the Hindoos ascribe sacred authority; it must be allowed, however, that some parts have been added in later times, and that its present arrangement is not the same as that of the original composition. Respecting the poetical merits of this work, we shall quote the words of Mr. A. G. de Schlegel: "L'unité de l'action, une teinte en même temps héroïque et patriarcale, l'abondance et la variété de fictions merveilleuses—des descriptions pittoresques de fleuves, de montagnes et de forêts, en un mot de toute la nature végétale et animale, de l'Inde; des situations fortes et pathétiques—une grande élévation et une extrême délicatesse dans les sentiments des héros et des principaux personnages, répandent un charme unique sur ce poème pour des lecteurs qui savent se transporter en idée dans une sphère morale, intellectuelle et physique, toute différente de la nôtre." We are inclined, generally speaking, to bestow the same praise on this poem; but at the same time we must remark, that some parts are entitled to it less than others; it contains needless repetitions, and is tediously prolix in the detail of religious rites and ceremonies: the style is not equally elevated throughout; and the last book is quite superfluous, being foreign to the rest of the subject. The historical information to be derived from it is not considerable, nor of much importance; but on the ancient geography of India, the manners of the people, and their social and intellectual state, it throws considerable light.

The poetical character of the Mahābhārata is, on the whole, the same as that of the Rāmāyana; but the historical information it affords is more interesting and extensive: it is also considerably larger than the other, containing, as is said, the almost incredible number of 60,000 stanzas. Here we meet again with Vyāsa as the compiler; and this circumstance, together with the loose connexion of several of its parts, has convinced us that this work is a collection of ancient poetry, of the same kind, and probably composed about the same time, but by different authors, and that it has been arranged in its present form by some one, who, for this reason, has been termed Vyāsa. The main part of its contents relates to the war of the ancient royal families of India, called the Kauravas and Pāndavas, and their reputed origin from the sun and moon. Besides this principal story, there are several episodes of very different merits. We consider the main story to be founded on traditional narrations of true historical facts, but clothed in a poetical and mythological dress, and connected with legends of an entirely fictitious nature. Its present arrangement is probably subsequent to the time of Alexander the Great; not that he is mentioned in any part of the work, as has been erroneously stated, but because throughout the poem there is displayed a more intimate acquaintance with the people west of the river Indus than in any of the works before mentioned. The most westerly country mentioned in the Rāmāyana, is that of the Bahlikās, or Bālikh, in the Transoxiana: in the Mahābhārata, the Persians are distinctly described. A work of this bulky dimension cannot be expected, through all its parts, to possess the same poetical merits, or to convey the same historical information; but, taking it as a whole, there are few works in the literature of the ancient Indians, in which the historical accounts can be considered more authentic than in this. The parts of the Mahābhārata, of which we

present editions of the original text, are few, when compared with the whole work; but still they are favourable specimens of its poetical character.¹ The episode of Nala was published some years ago by Mr. Bopp, and this distinguished scholar has lately added to that publication an edition of four minor episodes. The Bhagavad-Gîtâ, which is reputed to be part of the Mahâbhârata, but is in reality a system of the Vêdânta philosophy, delivered in a poetical form, has been edited by Mr. Schlegel; who has also added an excellent Latin translation. Translations and abridgments of this work are extant in the principal vernacular dialects of India, and a Persian translation has long been embodied with several of our collections of manuscripts. We have thus briefly noticed that part of Indian literature which is held in sacred veneration by the natives, and which includes the most ancient works existing in the Sanscrit language. From this examination, it appears that the Vêdas or Indian sacred writings are the most ancient; the collection of ancient legend records, ascribed to Menu, and the epic poems, the Râmâyana and Mahâbhârata, which seems to be a collection of old poetry, arranged by by some later hand into one work, are subsequent to the Vêdas, and may, most probably, be arranged in the same chronological order as we have followed in noticing them. The Purânas are not of the same antiquity as any of the preceding works; they are of different dates, and relate to different countries and religious sects.

As to the information which these works afford, we must candidly admit, that no accounts of particular occurrences, or of individual historical characters, are to be found in them; they, for the most part, contain fables, some of which, it is true, are founded on true historical facts, and these, although clothed in an allegorical and poetical dress, afford us the means of tracing a general outline of some of the principal occurrences of the ancient history of India. They afford some materials for a geographical description of ancient Hindoostan, and in the last instance, they give a full and detailed account of the political, social, and intellectual state of the ancient Hindoos,—information which is only to be derived from these sources, and which is confirmed by the accounts of classical writers, as far as they have touched upon subjects relating to India. It has been often, and, indeed, with considerable truth, urged against Indian literature, that it is extremely deficient in historical subjects. True, as this observation is, it is unfair to apply it to those works which do not pretend to detail simple historical facts, as is the case with the chief part of the ancient literature of India. In this point, the fault is not in the works themselves, which contain no pure history, but with those who seek for historical accounts in them, and consider the fables contained in them as relations of real facts. We are not aware how much historical information was contained in the lost writings of the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians; but if we are allowed to draw a conclusion from what is preserved to us respecting the antiquities of these nations, they seem not to have contained any more historical details than the long epic poems of the Hindoos. And how few are the real facts of history which are to be gleaned from the works of Homer and

¹ Ardschuna's Reise zu Indra's Himmel nebst andern Episoden des Maha Bhârata in des Ursprache mit metrischer Uebersetzung und kritischen Anmerkungen. By F. Bopp, Professor of Oriental Languages to the University of Berlin, 1824.

Hesiod. The case is, we think, exactly the same, as with the most ancient works in the literature of the Indians; we learn some historical traditions, the names of some real or imaginary heroes; we see how far the geographical knowledge of those times extended; and, principally, we have an accurate and detailed description of the manners, condition, and religion of the people, at the time when those poems were composed. We do not see, therefore, why the epic poetry of the Hindoos is to be blamed because it is not a chronicle of historical facts. On this point, there are two classes of persons equally in fault; first, those European critics, who do not know how to distinguish historical legends from true historical records; and, secondly, the Hindoos themselves, because they have not proceeded from legendary fables to the narration of true historical facts. The object of these remarks has principally been, to show what must not be expected from these Indian works, and how far they are entitled to a general consideration from the public. Those who make Indian literature and antiquities a peculiar object of their researches, will always be compelled to have recourse to those ancient writings, which are the standard classical works of this people, and which must be the great fountain for information to all who take delight in these subjects.

DESPO.

[From *'The Songs of Greece.'*]

Loud shouts are echoing through the rocks,
While muskets ring and thunder,
Is it to strike some bridal crowd
With joy and childish wonder?

'Tis Despo who is combating,
With many a dark-eye'd daughter—
Within Dimoula's tower she steins
The Albanian tide of slaughter.

"Despo, submit, for Suli lies
"Shatter'd and black with ruin,
"Then trust Ali, who ne'er unmoved
"Can gaze on Beauty suing."

"Since Suli and Kiäpha crouch,
"I bar this gate the faster:
"Nor Despo nor her daughters e'er
"Receive a Moslem master!"

She seized a torch—uncerthly came
Her dying voice and hollow:
"We never must be slaves to Turks—
"I fly!—my children, follow!"

"Midst cartridges she plunged the torch,
"And all was bursting fire—
"That mother and those lovely girls
Have join'd their murder'd sire!

POLITICAL REVIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE IN 1825.

A MYSTERY and philosophic Essay, under this title, has been recently published on the continent: and, although it has not yet obtained circulation in England, it cannot fail to attract, ere long, a large share of public attention. A copy of this article having reached us through a private channel, we have been so forcibly impressed with its value and importance, that we determined on laying it wholly before our readers, and we are persuaded that they will feel considerable pleasure at finding it first introduced to the notice of the people of England through the pages of the *Oriental Herald*. A note of the Editor's, by whom this separate Essay was published on the continent, states, that it formed part of the first number of a new Literary and Political Review, which was intended to have appeared at the commencement of the present year. Circumstances, which are not however explained, occasioned the postponement of the work itself for a few months; but the article which we have now the pleasure to present to our readers in an English dress, was deemed so remarkable and so important that it was offered without delay to the public; and great regret expressed that the publishers were not permitted to reveal the author's name. Concurring as we do entirely in the view taken of its merit and its power, we have translated the whole for the gratification of our readers: giving the first portion of the article in our present Number, and reserving its conclusion for the succeeding one. After this preliminary explanation, we proceed at once to the Essay in question:

Illi pro libertate, hi pro dominatione pugnant.

They who know how far man and his institutions are capable of being perfected, follow with an attentive eye the general movement of society, that brings it every instant nearer a degree of civilization hitherto unknown, which will prove fatal to the prejudices that have governed the past world, while it will be most favourable to those principles which must henceforth regulate the new order of things about to be established. There never was a subject more worthy the meditation of philosophy, nor a spectacle greater or more calculated to excite admiration amongst men; it is entirely new; it was unknown to antiquity. This high state of civilization, the subject of so much false reasoning, and of so many senseless fears, which is looked upon by some as the maturity and beginning of decay of political bodies, by others as a more overwhelming source of the vices and evils of human society; this degree of civilization which is so much feared, so unjustly decried, so blindly opposed, has ever been, and is still, misunderstood. It is not the civilization of Memphis, nor of Athens, nor of Rome. It was foreseen by a few sages of antiquity, who of course desired its establishment; it has not, and could not have been, established by any king. It is the production of ages, and of the universal relations of mankind; it is the work of time, and of the whole human race united. In civilization, an age is but a day, a kingdom but a point.

As soon as kings thought they perceived that civilization had no tendency to augment their power, they did their best to arrest its progress,

and treated it as an enemy. Their courtiers also, who owe their superiority to those prejudices which always presided over the conduct of things, have taken the alarm at the rapid strides of a civilisation which undermines them; they have entreated kings to unite with them in attacking it, and this is what both these parties are doing at this moment with blind industry, without foreseeing the consequences of their anti-social plan. Kings do not, however, understand the matter. Civilisation is not their enemy. The office of kings will always be noble and honourable, as long as they are content to identify themselves with humanity, and to second its new destinies. They form their opinions from those shocks and revolutions which accompany its efforts and its establishment; they cannot judge of it by examples, for the world has seen none. It is not to be found in the history of any known nation: among what people should they seek it? Athens was enlightened, but it was cruel and unjust; it gave rise to virtues which can no longer be considered such: they sprang from its interests and passions. The iron virtues of the early Romans bespoke a rude people. The civilization of consular and imperial Rome, was confined to Rome itself, or rather to a few Roman families; without the gates of the city it was nowhere to be found. Shall we seek for it amongst our own ancestors, the most stupid and ferocious of men? and, it must be confessed, that up to the last age, our revolutions, our laws, and our manners gave us no right to be ashamed of our forefathers. Besides, amongst all these nations slavery was acknowledged to be compatible with humanity, which is enough to put them out of the question on the present occasion. On the other hand, all the East is a prey to barbarism; it is not known when it was otherwise, nor can it be foreseen when it will change. In those wretched countries, man is only one step above the other animals: despotism and superstition have effaced the distinguishing feature of humanity. Ancient Egypt, that earliest model of human societies, that school of Greece which taught Italy, which, in its turn enlightened the rest of Europe; this Egypt was a chaos in which light and darkness struggled for the mastery, in which human reason was stifled by the weight of superstition. Every extravagance, of which the human mind is capable, proceeded from that country, in other respects so fertile in wonders.

Such is the philosophical history of ancient nations; it has only one peculiar feature—human nature subjected to brute force, while ignorance and barbarism covered the surface of the earth. We do not take up our account from the origin of things; our annals go back no farther than the period of degradation, for undoubtedly the just preceded the unjust, as right preceded force, and reason error; otherwise it might be said that this world was created to be the theatre of violence, injustice and folly. Such then is the history of the world, as far back as we can see. A few torches were lighted during this long and sombre night; and their weak rays playing round the ruins of Athens and Rome, have shot their glory on to these remote times, and produced that splendid light which now glitters over the whole of Europe. But this light is not pure; all they who feel offended at it are anxious to lead us back to that darkness from which we have hardly escaped. It was a prodigious labour to dissipate a darkness accumulating through thirty centuries, and to give back to reason the empire it had lost; but the light has then once more separated from the darkness, and the world is at its second creation.

Europe is in the present day humane and refined, and the traces of barbarism which yet remain in it have been brought from the East. One single people unworthy of her, remains still upon her frontiers, but the moment is not far distant in which she will wipe away that blot. A universal civilisation now prevails in Europe; its governments may still be unjust, but they are not barbarous,—not one of them resembling the atrocious systems which preceded them. Both kings and nations are better; and all owe this first step towards improvement to a more liberal education and more profound instruction. Education is the creator of man; and is the power which at this moment produces all the wonders of New Greece. But in proportion as the hearts and understandings of men have been more nobly cultivated, the moral wants of nations have increased: it is no longer enough, in their estimation, that governments should not be barbarous, they expect that they shall be just and liberal; they are not satisfied with the amelioration of slavery,—they demand liberty founded on the rights and dignity of man: it is no longer enough that their happiness should flow from the benevolence of their rulers,—they require that it shall be fixed by tutelary laws less changeable than the will of kings.

Thus Europe, covered by an immense enlightened population, seems to need no extraordinary effort to arrive at its social destiny; it is sure to reach it by the natural progress of its route, and by the irresistible course of things. This is the strong point of its situation: the danger of that of sovereigns would be to aggravate theirs by resisting this invincible movement, and to contest the rights of the people, who, in the wisdom of their desires, do not require that the happiness of kings should be diminished, but that their own should be increased. Unhappily, however, there is an actual resistance: in spite of desires so moderate, so easy to be fulfilled, and even so favourable to the greatness of kings, the prayers of the people are rejected; a powerful conspiracy has been artfully organized against civilization, and has formed the design of causing mankind to retrograde. Two worlds now move in a contrary direction; nations and their governments disunite; they are actuated by opposite interests, and on all sides there is a clashing of desires. A decisive war has commenced between prejudices and principles; but prejudices are error, and principles are truth, and truth is never overcome but when it wants supporters. Now, in this instance, all civilized Europe is engaged on its side. While prejudices prevail, they direct all the energies of society: to destroy them, therefore, is to disorganize the society they held together, but not to dissolve it, as they who owe every thing to them are so ready to proclaim. Nations do not perish so easily; every popular revolution is brought about against a bad state of things, in favour of a better; for if the state were good, there would be no revolution. A popular revolution, like that of France or Spain, is not a conspiracy: every ill-organized state reaches, at length, a certain point of maturity from which it must fall. There are symptoms of political revolutions, as there are symptoms of death: general discontent is an infallible sign of them. This sign had preceded the French revolution, and it preceded the fall of the Imperial Government. When this sign appears, the revolution is foretold; nothing remains uncertain but the fatal hour, and that is struck by the smallest accident. Kings should be instructed by public opinion; it explains every thing, and is never deceitful. Revolu-

tions are therefore necessary ; and, in fact, it should be said for their honour that they always spring from generous sentiments, and a desire of public good : whereas counter-revolutions, to the shame of those who bring them about, be it spoken, are always the effect of private interest. Revolutions are never organized by the people ; they arise from the fault of governments : it was the defectiveness of the Roman Catholic church which produced the Reformation. Every bad order of things produces disorder, but this disorder is only the transition to a better condition ; the passage is undoubtedly terrible, and costs dear to those who promote and those who burst through it. It is an interval filled with crimes and misfortunes ; and it is not without reason that it has been said, there is no prince so bad as not to be preferable to a revolution. Palace revolutions are more simple : one crime begins and completes them ; but it is indignation that produces popular revolutions, and who shall restrain the indignation of a people ! The first crime committed, it calculates no longer, it never stops till it be satiated : it is much easier for kings to prevent, than for nations to moderate them. But the duties of royalty are an exalted and profound science, far above the capacity of ordinary princes ; for if nations have their vulgar, so also have kings. They are besides placed in a fallacious light : they see nothing ; they borrow the eyes of those who surround them ; through the prism of the courtiers, they perceive nothing but agreeable pictures, while all beyond is of evil augury. In 1815, when the brave Count de Montmorency set out from Lyons, and came to announce to the King of France the defection of the royal troops and the triumphant march of Napoleon, the King was asleep, but was roused from slumber ; the Count entered, and related the new misfortune which had burst upon him ; the monarch received him ungraciously, and refused to credit him. Such is the history of all kings : the precipices which are at their feet no one perceives but the people ; kings sleep upon the edge of abysses, and only awake when they are falling. It is not in the retirement of their palaces, it is in the bosom of their people, that monarchs should study the art of reigning ; truth does not present herself in their presence, they must go to her presence. If kings, having juster ideas of the power confided to them, were to study the wants and rights of mankind as thoroughly as they understand their own, they would ward off much misery from the human race, and much danger from themselves. But they have made their declaration of rights, and are unwilling that the people should make theirs. They admit of no treaty between obedience and command : the people's rights go no farther than petition ; it would be audacity were they to indulge in complaint ; kings are not averse to grant, but they would be supposed to owe nothing ; the partition has been managed properly when the lion's portion has been secured. There is nothing very surprising in this strange perversion of every thing. The strong prejudices of birth and divine right, sedulously infused into kings by their education, carry them out of the precincts of humanity ; they hardly believe themselves a portion of it : being the delegates of God and not of the people, they owe everything to God, and nothing to man. Therefore, when it pleases them to betray with mercy towards their people, they fulfil no duty, they dispense favours. No other language is proper in the mouth of divinities.

The heart of that king must be marvellously constructed who should devote himself of his own accord to the happiness of his people ; exam-

plea, indeed, of such a thing are so rare that it is useless to mention them. The political virtues and benefactions of kings are seldom seen unless when they are unfortunate. Danger and misfortune produced the Holy Alliance; kings, for ever at enmity among themselves, have found friendship in adversity. Their first intentions were generous and good; fear and misfortune had given birth to them: they were become men for a moment; but success deprives virtue of its nature, and leaves in place of it an empty name. The kings of the Holy Alliance have wandered very far from their original design; their aim has changed with their fortune. It must be confessed, however afflicting and bitter the truth may be, that the fears have operated more for the advantage of mankind than the benevolence of kings. Nations have always treated with their sovereigns as conquerors with a vanquished party. The favourable conditions obtained by the people have always been procured in moments of violence: unhappily *that* is refused to petition which is readily granted to threatening. Thus reason and justice have never been able to make themselves heard unaided; and we are taught by history that kings listen to no prayers but such as are armed, (*preces armate*;) but nations would never overstep their duty, if princes did not forget theirs: we must lament at the same time the daring of the people and the imprudence of kings.

Nevertheless, we have seen in our days the noblest exception with which history furnishes us. The virtuous King Louis XVI.¹ appeared before his people with the most generous devotion; but he was single in his desire to grant their demands. The most hostile resistance emanated from about him; and the people, not separating in its prejudices the King from his courtiers, suffered its anger to confound the monarch with the nobles, not being able to persuade itself that it was possible for a king of France to prefer the interests of the people to those of the great; so unknown was this phenomenon in the absolute power of kings. But if this accusation was unjust in respect to that unhappy prince, it is but too well founded against those kings of Europe, who, at present, raise up every thing *noble* as a rampart around themselves, against every thing *that is not noble*. The Holy Alliance, formed for the protection and advantage of all, is now nothing more than the executive power of the European aristocracy, which is up in arms on every side against equal rights. The Holy Alliance held, at its formation, a language which its conduct calls in question; the promises it made in fear are well known, but they have proved like the vows uttered in shipwreck, which are forgotten when the tempest is past.

This vast plan of a league of powerful kings, conceived by Frederic, and put in practice by Alexander, is bold, well-organized, redoubtable; but it is subject to one great danger—it will give rise to a league among the people. The confederacy of kings was formerly nothing more than a coalition between or against each other; at present it is a coalition against the people, who are well aware of the fact, and who are taught by this means what their own policy ought to be in future. Kings were afraid of being overtaken singly by the spirit of revolution, and redoubled their force by uniting together. Nothing can resist the power of such a league, animated by the same principle, and defending itself against the

¹ Of the virtues of this king we have heard more than we have believed.—*Trans. Oriental Herald*, Vol. 5.

same danger; but it is, at the same time, an avowal that this danger is immense and imminent. Kings arm themselves against every thing, because they fear every thing; they exert more strength against a metaphysical being, Opinion, than against conquering armies. They are now drawn up in battle-array against ideas; but, whatever security they may find in their tremendous union, however great may be the pressure with which they weigh down the people, silent but not despairing, tranquil but not subdued, let not the Holy Alliance deceive itself! Revolution continues its course, and will continue it, in the teeth of their soldiers, their agents, and their priests. But it is no longer revolution armed with axes, preceded and led by executioners; it is calm and regular revolution, which is divested of hatred and violence, and which is sufficiently secure in the mere energy of its principle. It is nothing more than the spirit of reform, whose influence is every day strengthening and extending: it is the knowledge of what is just and what is unjust, which is communicated to every mind; it is the conviction of the dignity of human nature which finds an entrance into every heart; it is reason which would establish its empire; it is justice anxious to commence its reign. The people, grown more refined in their manners, more enlightened in their desires, more reserved in their conduct, testify sufficiently by their moderation that it would give them more pleasure to receive peaceably than to take by force: but if they do not obtain what they desire peaceably, who will be to blame if they proceed to violence? It is, therefore, not less prudent than just to give them satisfaction while they confine themselves to prayers, and not to wait until those prayers are changed into commands, for the commands of the people are uttered in commotions. Such is at present the general mind and uniform political sentiment of the nations of Europe, of those especially which have passed through the furnace of a revolution.

Justice forbids, however, that we should misrepresent the sentiments of the monarchs composing the Holy Alliance: there can be no doubt that their feelings towards the people are more beneficent, they are willing mankind should be more happy, but only on express condition that their absolute power shall not be disputed, that their concessions shall have the name of *favours*, and not of *justice*; they are willing to grant them more happiness, but not more rights; and, according to the code and conduct of Austria, they are desirous that despotism should be supportable, but that it should be, notwithstanding, the principle of government. But it is precisely this slavish felicity, accepted formerly by degraded generations, which the more exalted population of the present day rejects. It is against this false principle that every generous sentiment revolts. It cannot be denied that it is possible to taste a certain physical happiness under a despotism; but that which might be a favour in the infancy and abasement of nations, is an outrage to civilized man, enlightened respecting his rights, ennobled by thought, and indignant at the idea of returning to the humiliation of his ancestors. The people understand that the governors and the governed have respective rights: it is justly they demand that these should be regulated and observed, and that each should be circumscribed in his duties by an understood and fixed law, as favourable to the interests of kings as of their people. Kings are no longer idols, unless in their own courts; in all places else they are only the first of men; they are the chiefs and no

the masters of the world. The title of chief of a great and civilized nation is certainly a splendid title, but it includes duties with which that of master seems to have no connexion. Kings fear to communicate with their people; they distrust those new relations which the force of circumstances must establish between them; they are averse to belong again to that humanity from which they had excluded themselves; but let them be more confiding! Their destiny will not be the less fortunate; they may carry as far as they please the love and veneration of mankind: it will be sufficient for them to be the best as well as the first of men; it will be sufficient for them to descend towards their subjects, to have them for friends, and not for slaves. But such is the infatuation of pride, that kings prefer flattery to benedictions, and to be worshipped as a different rather than as a better nature; a very silly illusion in an age when illusions are all vanishing. The times of idolatry are gone by; apotheoses are fable; kings are no longer placed among the constellations. Sovereigns have indeed something better to do than to become idols: it should give them more pleasure to be revered and cherished by reasonable men, than to be adored by stupid savages, who dash their idols to pieces with as much blindness as they worship them. In analyzing the revolutionary spirit of Europe, we discover but one wish as well as one principle throughout—equality of rights. It is the basis and the aim of it; and towards this single point is the whole of Europe tending at this moment. Now, what is this equality of rights, but distributive justice, which comprehends all morality, and virtue, and duty? and without this justice, what is there praiseworthy among men? By what strange aberration, by what fatal perversity of the human heart, has it happened that a principle so true, so binding, so inherent in human nature, should be denied and resisted by kings, nobles, and priests: by kings, who are the especial depositories and distributors of justice; by the nobility, who owe their elevation to that same justice, which rewarded the virtues of their fathers; by priests, who received from their founder the express command to preach and establish it?

Such is the afflicting spectacle which Europe now presents. If we direct our observation upon its harassed population, we shall perceive that it is divided into two parts: one of which, by much the superior in number, merit, and knowledge, demands the rigorous application of this principle; and the other, considerably inferior as well in number as in every other advantage, represses it with all its power, and by every species of influence which it still possesses; without our being able to say when this struggle between justice and injustice, between right and might, between privilege and equality, will terminate. Kings look upon those abuses of power, which have been supported by it for any length of time, as their rights; the people assert that time makes nothing against them, and deny the legitimacy of force. This is the contradictory cause which arms societies against governments, and governments against societies. If power did not add weight to the pretensions of kings, they would be reduced to the ridiculous. Thus, they do not dispute, but cut the question. The conclusions of the sword are without reply: power does not create right; but it establishes the fact, and the fact is all the logic of power. When Louis XIV. was reproached with his acts of arbitrary authority, exiles, imprisonments, unjust judgments, he replied: "That which I do, the same was practiced before me; it has been always thus."

Here we have right arising out of abuse, and the length of time that abuse continued. It is for the recovery of lost or invaded rights that one half of Europe has arisen against its governors. Unfortunately, although the aim of revolutions is good, the means they employ are very rarely excusable. It was the violence of the means which subjected the French revolution to accusations that have overwhelmed it: but the spirit of it has survived; its action slumbers, but its principle is still vigorous, and this principle is nothing more than equality of rights. It may be repressed for a time, and in fact is so at this moment; but its energy is too great to be kept down long. For three years, the French Ministry have, with incredible fury, pursued the constitutional spirit; they have employed against it every created power, the most odious, and the most violent means, stopping only at the foot of the scaffold. This is showing prudence in persecution, for the counter-revolution could not, like the revolution, be cemented with blood; it would have missed its aim, and, by missing it, have given rise to a revolution more complete and decisive than the first. The counter-revolutionary re-action has been as cruel as it could be at the period in which it was effected: the times did not permit more; moderation was commanded by the nature of things. Ministerial cruelty is therefore satisfied with causing tears to flow; but what triumph has it obtained? It intended to extinguish the constitutional spirit, and has rendered it universal. The nation has acknowledged none of its acts: it has condemned while it submitted to them, and the tears of its victims have been a seed, like the blood of the martyrs. Opposition has been open and general; it exists in the whole nation; it exists in constituted bodies; it overflows its channel on all sides. The accidental opposition of the Chamber of Peers has given rise to one more systematic in the magistracy,—that noble refuge of public liberty, which might have been extinguished perhaps, but for the support of its power and vast dignity. This is the only barrier not yet overthrown; it alone put a restraint upon a party that wished to act without any. When this party, which assumes the name of royalist, was overthrown, it was supposed by many to possess some virtues and a degree of honour; it wore the resemblance of them: but, as soon as it gained the upper hand, it displayed nothing but fraud, meanness, cupidity, and corruption. Thus, the season of its adversity was that of its glory, while its time of triumph has become its shame. There prevails in France a lasting terror generated by the government of Napoleon, which the royal Government would have been of itself incapable of producing, although Ministers have taken the advantage of it. France having been for so long a time bowed down by a yoke of iron, still preserves the same attitude: she will take some time to rise up again. The Ministers, like those Roman freedmen who were desirous of governing in the imperial style, have shown an inclination to command that silence and obedience which they themselves observed under the Imperial Government. But the great actions of Napoleon had rendered his tyranny imposing, and contempt soon brought the despotism of this obscure triumvirate to justice. Branded by public opinion, undermined by every party, driven back by all good men to prop itself up with its own ruins, it has fled for assistance to servile men, to informers, to those who traffic in their consciences, and of all these elements has composed a ministerial party. Through this it happened, that in the midst of universal murmuring, it has exhibited the

scandalous spectacle of a Government establishing its system and operation on the baseness and corruption of men. The fatal consequences of this deplorable policy have been, to compromise the royal dignity, and even the security of the throne, and the honour of the French nation, now believed by all Europe to be given up voluntarily to ministerial corruption. It is, however, but too true, that in the eyes of Europe, France has lost a good deal of her dignity. Being held in subjection by men the most insignificant that could possibly govern a country through the power of terror and corruption, it has been plunged from that elevated station to which it was raised, when Europe contemplated its noble bearing in danger, the glory of its battles, its magnanimity in misfortune. Besides, France no longer holds any rank in Europe; for to have fallen to the third rank among continental powers, is to hold none; it owes this degradation to those who, having undertaken to watch over its glory, made their own consist in repressing its genius and energies. The aristocratical party, of which they are the leaders, places all its hopes in the destruction of the constitutional party; and this domestic business renders it altogether indifferent to whatever is going on out of the kingdom. For this purpose the arms and treasures of France were employed in Spain: the enemies of its glory consenting to soil all the greatness of that same France, provided those kings to whom they have sold themselves, would aid in subduing the enemies of the aristocracy. The noble Duke de Richelieu threatened the Holy Alliance that he would appeal against it to France; his successors have appealed to that very Alliance against France. Never was any course of policy more favourable to the greatness of the kings of Europe, and of England in particular, who ought to put in practice every diplomatic subtlety in support of a Ministry, which has conspired against the activity and genius of the only people whose rivalry and enterprize she has any reason to fear. What a triumph for that nation, so justly proud of its greatness, to see the great French people, which filled the world with glory and terror, now treated as a vanquished nation; they who, but yesterday, were masters of the world; to see the same France in the service of a coalition of kings, and no longer having a sword to throw into the balance of Europe! During this period of humiliation, England pursues her eagle flight; and while she carries knowledge and civilization to the extremities of the earth, she beholds with joy, the rival of her glory and genius succumbing beneath the hand of its obscure vanquishers, who boast with one voice that they have thrust her back into the darkness and ignorance of past ages.² We open a vast field for reflection, in proposing the comparison of France with itself for the last thirty years. Will the destinies of France be changed by the new reign? Time will reply to this question, and has already begun to do so. Mankind are so full of hopes and desires, that the mere appearance of a popular reign awakens their love: their gratitude precedes the favour; power in milder forms seems to them a limited power. When was there a reign without a promising beginning? But the first few days of a reign predict nothing

² We cannot pass this by without observing, that the *English people* are by far too noble-minded to experience the feelings he imputed to them. These despicable national prejudices are fast fading away before the light of knowledge; and we believe they are as little prevalent in England as in any other country.—*Transl.*

respecting its after course. They bespeak merely the first ebullition of a royal heart; but when wicked ministers come to place themselves between a king and his people, they break the chain which should unite them, and render barren both the will of the prince, and the hopes of the people. The bounty of a king ought to be a blessing to men in general; but a king's bounty is exercised on those about him; they therefore profit by it: but, for mankind in general, being removed from the royal presence, they are given up entirely to the mercy of ministers. Louis XIII. was good; but did that prevent the bloody executions of his reign? Louis XIV. was good;³ but did he prevent the punishment and proscription of four millions of Protestants? Louis XVI. was good: did his goodness ward off the misfortunes of his reign? Charles X. is good: but will his goodness prevail over the spirit of iniquity which surrounds him? Is it not by state reasons that men always succeed in perverting the heart and actions of kings? The new reign has been signalized by a vast benefit—the Liberty of the Press, which at present kings have no reason to fear; but, on the other hand, it is the administration which constitutes the state, and the administration both is and will remain the same: the same system of humiliation and corruption; the same conspiracy of a party against the body of the nation; and France finds itself condemned to the same yoke and the same degradation. This state of humiliation seems to raise higher than ever the greatness of England, the only monarchical state in which the dignity of man is preserved. That country is the tabernacle in which the tables of the law of civilized man are deposited. England, by the mere fact of its constitutional existence, has its full weight in the destinies of Europe. By preserving its principles, and by proclaiming them aloud in its eloquent Senate House, it teaches them to other nations, and enlightens and directs them by the omnipotence of language, and the ascendant of its example. As long as its voice shall be heard in the world, there will be no durable tyranny in Europe; it exerts a moral influence of incalculable energy, which, at no distant day, will cause reason to triumph over every political and religious superstition. It is for its particular interest, at least, not to *hasten* that period, if it perceives no danger in it; for having itself arrived at that desirable state, it has gained a superiority over all other nations, which is the source of its glory and riches. The policy of England, now in the zenith of its power, is to suffer all other states to languish in tutelage; it will make no effort to lift them out of their inferiority; it assists them only with its example, but that example is fertile in wonders. France, Spain, Italy, Germany, the whole of America, have already tasted the fruits of its lessons. Nevertheless, if England saw its liberties menaced by the conspiracy of kings, it would give its policy a more decided character; and, as it possesses the lever that can move the world, it would lift it in an instant, by appealing to those constitutional ideas with which all Europe is penetrated; it would rouse auxiliary armies on all sides and, as on one hand, it has already proved that saying of the Romans:—"that they who are masters of the sea are masters of the land," it would join a moral influence to real force, and cause prodigies to spring up from the union of those two powers. The commands of kings only!

³ This is the first time we were aware of it: but we perceive the author's aim.—*Trans.*

ruffles the surface of nations; but the voice of liberty moves them to the bottom. Kings should beware how they rouse it; men have only to utter this voice to expecting Europe,—it is its *ultimo ratio*; let kings see to it. England is a thorn in the side of despotic power: it has nobly refused to unite itself with that sovereign assembly, in which kings discuss the possibility of increasing the happiness of mankind, without liberating them from their chains. It would not enter a council in which the rights of man were put out of the question. There is no noble deed whose glory is equal to this negative action; which has secured to England the gratitude and admiration of future generations, who will know better than we how to appreciate generous sentiments and great actions.

England has nothing to fear, neither from the course of events, nor from the projects of kings. It may be compelled by external circumstances to use precaution, but it can receive no serious injury from them: the germs of danger are in its own bosom. It contains within itself a Romish Church, which is the secret enemy of the Government; and a portion of its aristocracy which has considerable affinity with the aristocracies of those European monarchies, at this moment so inimical to public liberty. It may judge by the inroads that have already been made upon its own freedom, how much it may yet lose. Its own internal policy should be the object of its solicitude: its secret enemies are they over whom it should watch. Kings can only attack it by their domestic arm; but this arm is a mortal one: let it observe the dangers of France and the wounds of Spain! Another Walpole would ruin it; and should its example be lost, who can say what might be the fortune of Europe? Kings consider England to be the fountain-head of liberty; the desire of which now finds its way into their states through so many channels; and there can be no doubt they are occupied in discovering the best means of drying up this source for ever: they already look upon its increasing army as an element of despotism, which, like all other armies, gives such lively alarms to jealous liberty. But England is too enlightened to consider itself excepted from the conspiracy of kings; and, perhaps, it is now drawing near that fatal moment, in which it will have to raise the constitutional standard on the shores of the Continent.

HYMN TO MINERVA.

'Midst all Invention's births that fill'd the sky
Of old with power, and sapience, and love.
Thou, Goddess, to my intellectual eye
Crowned with superior loveliness dost move;
Though Cytherea with her zone be by,
Though Dian's moony forehead gleam above;
Still, Queen of Solon's Town, thy presence more
Do I than all Olympus' train adore.

Thou wert the idol of the patient heart,
And deep-designing and creative mind;
And, frowning o'er the citadel of art,
Beheldst the golden first-fruits of mankind

Hymn to Minerva.

Nod ripe o'er Time's broad sickle, and depart,
 Leaving the odour of their name behind,
 Sweetening the thought of freedom, while remain
 The wandering deep, and city-crowned plain.

The other Gods *appeased*, thou worshipped wert,
 Daughter of Jove ! and still a lingering light
 Tinges thy power that clung to plain desert,
 While all thy brethren's torches quenched in night
 By dumb oblivion, lie ; this doom avert
 From thee, bland hope and memory's old delight ;
 Thy love, like Janus, gilds life's coming sands,
 And lights the ebb'd heap treasured where it stands.

To see thy fane upon the cloudy steep
 Of the long Attic headland, came the Greek
 Of honied eloquence, around whose sleep
 Murmured Hyacinthus' cohorts, to bespeak
 His golden periods, that more softly creep
 To the heart's springs than any bees that seek
 On thymy hills the souls of dawning flowers,
 Though sweet as those that scent Idalian bowers.

Oh ! what delight fell on the worshipper,
 Who paced thy long dim porticoes at night !
 Viewing the dusk Egean heaving near,
 Silent and cold beneath Orion's light ;
 While the bright stars from out their lofty sphere
 Smote with their rays thy temple's towering height,
 Seeming to be the thousand eyes of heaven
 Through which thy oracles by looks were given.

Transport me, Goddess, to thy temples old,
 Whether in Greece they rise, or on the Nile,
 Where the swart priest his antique legends told
 In pillared shade of some stupendous pile,
 In learning's non-age credulous and bold
 The faith of sphinx-lipped peasants to beguile
 With tales of Isis, and the dreamy land
 Where shivering ghosts before their judges stand.

Or if, diffused along the mystic leaves
 Of ancient books, thou meetst my longing eye,
 Be sure with earnest love my spirit cleaves
 Where'er the traces of thy influence lie ;
 And as old Time with busy scythe bereaves
 Me of his former dole, if e'er I sigh
 'Tis 'cause I fear thou sitt'st not in the grave
 Where Night and Silence old their banners wave.

Yet, yet, Athena ! while the dancing light
 Of golden heaven about my forehead plays,
 Be it my task to watch thy beamings bright
 Shooting across the deep of ancient days,
 And driving from the world the brood of night,
 Who hate the splendour of thy growing rays :
 But, in thy progress, deign to rest awhile,
 In my dark mind, and light it with a smile.

Blow.

THE ARCOT FAMILY.

NO. III.

From Walter Arcot, Esq. to Robert Littlecraft, Esq.

Christ Church, May 15, 1825.

MY DEAR ROBERT,—I had hoped that the sighs of love and the outpourings of friendship would have smoked round the Cape in a steamer; but, alas! the *Enterprise*, it is said, is not likely to set out yet, and our wishes are still unaided by the kettle. The “bubble bubble” of the boiler has not yet superseded the “toil and trouble” of cord and canvass, trade-winds and variables.

Before I continue my diary of what we are doing on this side of the world, I must thank you for your letter, in which you tell me what you are doing on the other side of this tipsy globe. I am sorry to hear that you have started on the turf; but heaven prosper your racing and hog-hunting, and send you home with as sound a hull and as rich a freight as my father. The sufferings of the Natives from famine, and of the Europeans from cholera, have, I trust, abated. *Apropos* to cholera—I must tell you that my father, having got some appointment in India for a son of one of his tenants, the mother, when she came to thank him for it, burst into tears, and said, she feared that poor Tom would be carried off by the cally bogus,—a monster which turned out, after much cross-questioning, to be the cholera morbus. But now to what will interest you more—the Arcot family:

At Easter I got three week's vacation; the first ten days I spent in Gloucestershire, (of which anon,) and the latter part in London, pushing forward my intimacy with my father and mother, Emily and Frank. The day I came to town I walked quietly into the drawing-room at about five o'clock; so quietly, that I did not disturb Emily and Ferdinand Salvetti, who were concluding the delightful duet of ‘*Parto ti lascio*.’ I silenced my mother, who was on the sofa, by signs, and crossed the room on tip-toe, unobserved. The duet was finished, and the performers proceeded to compliment each other.

“Upon my word, Miss Arcot, you have had an excellent music-master at Madras. I have seldom heard Italian music given by amateur singers with so much expression. That *addio* at the end was quite perfect.”

“What Novello does one day, Mr. Salvetti, you undo the next by your compliments; but I will not be ungrateful: I really think that I have gained all the expression of my singing by practising with you. Do not you agree with me, mamma?——Good gracious, Walter, when did you come in!”—and Emily hurried towards me with a deeper colour on her cheeks and neck than the flush of simple surprise. “How very unkind of you not to stop our music! I certainly will have the instrument moved. It is impossible, sitting with your back to the room——” “My dear Emily, pray do not be angry; I could not interrupt that perfect *addio*!”

Salvetti dined with us: he was particularly silent. At dinner he

directed his eyes so constantly towards Emily, that he frequently looked over his fork, as he was eating apparently from habit rather than appetite. My mother, I am sure, does not perceive any thing. Mr. Littlecraft will know before I shall, whether my father's observation is awakened. Prepossessed as I am with one idea, there seemed to me to be something pointed in his saying to Salvetti, "I thought, Ferdinand, you always went down to Welton at Easter?" I have a sincere affection for Salvetti—he has been my companion from childhood; but can I wish him to be my brother-in-law? Illegitimate, bearing the name of his mother, and that, too, a foreign name; a clerk in the Treasury,—an obscure situation, for which a clever man is hired at the same wages as a dunce; where abilities may be useful, but are sure to be unobserved and unrewarded. He is received, it is true, in the best society by the recommendation of Lord Stare, and the elegance of his own manners and person, but dreaded by every mother for his accomplishments, non-entity, and poverty;—yet, my dear Robert, Ferdinand wrung my hand, and, with tears in his eyes, said, "Walter, I should indeed be base, if I did not warn you that I love Emily distractedly;" and Emily, on the same day, hid her face and bespoke my confidence, by owning that she liked Ferdinand better (oh heaven!) than any body in the world. Thank God, I have heart enough to say from the bottom of it, that I do wish Ferdinand to be my brother-in-law. But, pray, pity my predicament. There has been no drawing-room; therefore, according to etiquette, Emily is still in the nursery. But although she cannot go to parties, she cannot really be tied to a rush-bottomed chair, a deal-table, tea, and bread and butter. Men have eyes; and, already, youths, upon whose heads coronets are sliding from the grey hairs of their fathers, or already graced with baronial balls and broad lands, draw up their cabriolets in St. James's Square, prognosticate a drawing-room, and almost engage Emily for her first quadrille at Almack's. Puzzled as I am about my sister, I am more puzzled about myself: you shall now hear why.

At the beginning of the Easter vacation, I went into Gloucestershire with a Christ Church man, named Beaver. He is the son of a distiller, and is sent to College with a large allowance and a couple of hunters, as recommendations to good company. I do not like him, because he is a tuft-hunter.¹ But he so pressed his invitation upon me that I could not refuse him. He is, on all ordinary occasions, gentlemanlike, and seldom tastes of the cask. Sometimes, it is true, at his wine-parties, he will hold up an empty bottle like a body without a soul, and say, "*That champagne stands me in fifteen shillings for every cork that's drawn.*" But you will presently see, that the behaviour of a man in his own family is the truest touchstone of good breeding.

On the last day of term we mounted Beaver's tandem, and bowled away on the Cheltenham road smoothly and merrily. We slept at Chel-

¹ Noblemen at Oxford wear a gold tassel, or tuft, upon their caps. Those who push themselves into their society by the loan of horses in the hunting-season, a prodigality of champagne at wine-parties, and a ready compliance with the wildest of their caprices, which College tutors, not of Christ Church, sometimes condescend to, are called tuft-hunters. Such are generally distinguished by want of intellect, of birth, of good manners, and every thing else which makes a man estimable.

tenham, and reached Juniper Hall at about three o'clock on the next afternoon. It is a large, well-built house, standing in a spacious park, which hangs on the side of a hill, not far from Minchinhampton. Juniper Hall was for many generations known to the neighbourhood as Overton House, and is a fit object of the Butterfly's sorrow in Walpole's 'Entail:'

With grief he saw how lands and honours
Are apt to slide to various owners ;
Where Mowbrays dwelt, how grocers dwell,
And how Cits buy what Barons sell.

Sir Godfrey, the last of the Overtons, ruined his health at Cambridge, his property in the *Salon* at Paris, and blew his brains out in an *entresol* of the Palais Royal. The Beavers have supplied his place in Gloucestershire, which certainly requires no great talents, for the last 10 years.

We found on our arrival that the family were gone out to pay a morning visit. We sat down in a handsome library, the windows opening into a flower garden, from which the wind came fluttering into the room like an Exquisite scented with essence of mille fleurs. About an hour afterwards, Mrs. Beaver and her two daughters returned. The young ladies, who were baptized before they had a will of their own, were named by their sponsors Bridget and Elizabeth, and are usually apostrophized in the family as Biddy and Betty. They swept up to the door in a barouche and four, with the family arms, fresh from the Herald's College, largely blazoned on the panels; namely, three Beavers proper, queued *Or*, in a field *Vert*. The horses were good, but ill matched; on the leaders, a postillion, wearing a hat without a band, and a green jacket with long skirts and two epaulettes; the coachman wore the like livery, a three-cornered hat and top-boots: as an avant-courier, to open gates and pay turnpikes, rode a lad in corduroy trowsers, shoes, and a brown frock-coat. "Well, John, here you are!" said Mrs. Beaver from beneath a velvet hat, like the chapeau de paille; "that's your friend Arcot, I suppose—how d'ye do, Sir!" I bowed; Beaver grew red, and his sisters coughed. "Well, girls, what have I said now? I needn't be on my P's and Q's with that young gentleman. I don't mind him. My daughters always coughs when I do any thing, as they say, *gosh*, Mr. Arcot."

"I'm sure, mamma, we should soon cough ourselves into a consumption!" with a sort of titter, lisped one of the young ladies.

"Come, mother, you had better hold your tongue," said the son.

"Well, Johnny, my dear, I'll do any thing to please you: but it isn't being very civil to your old mother, just as you've come home for the *holidays*. The Parson dines here to-day, but not Susan: she asked me on Sunday when you'd be here—and I told her I didn't know, which, to be sure, wasn't true; but you can have a Parson's daughter any time these forty years, when nobody else will have you, Johnny." During this conversation, Mrs. Beaver had talked and panted along into the library. The young ladies disappeared. The lady-mother, having taken up her pelisse all round her, "that it mightn't be crumpled," as it was quite new, with "*jiggit*" [gigot] sleeves, sat down "to get a little comfortable, as she was all in a flame." At dinner-time, the Clergyman of the parish appeared, and I was then introduced to Mr. Beaver, the father.

The old gentleman, under much absurd pomposity, has a natural shrewdness, which accounts for his present prosperity, and the purchase of Juniper Hall. He is as deaf as a post, although an old lady, who recollected him amidst his gin vats and gallon measures, and had not seen him for these last ten years, assured him, with an ear-splitting scream, that he heard much better than he used to do. In answer to which he nodded his head, smiled, and wisely said nothing. Nevertheless he talked with great clearness of intellect and facility of expression, on the reduction of the wine duties, the importation of Scotch and Irish whiskeys, and the like subjects.

Mr. Andrews, the clergyman, evidently visited at Juniper Hall because he thought it his duty to know the distiller as well as all the rest of his flock. He is a remarkably gentleman-like man, with very plain features, but a most agreeable expression of countenance. He spoke but little at this our first meeting, but whatever he said was quite to the purpose. At his own house, I afterwards found him conversable and rich in information; and, shallow as I am, I can only suspect deeply read in the classics and divinity. Mr. Andrews was tutor to the present Lord Rattlebox, and unfortunately ran away with his Lordship's only sister, who just lived long enough to bring him a daughter, and on her death-bed to extort a promise from her father, that on the removal of the then incumbent, her husband should be presented to the living which he now holds. I determined, at our introductory dinner, to visit the Rectory the next morning, for Mrs. Beaver raised my curiosity about Susan.

The next morning I set off with Beaver to breakfast with Mr. Andrews. The Rectory-house is one of those old buildings which have been modernized into comfort within, and have preserved their picturesque appearance without; a parsonage once of the Romish church, where decency and learning took up their abode, when the Reformed religion possessed herself of the cathedrals. It is built of stone, in the form of a Greek cross, and roofed with broad slabs of the same material. Gabled ends front to the four cardinal points of the compass. To the north a porch, with a high-pointed roof and arched entrance, projects seven or eight feet beyond the door-way, and is lined on each side with Cape jasmine, carnations, roses, and other sweet-smelling flowers: these, and the creepers which climbed and blossomed over the porch, the flower-garden which flung a thousand odours around the house, and the very shrubs which were dotted here and there over a large grass-field, spreading almost like a park beyond the sunk fence of the garden, showed that some daughter of Eve daily

Went forth among her fruits and flowers,
To visit how they prosper, bud and bloom—
Her nursery—they at her coming spring,
And, touched by her fair tendance, gladder grow.

The house-door opens into a hall, wainscotted with oak, and furnished with oak benches: on one side is Mr. Andrews's library, formed in one limb of the cross; on the other, is the dining-room; and opposite to the porch-door, is the drawing-room.

On opening the door of the library, I saw, sitting in the window, a girl about the age of Emily; she was reading, and for an instant, perhaps, to

finish a sentence, continued reading after we were in the room. It was but an instant, but her figure, her face, her attitude at that moment, are fixed on my mind as vividly as if a statue so formed and so disposed were now before me. She was leaning back in her chair, her neck inclined forward, so that her long dark curls hung down till they touched the book which she held in her hand. Thus only the lower part of her profile was seen, the full but delicate red lip, and the white round dimpled chin. She almost instantly rose to meet her father. The profile was gone, and the full face before me. The one I had marked with delight, the other I saw and knew that I was lost. Those long brown curls fell off from so fair a forehead—that forehead spread above such mild but thoughtful eyebrows—those eyebrows arched over such soft but deep dark eyes—those eyes were shadowed by such long, long silken lashes; the straight nose—short curved upper lip—the oval face—the bright transparent skin—the cheeks tinted like the fresh edges of an opening rose, that doubtful colour with which the horizon blushes between dawn and sun-rise—but soon they kindled, as the sun of her countenance shone a welcome upon her father, and as she unaffectedly received his guests, bowing to me, and giving her hand to Beaver.

We sat down to breakfast, and soon fell into conversation. There is a strange difference between the small talk of a woman and a man: if a man have no solid subject to converse upon, he may amuse, but it is a hundred to one that he exposes himself. But a woman—give her nonsense to talk about, she will add even feeling to nonsense. Woman is feeling itself—she touches our hearts while she trifles. If she cares not about the man, she checks his rising warmth; if she is interested about him, she permits his heart to answer to the liveliness of her language. She is apparently passive, while she is truly the agent which makes us sentient beings, or repels us into grubs. *Exempli gratia*. The interminable Freischutz came upon the tapis—"Do you like the music, Mr. Arcot?"

"Indeed, Miss Andrews, I think it original and clever beyond anything composed within my memory; but the airs haunt me as *Zamiel* haunts Caspar."

"True, true; an air gets into our heads—it jingles there for weeks; whether merry or sad, we burst out with the hunting chorus; it is always playing chords on our nerves, tuning our whistles, and shaping our hummings: in a week, something distracts our attention; we forget to hum—we discard the tune; in another week we try to recollect it—the melody, which appeared imprinted on the memory for ever, is lost—another has succeeded—we cannot put two notes of the old air together. Such, according to books, and what we see around us, is love. What seemed to be identified with our faculties is utterly forgotten: in a week we are haunted by other tunes, in a month by other faces."

This was said so carelessly, with so many natural interruptions, as—"Papa, that egg is boiled too hard; would you ring the bell, Mr. Beaver," and yet so quietly, that the Belle of the season in London could not have screwed a heart with more apparent sang froid. But I was galled. When we took our leave, however, Miss Andrews reversed the order of our reception, perhaps accidentally, bowing to Beaver, and

shaking hands with me. We took our morning ride, and returned to Juniper Hall, to three courses,—champaigne and “clear out,” as Mrs. Beaver facetiously calls claret; and the young ladies giped me on my absence of mind.

The elder Miss Beaver has unfortunately taken up religion as people do craniology. She disapproves of parties, plays, cards, profane music, and dancing. The younger condemns prayers, preaching, and parish priests, as the causes of melancholy madness and consumption; and thus these amiable sisters are always quarrelling about conversions. Mrs. Beaver is as the repellent medium between the two. The one tries to convert her into a fair penitent,—the other into a fine lady. Many a kind-hearted village girl has had her head turned by Miss Betty or Miss Biddy! some having eloped with recruiting parties; others with itinerant preachers.

On the morning of the seventh day after our arrival, I was still at Juniper Hall. Why—began to be more evident to other people than myself. One day I talked of going, when my hostess civilly but slyly said, “Here’s a bed, and knife and fork for you, Mr. Arcot, as long as you like to stay, and perhaps you will find your own amusement in the neighbourhood.” I was in the habit of strolling down to the Rectory immediately after breakfast. The ladies at the Hall seldom appeared so early. Mr. Beaver, till one o’clock, was always engaged with his ear-trumpet and his bailiff; and Beaver was generally occupied in some private avocations, to which I was allowed to remain a stranger. I took my usual stroll, and met Mr. and Miss Andrews just as they were driving in a pony carriage out of the paddock-gate. Susan bowed to me with a smile, but somewhat formally. Mr. Andrews nodded his good morning in a kind manner, but drove on. I stood staring after them for a moment, and felt my ears tingle and my cheeks grow very hot. In another moment, I turned away, and met young Beaver. “Well, old boy,” he said, “you are fond of deer stalking; early on the look out for the hind! But really, Arcot, I hope you are only getting up your divinity for the schools with the parson, or it will be Susanna between the youngsters. *Seriously*, I like the girl myself, and you *can* know nothing of her.”

We are often, I believe, more indebted to our good fortune for the opportunity, than to our self-command for the power, of concealing our vexation: in the present instance, I was out of luck and out of temper.

“Upon my word, Beaver, you have an odd way of talking about a young lady, whom you suddenly profess to admire; your comparisons and allusions are equally indecent, whether your respect for Scripture or Miss Andrews be considered. These, however, are matters of taste, and cannot be disputed about; but, *seriously*, you must not prescribe to me with whom I am to be acquainted, or when I am to pay my morning visits.”

“*Seriously*,” he exclaimed violently, “I insist upon an explanation of your attentions to Susan Andrews, or—”

Unhappily, he had raised his arm, and whether by accident or intentionally, a hunting whip, in his hand, hit me across the face. In an instant the whip changed masters, and, to my present sorrow and astonish-

ment, I suddenly became whipper-in to the young Squire of Juniper Hall, and flogged him back to his own kennel. There I left Beaver, (who all the while had run on crying out by turns, "My dear fellow, it's all a mistake;—you damned rascal, I'll have satisfaction,") and without speaking a word, I flung the whip over the gate after him, and hurried down to the Inn at Minchinhampton. Forgive me, my dear Robert, but here I must leave off, or detain the letter for at least a month. I will, as soon as possible, let you know the sequel of this adventure.

Yours, most sincerely,

WALTER ARCOT.

P.S.—Do not say a syllable of Miss Andrews, or the affair with poor Beaver, to any body at Madras. Your, and Ferdinand Salvetti, are the only persons who know any thing about the former at least.

STANZAS—TO ADAM.

AWAY, away—it must not be—
I cannot, dare not, part from thee;
The ties of worldly love may sever,
But I will leave thee never—never!

To meet no more that beaming eye,
To hear no more that softening sigh,
To feel no more thy gentle breath
Steal o'er my soul, were worse than death.

This hut, though rude, will shelter me
With fairy pomp, if shared with thee;
This cruse and root be dainty fare
To deck my board, if thou art there.

To watch thee in thy sleeping hour,
To guard thee from affliction's power,
To press thee to this beating heart
Is done:—but, oh! we may not part.

I cannot proffer wealth or fame;
No lordly lands uphold my name;
I cannot tender castled-tower,
Or glittering baubles as thy dower:

But, if a soul that roved as free
As mountain kid, till chained by thee,
A spirit only lit by thine,
Are prized by thee,—those gifts are mine.

Then turn thee, turn thee, once again,
To share my joy, to soothe my pain;
Oh! turn thee, and that gaze will be
The light of heaven and hope to me!

D.

ON THE INEFFICACY OF THE MEANS NOW IN USE FOR THE
PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.¹

ALTHOUGH, where the political constitution of a country is despotic, force must be the great instrument of government; yet, however powerful this instrument, the rulers who use it find the necessity of something more for their safety. They stand in need of various subsidiary helps, as it were, to secure this formidable weapon in their hands. For this purpose, they generally have recourse to the prejudices and superstition of the many, the vanity and self-love of the few. Taking advantage of the natural propensities of man, they inculcate on the multitude strong veneration for what is established, because it is ancient; and to strengthen still more the ignorant awe of the people, they throw over their institutions the solemn mantle of religion. The priests are attached to the system by interest; the learned and brave by indulging their love of fame; and thus, by means of a few, dexterously managed, the great mass of mankind are led like a team of oxen by their drivers. But even with all these helps, a despotic government supporting itself by force, not resting on the affections of the people, is found to be very far from secure, and continually subject to the most violent revolutions.

The Government of British India appears to be remarkably destitute of these adventitious aids we have mentioned. It has no antiquity to inspire veneration; the superstition of the people has only a tendency to make them hate their rulers; the Natives of the country are excluded from all high situations of honour and emolument, which would reconcile them to submission. So that, among these sixty millions of people, patriotism, piety, interest, ambition, all excite them *against* the existing state of things, instead of being enlisted in its favour. It is naked force alone, then, that makes them submit. The British rule by the sword, which is in their hands; but if any accident, for a moment, struck it out, the blow would be irrecoverable. The mercenaries, into whose hands we put our arms, would, for the same pay, turn them against our own bosoms, preferring to serve a Native Prince of their own caste and country. We have no *pont d'appui* in any of the population bound to us by the indissoluble ties of national and religious union. The few Britons in India are yet but as a drop in the ocean; and the faith of our forefathers has hardly made a greater increase. But strange as it may seem, the East India Company, instead of using any means to supply this radical defect in their political system, have prevented it from remedying itself, which it would have done in the natural course of events, but for their pernicious interference. But for their ill-judged efforts against Colonization, there would have been at this moment a large British population in India, sufficient, by its superior energy, enterprise, and intelligence, to counterbalance the myriads of Asiatics who own our sway. In a crisis like the present, when mutiny and discontent seem to over-

¹ Memoir relative to the Translation of the Sacred Scriptures, addressed to the Baptist Missionary Society in England.—Dunstable 1808. Correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity, and the means of promoting its success in India.—London 1825.

spread the land, a British army might, if needful, have been raised upon the spot, to set danger at defiance. And it is neither the first nor the second time, that the Company's servants, in periods of danger, have seen the necessity of adopting such an expedient, as far as their very limited means allowed them.

The policy they have pursued, in regard to religion and intellectual improvement, is still more extraordinary. Standing alone amidst a vast population, of widely different ideas and feelings and habits, these few Europeans who rule over the wrecks of former empires, if they would not augment their own numbers, might, at least, have seen the advantage of gradually assimilating the Native mind to their own, of introducing new currents of thought, to dissolve away the elements of former systems, and amalgamate them into a new and harmonious whole. By endeavouring to give the Natives of India a taste for the arts, the sciences and the literature of England, we might insensibly wean their affections from the Persian muse, teach them to despise the barbarous splendour of their ancient princes, and totally supplanting the tastes which flourished under the Mogul reign, make them look to this country with that veneration, which the youthful student feels for the classic soil of Greece. Above all, by inviting them to embrace a purer faith, many, laying aside their gross form of worship, would regard us with that grateful affection, which those who are rescued from darkness feel for the enlighteners of the world.

But what can be expected of a body of merchants, who *trade* in the government of an immense country, on a lease of twenty years? The sublimest objects are sacrificed to the meanest considerations; every great and permanent blessing, to temporary ease and convenience. Colonization is opposed, because the voice of the colonists would, in time, make itself heard in the British legislature, and might thus introduce improvements curtailing the privileges of the Company. A free press is hated, because its existence subjects the conduct of public men to a scrutiny, which renders more care requisite in the performance of their duty. Those abroad hate trouble; and those at home apprehend from it too close a scrutiny, by the British legislature, into the effects of their government. The Company's civil servants are, in general, opposed to all kind of reform, because reform implies change; and as they have been educated for a particular system, any change would impose on them the trouble of breaking through old habits, and learning something new. Some are, doubtless, opposed to it from more culpable motives. One may think with himself, "A free press might publish, that I am, in private, deeply indebted to a Native of my district, and decide every cause in his favour!" Another, "It would tell the world that I amuse myself by playing at billiards, while my Native officers are doing my duty; trying causes, and that between the rubbers—I sign my name, right or wrong, as they bid me." A third says, "The free press might tell how I compelled a rich Native to give me a valuable elephant for almost nothing, through fear of being harshly treated in my Court." A fourth, "It might notice how I am nearly all the month distant from my station on parties of pleasure, and only return towards the end of it, to knock off the requisite number of causes prescribed by the regulations." The list might be continued; but this is a sufficient specimen. These delinquents are "all honourable men;" for, in India, no one dares

hint the contrary, although millions groan in hopeless misery, through their culpable partiality, and no less criminal indolence, to which no effectual check exists. That this happy state of things may continue, all such, instead of wishing to reform it, sit down to invent false objections (for they cannot state the real ones) to the existence of a free press in India, which they send to their friends in England, who either from being deceived themselves, or out of regard for the wishes of those abroad, undertake the task of deceiving the English nation, by which the unhappy victims of their oppression cannot be heard.

The opposition so long manifested to the diffusion of Christianity in India, could only have arisen from such a source. The Company's servants know, that while the Natives of India continue sunk in idolatry, superstition rivets their chains. Were they to become Christians, religion would no longer debar them from leaving their native soil. The ruined Hindoos, ground to the dust by oppression, might then approach the shores of England with their tears and supplications for redress, and their groans might at last reach the British throne. It is the fear of this that makes cruel task-masters keep them plunged into that system of darkness which chains them to the soil, and now cuts them off from that mercy which we could not refuse to them as our Christian brethren.

Can it be from any other but this diabolical motive, that the East India Company has compelled both English and American Missionaries to leave its territories and take shelter in foreign settlements? That this Company still keeps laws in force, whereby, if a Hindoo declare himself a Christian, he is to be robbed of his whole inheritance? That it sanctions the burning of women alive,—a practice so unchristian and horrid, that it is not tolerated even by the patrons of the Inquisition? The Government of India has no other excuse than that which may be pleaded by the monster Ferdinand of Spain, when he in like manner patronizes priestcraft, and every enormity which he thinks conducive to the support of his iniquitous reign. This is the more evident, because this policy is only conducive to the support of existing abuses in the Government, while it is decidedly hostile to the security and permanency of the British power in India; for it is as clear as day, that the gods of the Hindoos fight not for us, and that the spirit of Mohammed only rouses his followers to shake off our yoke as usurpers. Whereas Christianity would ever be our firm and faithful ally, the most powerful instrument of benevolence, our best security in the day of danger. Consequently, there is no reason for proscribing truth and patronizing the bloodiest of all superstitions but a determined hatred of improvement.

But leaving the Company "to eat of the fruit of their own devices," we now turn to consider the efforts of others for the diffusion of the Gospel in India. We are led into this inquiry by a small work which has lately been published in London, on the 'Prospects of Christianity and the Means of promoting its Reception' in that country. It consists of a correspondence on this important subject, between Professor Ware of Harvard College, Cambridge, United States; the Rev. William Adam, Missionary in Calcutta; and the celebrated Rammoohun Roy, who although entitled to the highest rank among the priesthood of his own country, both by birth and learning, has warmly and openly embraced and advocated the cause of Christianity. The principal part of this Correspondence, which has now been published in three quarters of the

world—Asia, America, and Europe—is from the pen of Mr. Adam, whose report on such a subject is entitled to the greater attention, as from his having himself long acted as a Missionary, he is qualified from actual experience to speak of the obstacles and facilities to conversion; and as it appears that, since being in India, he has, from conviction, changed his religious sect, though much to his worldly disadvantage, this proof of his being a sincere searcher after truth, warrants us in believing that he will be the less liable to mislead others. Into his views, regarding the probable success of his peculiar religious tenets, we consider it no part of our duty to enter. We take up the work as containing the most precise and authentic information on a subject about which very vague and erroneous notions have hitherto prevailed. It bears everywhere the marks of great care in adopting its facts, and candour in drawing its inferences; besides which, it was originally published in the very country of which it treats, boldly challenging contradiction from those who were upon the spot, ready and willing to correct and refute its errors, if such existed. Although many months had passed by, no such attempt was made; only one Reverend Gentleman having published a criticism of the work, which in every essential particular corroborated its authority. We may, therefore, safely take it as our guide, in so far, at least, as facts are concerned: and from such as we shall select, the reader may draw his own inferences.

We shall premise briefly our own views as to the schemes of conversion hitherto generally formed by Missionaries. Deeply impressed with the solemn nature of the duty they had undertaken, it seems as if their minds became insensibly imbued with the conviction, that they were acting under a special commission from Heaven, which would consequently prosper all their efforts. As these, therefore, even although injudicious or ill directed, must succeed through the attendant blessing of divine agency; this constant dependence on supernatural aid would reconcile their minds to the adoption of measures, which, considered by themselves, were not calculated to attain the desired end. Perhaps pious men may be themselves unconscious how far they are so influenced, and many may be inclined to justify them for thus committing the success of their labours to the immediate care of the Deity. But we would remind such men, that if they expect a divine interference for the conversion of mankind to the true religion, what need has the Almighty of the puny aid of mortal efforts? If they answer, as they doubtless will, that the Deity chooses to work by natural causes, then our reply is, "Go thou and do likewise." Labour to attain your ends by natural and rational means only, without being led away by chimerical hopes of miraculous events.

That the Serampore Missionaries, who have taken so distinguished a part in the work of proselytism, were often led away, at least to some degree, by vain delusions of the kind above alluded to, is abundantly evident from a Memoir of theirs before us, dated 1808. They were then making numerous versions of the Scriptures in the Oriental languages, and distinctly assume, in speaking on the subject, that Heaven itself exhorted and encouraged them to proceed in this work by numerous special acts of favour. Take the following instances, all occurring within a few pages. Speaking of the Persian version, they say: "Providence has been pleased, in a singular manner, to provide for this version, by preparing a person, for the work peculiarly qualified,—Nathaniel Sabat, a

native of Arabia, a descendant of Mohammed, and once his devoted follower." In the same page, speaking of the Chinese version, they say: "In no language has the care of Providence over the translation of the divine Word more eminently appeared than in this. So effectual, indeed, has it (the care of Providence!) been, that this version, which once appeared to present almost insuperable difficulties, is now brought into a course," &c. &c. Two pages further on: "Providence has also given us an opportunity of entering on another work of this nature. It has pleased the God of Mercy to open a door for us into the Burman empire," &c. About two pages further: "Soon after our settling at Serampore, the providence of God brought us the very artist who had worked with Wilkins," &c. &c. Such language, if not to be accounted for in the manner we have attempted, must be the product either of folly, fanaticism, or knavery. The writer speaks of Providence with the same familiarity he would of a brother Missionary; and seems, in one case, to forget entirely what he is speaking about; expressing himself as if he believed that the care of Providence might sometimes be *ineffectual*; or Omnipotence itself hardly adequate to surmount the difficulties of their tremendous labours!

These extraordinary representations were made to give intelligence that they were then engaged in making versions of the Bible into ten or twelve Oriental languages, the expense of which, amounting apparently, at an average, to upwards of one thousand pounds for each, was, of course, to be defrayed by the general subscriptions of the Christian public in the various parts of the world. They then intimated that a continued supply of two thousand pounds annually would suffice to complete the translations then projected. These have been since, we understand, increased to thirty in number, which may have cost the Christian world, at a similar rate, between thirty and forty thousand pounds. Considering the great difficulty of translating the Scriptures, and the number of years the most learned men of our country were engaged in that task before it could be done to perfection into English, their vernacular speech, it may justly surprise us to learn that Polyglossal Bibles are manufactured with such rapidity into the languages of the East, by two or three foreigners who arrived in that country after they had reached the years of manhood, and were at that period totally ignorant of every one of these thirty languages.

Mr. Adam gives the following account of the process: Dr. Carey, the most learned and respected of the Serampore brethren, translates the Scriptures into the Bengalee language, with which he is intimately acquainted. He then employs a Pundit, or learned man, who is able to translate from his Bengalee version into some other language. The new version thus produced is put into the hands of another Pundit again, who may understand this and some third language; a third Pundit may translate that into a fourth, and so on *ad infinitum*. How far this system of successive translation has been extended, is not positively stated; but that it has been carried to a considerable extent, is without question. Can it be doubted, that in the thirty different versions into which the Bible has been thus rashly transfused through the medium of *Natives of India*, the sense of the sacred volume has been not a little tinged and corrupted by the prejudices and ignorance of the minds through which it has passed; more especially since it appears that, instead of learned men

only being employed, it is sometimes, as in the case of one version, an illiterate woman, who may only know her language in its rudest colloquial form? The only redeeming circumstance is, that all the versions receive the last corrections of Dr. Carey, who must, of course, study one or two new languages every year, and rise to the dignity of a critic in each as fast as a work goes through the press. But this could afford us little consolation, unless he possessed super-human powers; whereas they are not considered to be even extraordinary. In another part of the same work, we find that two gentlemen of classic acquirements, and well versed in Oriental literature, having engaged with a learned Native in translating the Scriptures into the Bengalee, with the assistance of all the translations that could be procured, the Native in question, Ram-mohun Roy himself, than whom no man living, perhaps, could be better qualified for such an undertaking, declares as follows:

“Notwithstanding our exertions, we were obliged to leave the accurate translation of several phrases to future consideration, and for my own part I felt discontented with the translation adopted of several passages, though I tried frequently, when alone at home, to select more eligible expressions, and applied to Native friends for their aid for that purpose. I beg to assure you, that I (though a native of this country) do not recollect having engaged myself once, during my life, in so difficult a task, as the translation of the New Testament into Bengalee.”

In comparing this candid confession of a man of talent and learning, by birth and education so peculiarly fitted for the task, with the thirty versions of the Serampore Missionaries, conviction forces us to declare that they must have been stimulated by something else than a rational desire for the diffusion of the Gospel in its purity.² What that something was we shall leave our readers to judge, from a consideration of the circumstances under which they produced these multifarious versions. They were printed, at the expense of the Christian world, at the press established by the Missionaries at Serampore, which was thus kept fully occupied for a long series of years. When the stream of public benevolence flowing towards them, gave an ample supply to the Translation fund, a great number of versions were carried on simultaneously; if the supply slackened, a few of them were laid aside; and from the manner in which the translations were made, it is evident that, while the capital continued to be furnished, the only limit to the number of versions executed would be the number of known languages. Nay, it appears that they were even carried somewhat beyond this natural limit, the Bible having been at last translated into a dialect, or jargon, that had no existence at all—at least as a written language! This jargon the Missionaries denominated the Concan; but, on particular inquiry being made by some intelligent individuals acquainted with that part of the country near Bombay, where it was supposed to prevail, behold, it could not be found! A Reverend reviewer in Calcutta has endeavoured to apologise for this extraordinary concurrence, by saying, that it is well known there is a Concan country; inferring thence that there must be a

² We might add the testimony of the Abbé Dubois, who, speaking of the difficulty of securing a close and accurate version of the Bible into the languages of India, declares, after an experience of thirty years, his belief, that the undertaking, to be fairly and properly executed, would occupy for half a century all the labour that be found in India!

Concan language. A similar excuse might be offered for translating the Bible into the Yorkshire dialect; and what should we think of a Roman Catholic priest, who, for his own private gain, should so far impose upon the Propaganda as to cause such a step to be taken for the conversion of the English nation?

Bibles, so manufactured, could not be put into the hands of persons qualified to read them; they must, therefore, have been piled up in cellars or store-rooms, and very soon have fallen a prey to insects and vermin,—to all appearance the only fate they merited. Besides being got up in this discreditable manner, they are said to have been composed of the most wretched materials, the Missionaries seeming by no means to lose sight of economy in this trade of translation, which they prosecuted so ardently. Mr. Adam states, what is well known, that the ability was by no means wanting of executing beautiful specimens of typography at the Serampore press; but he adds, that the translations and tracts had been injured by bad execution, particularly the versions of the Bible, for which the Missionaries seem to think any thing good enough. "I believe," says he, "it is almost impossible to find worse paper than that on which most of the Serampore versions have been printed." In as far as their own personal interests were concerned, the result proves to have been good; since they have realized handsome fortunes, although when they were sent out to India by the Baptist Society, it was, we believe, with all the honours of apostolic poverty—"without either purse or scrip." The character and means of this Society supported them in their humble outset, and laid the foundation of all their after success. We understand that in the days of their prosperity and affluence, they have thrown off the authority of that body under whose banners they took the field; and, by this able stroke of generalship, they have secured exclusively to themselves and their families the sole management and control of the very considerable landed and moveable property they have realized. We state this, because it is fit that persons in every part of the world, who have contributed so liberally towards the encouragement of the work of conversion, should know that their donations have gone into the hands of a few private individuals, who now reject all superintendence or control over their conduct by any public body of men, and may, consequently, whenever they please, convert the large funds collected for pious purposes, into a temple of Mammon, or any other deity they or their heirs, (some of them attorneys,) successors, or assignees, may choose to worship. Much, we hear, has already been expended to purchase shares in business, and defray the expenses of foreign travels for the representatives of these "pious men," who will ultimately, no doubt, apply all the rest in a similar way. We should be far from censuring such an application of money fairly earned; but we must ever condemn the artifices, of whatever kind they were, which succeeded in placing a religious establishment on a footing of this kind, on which no religious establishment ever stood, in as far as we know, from the creation of the world, to any beneficial purpose.

We have, in the foregoing pages, dwelt particularly on the Scripture Translations, because they have evidently been made a handle of, to mislead the public. The idea of distributing the Bible, with the rapidity of thought, almost, among people of every "nation, and kindred; and tongue," is well calculated to strike the imagination. But Christianity

was never ~~not~~ discriminated in this manner; nor is there any probability that it ~~it~~ eyes will be. ~~v~~ Bibles were not in the beginning showered down from heaven, to enlighten the earth, nor did the multiplication of copies by the press convert the Roman empire. Providence has never yet, as far as we know, chosen this solitary mode of diffusing Christianity, although attempts were made by the Serampore Missionaries to inculcate such a belief; which, however, corresponds but ill with the result of their labours. On this, the following judgment is pronounced by Ram-mohun Ray, whose character and intelligence afford a sufficient guarantee for its correctness:—

“To the best of my knowledge,” he observes, “no benefit has hitherto arisen from the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the East; nor can any advantage be expected from the *Translations in circulation*. They are not read much by those who are not Christians, except by a few whom the Missionaries represent as being led away by ‘Socinian principles.’”

Mr. Adam’s work fully confirms this opinion; and the Abbé Dubois says—“Behold the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore! inquire what are their scriptural successes on the shores of the Ganges; ask them whether these extremely incorrect versions, already obtained at an immense expense, have produced the sincere coconversion of a single Pagan? and I am persuaded, that if they are asked an answer upon their honour and conscience, they will all reply in the negative.”

With such a result before us, what are we to think of their representations,—that the finger of God was visibly displayed in promoting these versions!—that Providence provided a Native Translator for one version,—rendered *effectual* assistance to another,—brought a qualified artist for a third—and opened a door for a fourth! Yet with so much divine aid (as they presumptuously pretend) all the thirty versions prove but “barren fig-trees,” and cumberers of the ground. Men may be, no doubt, fully persuaded of the importance and utility of Scripture translations, if executed with fidelity and care, in both which the present are pronounced to be grossly deficient. But benefit cannot be expected to arise from them, except in proportion to the opportunities existing for their introduction in the countries where they are understood by men qualified to explain them, to inculcate their precepts, and, by the influence of a personal exemplification of their salutary effects on the human character, to lead others to adopt a new and better faith.

We shall now notice briefly the other means of proselytism employed, and then give the result of the whole. The next in importance to the translation of the Scriptures is the publication of Christian tracts. Ten or twelve are enumerated, and the character given of them is, that “they are for the most part either mystical, or puerile, or both. There is scarcely one fit to be put into the hands of a Native of understanding, and only one in which an attempt is made to prove the truth of Christianity; as if it necessarily followed that Christianity is true because Hinduism is false, or as if the Hindoos were expected to receive a new religion from Christian Missionaries, without the offer of proof, and scarcely even the permission to object.”

Preaching is a third mode of attempting to make converts, either by traversing the country, and haranguing the Natives, at wharfs or other public places of rendezvous, which the elder Missionaries confess they

have abandoned for the last fifteen years, or in fixed places of worship in the cities or places near their residences. The labourers in this field are, first, European Missionaries; secondly, Indo-British Sub-missionaries; thirdly, Native converts. Of the first class those who have been able to preach in the native tongues, and to persevere for any length of time, are comparatively few in number. The persons of the second class, although better qualified from acquaintance with the vernacular dialects, are said not to have enjoyed that personal respect among the Natives which is necessary to success. The third class, or Native converts, are so grossly ignorant as to be but ill qualified to defend their own new religious opinions, instead of being able to confute and convince others. Of one, the following anecdote is given, which we quote as a specimen:—

“Huridas, in a conversation with Rammohun Roy, to whose house he had gone uninvited, contended for the Deity of Christ only in the same sense in which he contended for the Deity of Krishna, one of the Hindoo incarnations, expressing the utmost indignation at the supposition that he had denied Krishna; and having evidently admitted the incarnation of Christ only as an *addition* to the incarnations in which he had previously believed. Upon the whole, with respect to the Native preachers, and the Native converts in general, it may be observed, that they are too few, too poor, too ignorant, and too much despised by their countrymen, to make much impression by their labours.”

The religious instruction of the Natives of India is left in the hands of such men, because persons better qualified are unable to attend to it. Not only is the harvest large while the labourers are few; but respecting European Missionaries, we are informed:

“So many are engaged in conducting boarding-schools and printing-offices, in teaching charity-schools supported by public contributions, in superintending Native schools supported by Government funds or by voluntary subscriptions and donations; in preaching to English congregations, and discharging other pastoral duties; in editing periodical works of a religious and literary character, and in various other religious and philanthropic, literary and scientific pursuits, that few of them can have much time to devote to Native preaching,—a department of Missionary labour which imposes so much fatigue of body and exertion of mind, that those who zealously prosecute it must be indisposed as well as unfit for almost every other pursuit or engagement.”

This completes the enumeration of the direct exertions made in Bengal to convert the Native population. Then follows an account of the indirect means of conversion, comprising—First, the formation of Christian churches or societies, formed in various parts of the country, among the European troops, or the English and Indo-British inhabitants of the cities and towns; Secondly, the promotion of education by the Missionaries, in superintending schools of various sorts, and the publication of elementary books, both in the English and Native languages, at their printing presses. The only other species of Missionary exertion is the publishing of periodical works. Among these is a newspaper, in the Bengalee language, which (says the Author) “is probably the first of the kind, and which has called forth two or three others conducted by Natives. Those,” he continues, “who look beyond the present time, will be able to estimate the importance of this last-mentioned fact, and consequently the value of the first example that was set.”

We now come to consider what has been the final result of all their labours; from which our readers may easily judge for themselves, whether we have formed too unfavourable an estimate. The Professor of Harvard College, in order to obtain exact information on this important subject, having addressed a series of questions to two of the best informed men in India; viz. Rammohun Roy, a Native of that country, advocating the cause of Christianity, and the Reverend William Adam, himself a Christian Missionary, whose respective answers to each of these questions are both before us: we have a double security for an accurate view of the real state of things.

The first and second questions related to the success of the exertions made by the Missionaries generally, and the number of their converts, as to which Rammohun Roy observes:—

“To reply to each of these questions is indeed to enter on a very delicate subject; as the Baptist Missionaries of *Serampore* determinedly contradict any one that may express a doubt as to the success of their labours; and they have repeatedly given the public to understand, that their converts were not only more numerous, but also respectable in their conduct; while the young Baptist Missionaries in *Calcutta*, though not inferior to any Missionaries in India in abilities and acquirements, both European and Asiatic, nor in Christian zeal and exertions, are sincere enough to confess openly, that the number of their converts, after the hard labour of six years, does not exceed *four*; and, in like manner, the Independent Missionaries of this city, whose resources are much greater than those of Baptists, candidly acknowledge, that their Missionary exertions for seven years have been productive only of *one convert*.”

Mr. Adam, after a minute analysis of the vague and contradictory statements put forth by the Serampore brethren, who would fain exaggerate their success, comes to the conclusion that “the *whole* number of Native converts, in communion with the Protestant Missionary churches, does *not exceed* three hundred,” and expresses a suspicion that the number is much less. He adds, that the Missionaries do not appear to him to have diffused even a *knowledge* of Christianity, to any considerable extent, among the unconverted Natives.

The third question was,—“Are those Hindoos, who profess Christianity, respectable for their understanding, their morals, and their condition in life?” In answer, Rammohun Roy says:—“I have no personal knowledge of *any* Native converts, respectable for their understanding, morals, and condition in life.” Mr. Adam says, that none of them, as far as he knows, have discovered any reach of intellect calculated to excite the respect of their countrymen, or to promise future usefulness amongst them. As to morals, he is inclined to think them in some respects superior to their idolatrous countrymen of the same rank and station; but that they themselves, instead of improving have deteriorated since their change of religion; or become, in other respects, “inferior to their former selves.” This he seems to ascribe to their being compelled, by the intolerance of their unconverted countrymen, to relinquish the habitual restraints of that religion in which they have been educated. In proof that the instances of their immoral conduct are numerous, he appeals to the minute-books in the hands of the Missionaries; and the frequent suspensions and excommunications noticed in the Missionary reports.

As to their condition in life, he states, that all the converts, so far as he has ever known, or of whom he has ever heard, are dependent in circumstances, having no means of subsistence but from their own labour, or from the charity of others. This is confirmed by the following ~~conclusive~~ remark: "According to Hindoo law, all heritable property is forfeited by a renunciation of Hindooism; but I have not learned that this law was ever required to be enforced against any Hindoo who had embraced Christianity." This cruelly intolerant law, kept in force by the Christian, or rather Unchristian, Rulers of India, is both a proof of, and a reason for, respectable converts being few. But even this will not account for there being none at all ranked among the followers of the Missionaries.

The fourth question was, "Of what caste are the converts generally; and what effect has Christianity upon their standing?" To which Rammohun Roy replies:—"It is reported, and universally believed by the Native inhabitants, that the generality, if not all of them, are of low caste; and my acquaintance with the few of them I have met, has, in a great degree, confirmed me in this belief." Mr. Adam states, that of the two classes of converts, Mohammedans and Hindoos, the former are less to be depended on for sincerity; their religion easily admitting of the practice of hypocrisy for any selfish end, and keeping a door always open for the renegade to return into the bosom of the faith, whenever it may suit his convenience. As when a Musulman embraces Christianity in India, his former acquaintances, for the most part, break off all intercourse with him, and he is regarded by his countrymen, generally, with "a greater or less degree of pity, hatred, or contempt," it is not surprising that with this class, the Christian Missionaries have met with frequent apostacies. The Hindoo converts are none of them of the first respectability in point of birth, as far as the knowledge of the author extends, except one Brahmin, whose sincerity, however, is questioned; and, indeed, he is said to be living in a state of total excommunication, professing to be alike indifferent to Hindooism and Christianity. There have been, it is true, other Brahmin converts, but either from the lower castes of that tribe, or "families in some way tainted or disreputable." With these few exceptions, it is evident (if it were only from the veil which the Missionaries attempt to throw over this subject) that their converts are drawn generally from the lowest grades of the people, both in regard to birth and worldly condition. Probably, as hinted in another part, most of them were outcasts from all mankind, and were driven, by the pride and cruelty of human superstition, to take refuge in the Gospel of truth, which declares that all men are equal in the eyes of their Creator. But, "whatever might have been the caste of a Hindoo convert, he necessarily loses it on embracing Christianity; that is, his nearest relatives and dearest friends thenceforth refuse to eat, drink, or in any way associate with him."

The fifth question was, "Are they Christians from inquiry and conviction, or from other motives?" To which Rammohun Roy replies:—

"The real motives of our actions are very difficult to be discovered. All that I can say on this subject is, that several years ago there was a pretty prevalent report in this part of India, that a Native embracing Christianity should be remunerated for his loss of caste, by the gift of five hundred rupees, with a country-born Christian woman as his wife; and while this report had any pretension to credit, several Natives

offered from time to time to become Christians. The hope of any such recompense being taken away, the old converts find now very few Natives inclined to follow their example. This disappointment not only discourages conversion, but has also induced several Musulman converts to return to their former faith; and had Hindoos with equal facility admitted the return of outcastes to their society, a great number of them also would, I suspect, have imitated the conduct of their brother Musulman converts. In a populous country like Hindoostan, there are thousands of distressed outcastes wandering about, in whom the smallest hope of worldly gain can produce an immediate change of religious profession, and their conversion to Christianity is a matter of indifference to the community at large. About two years ago I stated this circumstance to a Church Missionary who lives in my neighbourhood, and whom I respect for his liberal conduct; and I even offered to send to that gentleman as many Natives as he might wish to convert, on condition that he should maintain them at a fixed salary not exceeding eight rupees per month."

Mr. Adam observes, on the same subject, which is certainly one of the highest interest and importance:—

"It is easier to determine what have *not* been their motives than to perceive what have. If, to render their motives good, it be considered necessary for them to have preferred truth and virtue to error and vice, from a simple approbation of the former and disapprobation of the latter, then I fear that very few of them can be justly considered as belonging to this description. *Inquiry* respecting the doctrines of the gospel as compared with, or contra-distinguished from, those of Hindooism and Musulmanism, and a well-founded conviction of the truth of the one, and the erroneousness of either of the others, are proved, by their extreme ignorance both of their old and their new religion, to have had little, if any thing at all, to do with their profession of Christianity; while the numerous instances of immoral conduct which occur amongst them, and meet with the public censure of their teachers, show that they did not expect that strictness of discipline to which they have been required to submit. That they are very little acquainted with their former religion, I state as the general impression left upon my mind, after all the opportunities of observing and conversing with them that I have possessed during my residence in India; an impression which is confirmed by the fact, that, with the single exception perhaps of the Delhi Brahmin Pundit, none of them have been able to read their own sacred books. That they are as imperfectly acquainted with the religion which they have embraced even as it is taught them, I would state as a general impression acquired in the same way, and corroborated by the following fact: Tarachund Dutt, a Native convert residing at Vansvariya, in one of his publications on Christianity, entitled *Jnananjur*, compared the three persons of the Athanasian Trinity to the three persons of the Hindoo Triad, and described the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as, respectively, the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer of the world. Not only is the Trinity unscriptural, but this account of it is unorthodox; and yet the book containing it was printed at the Serampore Press, under the eye of the Missionaries; and the author of it, before his return to idolatry, was esteemed one of the most respectable and best informed of the Native converts.

"What then are the probable motives by which the majority of the

converts have been influenced? In some, probably, they have been less blameable than in others. The love of novelty may have induced some who had not much at stake; the pressure of poverty may have impelled, or the hope of gain may have drawn, others, guided perhaps by the false reports at one time current amongst the Natives; and of this kind probably were most of those who have at different times apostatized. The earnest, and evidently sincere and benevolent, assurances of the Missionaries, that without faith in Christ it was impossible for them to be saved from the eternal wrath of God and pains of hell, joined perhaps to a previous dissatisfaction with the absurdities and contradictions of the popular creed and worship, may have influenced some; while the personal character of the Missionaries, and the condescending manner in which they received and treated inquirers, compared with the pride and superciliousness of their own Gooroos or spiritual teachers, may have wrought upon others. Some had probably lost caste before they embraced Christianity, and, with that feeling of religion and love of society natural to man, took refuge in the gospel from a state of religious outlawry; while the Bralunum Jaggumohun Chowdhuree, already mentioned, it has been alleged to me, was first induced to profess Christianity by an attachment to a Christian female.

"It is not unworthy of mention in connexion with this subject, that, since I embraced Unitarianism, nine or ten of the Native converts have visited me at different times, either individually, or in companies of two, three, or four. They had received the idea, that I was not a Unitarian Christian, but a Unitarian Hindoo; and they gave me to understand, some with more plainness than others, that if I would support them and permit them to use my name, they would preach with all their might against the other Missionaries. I, of course, gave them no encouragement, and when they found that my purpose was fixed, they discontinued their visits. I entertain no doubt, that, if they had received any encouragement, several others would have followed their example; and I was assured by those who called upon me that this would be the case.

"I have also learned from Rammohun Roy, that, since the commencement of his religious controversy with the Serampore Missionaries, several of the Native converts have, in like manner, called upon him at different times: and conceiving that his publications were directed not against the corruptions of Christianity, but against Christianity itself, offered their services to preach against it in places of worship to be erected at his expense, opposite to those already employed by the Missionaries for the propagation of their sentiments. He, of course, rejected their proposal, and retained only one of them in his employ, viz. Gunganarayun Punda, whose sobriety of deportment appeared to recommend him; but upon this express condition, that, while he should enjoy perfect liberty to profess whatever religion he might think fit to adopt, he would not in any way oppose the labours of the Missionaries.

"Of those learned and respectable Natives with whom I am acquainted, who think well of Christianity without professing it, there is not one who admits the Native converts to have been actuated by good motives. It may be considered, on the one hand, that their judgment is somewhat prejudiced; but, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that they possess far more favourable opportunities of becoming acquainted with the

obliquities of the Native character, than any that a European can enjoy.

The sixth question is, "Of what denomination of Christians have the Missionaries been most successful?" Rammohun Roy replies, "To the best of my belief, no denomination of Christians has had any real success in bringing Natives of India over to the Christian faith." Mr. Adam gives the following, as the result of such information as he has been able to collect:—

"I am inclined to think, that, notwithstanding the paralyzing influence of the changes that have taken place in European Catholic countries since the period of the French Revolution, they are doing more, in a quiet and unostentatious way, than I have observed Protestants in India, on some occasions, willing to admit. Of the Protestant orthodox sects, the Baptists have been the most successful; next to them, the Episcopalians; and lastly, the Independents or Congregationalists. When the comparison is made between Trinitarians and Unitarians, the former have an overwhelming superiority, if merely the *number* of the converts is considered; but if regard is had to the *dispositions* of the educated Natives in general, and to the *respectability, wealth, and learning* of those who openly encourage Unitarian Christianity without professing it, then the latter have a decided advantage; an advantage which will appear so much greater, when it is considered that there never has been more than *one* Unitarian Minister in Bengal, that it is little more than *two* years since he embraced Unitarianism, and that during that period he has had to struggle with difficulties which have almost entirely prevented him from letting his voice be heard, or his principles known."

But in regard to the Roman Catholics, who are here supposed to have been the most successful, if we take the evidence of their own Missionary, the Abbé Dubois, we find that thirty years' labours in India have left upon his mind the strongest conviction, that "no progress has been made, nay, that nothing can be done *in the present circumstances of that country*. He contends, that the task is quite hopeless; that the number of Christians in India is rapidly declining, although some few proselytes may occasionally be made, where it is common for men to fluctuate from one faith to another, according to their temporary interest or convenience. He appeals to the Lutheran Mission, to say, whether, after a trial of so many years, the small number of its followers, instead of increasing, is not rather dwindling away. He cites the testimony of the Moravian brethren, not having made a single convert during the long period of seventy years; and mentions the decay of the Nestorian Church from 200,000 souls, to less than an eighth of this number, which he declares to be still daily diminishing.

Without falling into the desponding views of the Reverend Abbé, we must yield to the irresistible evidence before us, that the efforts hitherto made to diffuse Christianity in India have totally failed. And we think it our duty to impress this fact upon the minds of the Christian public, that it may no longer rest satisfied with exerting only such means as have been hitherto employed. Those who regard, with any real concern, the spectacle of nearly one hundred millions of human beings, within the influence of British sway, left in almost total mental darkness, cannot surely be satisfied with the conversion of 300 (taking the utmost computation) in thirty years! By a process so mournfully

slow, even were there any security for its continuance, ten millions of years would be consumed before the light of the Gospel penetrated throughout these regions! Surely no sincere Christian, who really feels a desire to extend the benefits of his faith to his fellow-creatures, will find his conscience acquit him of gross neglect of duty, if he omit to strain every nerve, that the means which are within our power may be employed to rescue these myriads of British subjects from the fetters of a dark and degrading superstition? But this can only be done, as we shall show presently, by means which the East India Company will not suffer to operate. It remains to be seen how long the pious rulers of a Christian nation will, for the sake of courting the favour of a body of merchants, consent to the continued degradation of so large a portion of the human race.

From past experience, and all we know of mankind, it is clear to demonstration that education alone generally diffused throughout India can effect the great object we have in view. Because this alone can break down and destroy the stupendous mass of superstition which depresses and degrades the Indian mind. Till this be done, it is vain to think of introducing the Gospel with any prospect of success. Till the rank weeds of ignorance and prejudice, which overspread the land, are rooted up, and the soil prepared for the "good seed," would it not (as in the Scripture parable of the sower) fall on stoney ground, or among thorns, and be speedily choked up and withered away? This obvious conclusion is supported by the most incontrovertible facts. The great obstacle to the reception of Christianity by the Natives of India, appears from the statements before us to be their profound veneration for their present system of faith, which has been growing up for an immense period of time, till it has acquired a hold over their minds such as the history of the world does not furnish any other example of. "When a Hindoo (says Mr. Adam) is informed that the founder of Christianity lived and died only eighteen hundred years ago, his mind not only dwells in contrast on the unquestionably greater antiquity of his own religion and people, but upon those unfathomable depths of past ages, mocking all calculation, to which they lay claim. They believe in a series of reputed divine revelations, made to them in preference to all other nations, contained in numerous records that are still extant, written in a language esteemed peculiarly sacred, and, in short, stamped in their opinion with every character of veneration." As if to adapt itself to the taste and capacities of every order of men, this religion assumes a prur form for the learned in their sacred Vedas, which contain the most lofty conceptions of the Universal Spirit, and are wrapt in the profoundest metaphysical speculations. The grosser apprehensions of the multitude are attracted by an immense apparatus of idolatrous worship, highly complicated in its character, appealing to the strongest natural propensities of man; intimately blending with all the relations and duties of the present life, and with all the hopes and fears of a future; "thus arraying in its defence (says Mr. Adam) every prejudice and passion that either dignifies or degrades human nature."

Such is a brief outline of the system which it is wished to supplant by Christianity. And how have the Missionaries set about it? In the same manner as if they were attempting to convert the South Sea Islanders; or any barbarous people. These, as the thirsty desert drinks up the pass-

ing shover, having few ideas of their own, are ready to imbibe those of any privileged race which happens to come among them. Their imagination is suddenly dazzled with a depth of knowledge far beyond their rude conception; their uncultivated understandings are overpowered by the superior reasoning faculties of their teachers, to whom they consequently yield an easy assent. With the same expectations our Missionaries seem to approach the shores of India. "But (as is with great justice observed in a note) they find prejudice and superstition where, in the simplicity of their understanding and knowledge of human nature, they expected to find a *table rasée* ready to receive the doctrines of Christianity laid down by them as self-evident truths, which only required to be known to be at once adopted." From this ignorant notion seems to have sprung the hope, that by addressing tumultuous crowds as they passed along the streets, they might beckon them over to a new faith, and that simply putting a Bible into a man's hand would make him a Christian. Were this possible, the faith so adopted would not supersede, but be only superadded to, their existing superstitions; in like manner as some of the ancient Pagans were willing to admit Jesus into the number of their gods. Could the Natives of India be converted to a belief in the Christian system without having their minds previously improved by education, "your Christians (as the Abbé Dubois says) would continue to live the slaves of their Antichristian prejudices and customs." Mr. Adam seems unconsciously to bear testimony to the same fact (p. 87), in admitting that the only good the Missionaries have done is in so far as they have promoted general knowledge by education; whereas their direct attempts at conversion have only done mischief, and tended to bring Christianity itself into disrepute.

No hope, therefore, exists until this huge temple of darkness, which shuts out the rays of the Gospel from the people of India, be demolished; and this can only be done by the same instrument, viz. Reason, which, by dispelling the Pagan mythology, prepared the way at first for the dawn of Christianity. Indeed no one will assert, that in those early ages it had any obstacles to struggle with to be compared with the rank superstition of the Hindoos. What presumption is it, then, to expect that this should give way to the puny efforts of a few scattered labourers; some of them ill qualified for the task, and others more intent on earning the means of subsistence! They are allowed to have done good indirectly by promoting to some degree the diffusion of education, but nothing considerable can be done for the cultivation of the Native mind, unless by means of a large number of persons spread over every part of the country capable of imparting the blessings of real knowledge. But this implies Colonization; and that the East India Company sets its face against. The British Government has, indeed, decreed, by the 53d Geo. III. c. 155, s. 33, that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the Native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may lead to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement." But the Proprietors of India Stock have deemed it proper (in July 1824) to vote this out of the statute-book, which, indeed, it might as well be, as remain there a dead letter. And Lord Amherst, their worthy representative in India, has just expelled from that country an individual whom a number of Natives petitioned the Government to suffer to assist in fulfilling the declared wishes

of the British Legislature. Besides which, we constantly hear of new instances of persons being driven away in the same manner, although convicted of no offence, merely because they are natives of this enlightened and Christian country; it being the fixed resolution of the commercial Princes of Leadenhall-street to shut out their sixty millions of subjects from the means of knowledge and improvement. Until this state of things be changed, it is our solemn conviction, that Christianity can make no progress whatever in India, but must continue to be, what it has become under the Company's abominable system, a badge of shame and degradation among the nations of the East! Under this system respectable men have learnt to shrink from the name of Christian as from a foul contamination, and view with scorn and contempt those among their countrymen who profess the "religion of the Firinghee;" the faith of their foreign rulers, whom they believe to be without faith as without principle. We repeat, that those who have the least pretension to piety and justice cannot suffer this state of things to continue without burdening their consciences with the crime of contributing to the misery of hundreds of millions of their fellow-creatures.

We shall only add two opinions on this subject: the first delivered in 1813, by the Rev. H. Dealtry, a member of the Church of England, formerly quoted in this work, but well worthy of repetition:—

"It has been urged as a reproach to Christianity, (in India,) that its converts are chiefly of the lowest condition; but the establishment of schools for the promotion of English literature would soon do away even the excuse of this disingenuous and unfriendly charge. There is no doubt that children of the highest castes would be glad to attend them; and can it be believed, that their familiarity with the English language and with European literature would leave their minds in the fetters of superstition, and in the darkness of heathenism? It is by the confinement of the intellect that idolatry maintains its sway. If we open to them our fields of science—if we lead them to our schools of philosophy—if we travel with them in our variegated walks of morals and of taste, they will in due time find their way to our temples. The influence of the Christian religion on the higher classes will be felt through all the inferior classes of the population. The circulation of the Scriptures, and the labours of the Missionaries, will come powerfully in aid of this general improvement, and superstition will be effectually assailed in all her strongholds."

We know that the Natives, of all classes, are eager to obtain European learning; and see, with sorrow and despair, their despotic rulers banishing from the country those who would instruct them. They implore of the British Government to allow them to enjoy the means of generally diffusing knowledge, but they implore in vain; and Englishmen, who boast of ranking the highest among liberal and enlightened nations, have the shame of seeing their fellow-subjects appealing to the philanthropy of other nations, and indulging a hope that the people of America will furnish them with those means of instruction which England illiberally denies them! We shall conclude by quoting this passage of Rammohun Roy's letter to Professor Ware of the United States:—

"Every one who interests himself in behalf of his fellow-creatures would confidently anticipate the approaching triumph of true religion, should philanthropy induce you and your friends to send to Bengal as

many serious and able teachers of European learning and science, and Christian morality, mingled with religious doctrines, as your circumstances may admit to spread knowledge gratuitously among the Native community."—He adds in a subsequent page:—

"The desire of educating children in the English language, and in the English arts, is found even in the lowest classes of the community; and I may be fully justified in saying, that *two-thirds of the Native population would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning.*"

LINES TO A DISTANT FRIEND.

LADY, long years have gone
Since rose our last farewell,
Yet oft thy voice's tone,
Beloved in youth so well,
Steals o'er my soul's repining
When hopes are most declining.

Thine eye's benignant gaze
Hath still resistless power,
Whene'er its love-lit rays
Glow bright in fancy's hour:
Celestial spells revealing
To calm each ruder feeling.

In life's young morning bright
I loved its beam to hail,
And sought its holy light
When other charms would fail:—
'Twould heighten transient gladness,
And soothe my settled sadness!

And e'en when dark despair
Nor sought, nor hop'd relief,
Thy fond maternal care
Would share and soothe my grief,—
Thy kind though mournful smiling
The troubled heart beguiling.

I wander far from thee,
Yet do not think the less
Of all thy cares for me
And gentle tenderness;—
And, oh! though oceans sever,
I'll bless and love thee ever!

And while 'neath other skies
Through dreary paths I stray,
Thine image still shall rise
To cheer my lonely way;
And dreams of joy departed
Shall soothe the mournful-hearted.

Camden, N. J.

D. L. RICHARDSON.

SHERIDAN'S SONGS OF GREECE.

Two things almost immediately occur to the reader of these Songs of Greece: their extreme rudeness and imperfection as poems; and the daring spirit of independence which pervades them. They are rough mountain lays, unembellished by splendid imagery or deep thought; but their whole texture is fraught with sentiment, and they awaken, in a very powerful manner, the emotion and enthusiasm of the reader. It is impossible for any one who has ever turned with an eye of veneration on ancient Greece, or who has imbibed the spirit of her institutions, ever to look with indifference on her present state. She is now endeavouring to regain her place among the nations. The world begins once more to look with anxiety towards the Egean; and every thing which promises to afford assistance to such as would estimate exactly the chances in favour of Grecian freedom, is viewed with increasing interest by all liberal men. These Songs are chiefly valuable in this point of view, as they show the sort of energy which still forms a part of the Greek character. This peculiar energy should, we think, be taken into account by all those who speculate upon the form of government which it would be proper for the Greeks to adopt on the present occasion. It appears to be an element of republicanism; and, indeed, a republic, formed upon the enlightened ideas of the present age, is the only government that could possibly raise the Greeks to any thing like their former greatness. The world has already had, one should think, enough of despotism in all its forms; it now seems high time that men should try what freedom can do for their happiness. The representative federal republicanism of the United States is the noblest effort that has yet been made for the happiness of the many; and, although by no means as perfect as it might be, there is reason to suppose it would confer infinite advantages on Greece, if adopted and properly upheld in that country. For monarchy the Greeks never were fitted: it can only suit a people of placid good sense, who have little of the enthusiasm of liberty in their souls; but is not, by any means, calculated for so impetuous a people as the Greeks. The advantages and disadvantages of monarchy are pretty well understood now; and we see that no nation which has it in its power to choose in peace, ever makes choice of it. What the Greeks *will* do, we pretend not to decide; that whatever they do, they *ought not* to choose a monarchical government we are thoroughly convinced. Their progress in civilization will depend very much upon their choice in this matter: as republicans, they would make greater advances in one generation than under a monarchy in centuries. Rapid development of the mental faculties and moral energies of a people is not one of the excellencies of monarchy.

But we must confine ourselves at present to what more immediately concerns the Songs of Greece. The collection before us is, properly speaking, divided into four parts:—Songs of the Klephtai—Historical Ballads—Romantic Ballads—and Dithyrambs to Liberty; although the translator has whimsically designated a portion of them *historical*.

¹ The Songs of Greece, translated from the Romanc Text, edited by M. C. Faurie with Additions. Translated into English Verse, by Charles Brinsley Sheridan. 8vo. London, 1825.

and another portion *ideal*. It is not, however, of much consequence how they are divided; the Songs themselves are highly valuable, as furnishing a faithful picture of a people singularly interesting. They open a view into their domestic habits, and by repeated details of particular cases of oppression, afford a much more moving picture of their national misery than could be drawn by the most powerful eloquence. To the name of poetry, a great many pieces of the collection have very little pretension, even of that portion which the translator pre-eminently styles *ideal*; they are homely, unartificial descriptions of feelings, sometimes natural, sometimes not. The only sentiments which appear to kindle the poetical flame in the bosoms of the modern Greeks, are grief and the thirst of vengeance. Inspired by these, their bards do give birth occasionally to bold figures. But, upon the whole, their muse is a very matter-of-fact personage, who talks of balls and cartridges like a serjeant of dragoons. The "translator" appears to think there is something very meritorious in this peculiarity, for thus he records *his* notions of the comparative merits of English poetical language and the metrical phraseology of the "Grecian goatherds:"

"I love Manuel for the animated simplicity with which he tells his story '*right a-head*,' without prosing about it."—"I have taken *great care not to spoil* with our *poetical gammon* the plain talk of a goatherd, whose literary life was passed on the mountains; with a towering rock for the professional '*garret in Grub-street*,' *blue skies* instead of *blue parties*, and *Ida's thymy expanse*, in lieu of *drugget knee-deep* with subordinate papers; in total ignorance of all *revises*, in utter fearlessness of all Reviews. Happy dog!"

Mr. Sheridan is the son of a *wit*, but he ought to be aware that the qualities of the mind are not hereditary. He evidently intended to be witty in the above passage, which forms part of a note to an interesting Ballad; but we own it is not in our power to discover the wit of it. We mention this, because the same intention is displayed throughout the greater portion of his Preface, and in almost all the Notes. Old law-terms, too, are sprinkled about on all sides, rendering unintelligible accounts which might otherwise have been of some service: "The defenders of Ireland have indeed of late illustrated her national bulls; but though the *life-interest* of oppression may appear secured for the present, the *entail* is cut off!" with abundance of other cant phrases, to understand which, requires a peculiar course of reading. His aversion to our "poetical jargon" induced him, we fancy, to make *walls* rhyme with *sheep*, in the following lines:

And drive the vainly-struggling Turks
Within their castle's *walls*;
Grecians I advance, like famished wolves!
Your foes will fly like *sheep*!

Historical Ballad, p. 100.

It is probable he meant to have written "*castle's keep*," and, perhaps, actually wrote it so; but having, as the reader will have perceived by a passage quoted above, an unfortunate aversion to *revises*, suffered the printer's error to pass for his own.

With all this petulance and carelessness, however, there is considerable merit in his translations. The Songs of the Klephtai, which form

the first portion of the first division of the Work, ~~as~~ ^{we} think, the most interesting of all. They are composed with more energy, and breathe heroic sentiments of valour. The Klephtai themselves are thus described in the Preface :

"The Klephts were hardy to a degree scarcely credible to more effeminate nations. They had no fixed encampment; wandering in summer among the higher, in winter, over the lower mountainous regions; but they always had a spot for rendezvous and occasional sojourn, called *Limeri*, situated near the *Armatolik*, from which they had been driven. Their forms, majestic with conscious valour, or gaunt with hunger, hovering by moonlight around their former possessions, must have appeared like spectres haunting the scene of all that was dear to them in life. When not engaged in an expedition, their chief resource for amusement was found in martial games, and particularly in firing at a mark. Constant practice in this led to a surprising degree of skill. By daylight they could strike an egg, or even send a ball through a ring of nearly the same diameter, at a distance of 200 paces; and in the most pitchy darkness, they could hit an enemy, directed only by the flash of his musket, which they appropriately called *returning his fire*."—"A band of Klephts have been known to combat, during three days and nights, without either eating, drinking, or sleeping."—"Pain found their courage as untameable as thirst and hunger; although every Klepht taken alive was inevitably subjected, before the relief of death, to the most dreadful and protracted tortures."—*Preface*, p. 25, &c.

They were "either Greeks, who originally never submitted to the Turkish yoke, but sacrificing the possession of more fertile lands to the love of liberty, established their home and country in the wild and extensive mountain-tracts of Epirus and Acarnania, and from thence kept up a desultory, but still renewed warfare, against the usurpers of their possessions; or they were *Armatoloi*, subsequently pillaged and outraged into rebellion. These (*Armatoloi*) composed a Greek militia, allowed by the Turks, on their first conquest of Thessaly and Acarnania, to arm and associate for the common security, but whom oppression frequently drove to the mountains, where they joined the original *Dissidents*, and where they either led a life of hardship and independence, or made terms, and returned to the plains, when they were called *Κλεφταί ημεροί*; or 'reclaimed Klephtai,' as the unsubmitting Klephtai were termed *αγρίοι*, 'wild;' an appellation which well accorded with the Turkish method of hunting them down in their retreats like beasts of prey."

The first Song in the collection, entitled '*Kreestos Milioti*,' is a good specimen of the nature of these rude lays, of which it is said to be the most ancient. The hero of it flourished in the seventeenth century; and it is interesting, as the translator observes, from its carrying back the warfare of the Greek mountaineers against the Turks, at least 130 years:

From Arta's outraged battlements
Bold Kreestos bore away
Two Agas and the Cadi's self,
As Eagles seize their prey.

* Notice to the first class of Songs, p. 2.

The Moustaklar tore his robes and beard,
 With grief and wounded pride :—
 "Mouktar and Mavromati, fly!"
 The furious Moslem cried.

 "The Sultan sends his own Firmaun,
 "This daring Greek must bleed,—
 Slaughter the wretch, and power and gold
 "Await the loyal deed!"

 But Mouktar order'd Solimann,
 Whom Kreestos cherished best,
 To seek in love that dreaded Klepht,
 Then—pierced his generous breast.

 At Armyros they met and drank,
 Like friends, the live-long night,
 Till morning o'er the Homicide
 Shed startling beams of light;

 The Moslem, when they parted, cried,
 With tenderness and shame,
 "Kreestos! it was to bring the Turks
 "Thy sever'd head I came."

 Then back, an equal space of turf,
 These hostile friends retired,
 Both raised at once their long Touphaiks;
 Both slowly aim'd and fired :

 Too justly sped from either tube,
 Forth flew the deadly shot,—
 And both the fierce but faithful friends
 Lay weltering on the spot!

The next Song which we shall extract is called 'The Tomb of the Klepht.' It breathes more of the real Greek spirit than any other piece in the volume; and the concluding lines would not have done discredit to the pen of Bion or Moschus :

The sun had reign'd, but sunk in darkness fast,
 Like Life in Death, when Demos spoke his last :—
 "Leave me awhile, my children!—hence and bring
 "Our draught for evening from the chrystal spring;
 "Sit near, my brother's son! receive and wear
 "My arms—henceforth *thou* art the Chieftain here.—
 "Companions! let my now neglected sword
 "Cut tresses, once more, to rest its weary lord!
 "Call me a priest—to whom I may confess
 "My earthly errors—would the list were less!
 "Yet long a Klepht! an Armatole still longer,
 "I slew but tyrants,—now the foe is stronger :—
 "Tis DEATH!—erect my tomb—but broad and high!
 "That when I hear the Moslems' battle-cry,
 "I may have space to raise my mould'ring corse :
 "Appal with death, yet strike with living force!
 "And leave a window—let the swallows bring
 "My earliest tidings of returning Spring,
 "And nightingales in May come nestling there and sing!"

No. XII., called the 'Lesson of Nannos, or, the Klephtic School,' is highly descriptive of the manners of these Mountaineers, and is worth extracting :

Nannos has sought the mountain peaks,
And counts, 'mid snow and mist,
His Klephtic school, who all attend
Their youthful master's list.

They come, they crowd, till round the chief,
Three thousand sabres gleam,
Whom thus he taught, a rock his desk,
A plundering raid his theme :—

"I want not Klephts who slaughter sheep,
"Nor Klephts who capture kids;
"Your blades must slash, your guns must air,
"Where'er your master bids;

"A three days' march must now be made
"Within one wintry night,
"And then we seize that lady's bower
"With plate and silver bright;

"And when we come, her words will be,
"For women love the bold :
"Nannos, and all his gallant band,
"Are welcome to my gold!"

"And gold, and plate, and sparkling gems,
"My Klephts shall fairly share,
"The very boys shall get their part,
"But I will have the fair."

As is also No. XIV.—'Inscription on the Sabre of Kontoghianni:'

Let him, who courts not kings, but death;
Who loves the Free, and leads the Brave;
Whose only life is honour's breath;
Possess in trust this Grecian glaive.

In No. XXV., entitled 'Skylldemos,' there is considerable poetical merit. It is a fine picture of the truly noble manner in which these hardy outlaws behaved to their female captives. Before we extract the Song, we will copy the translator's account of the hero of it: "Spiros Skylldemos, of an ancient family of Armatoloi in Acarnania, fell, in the year 1806, into the hands of Ali Pasha, who threw him into a deep dungeon, where he lay for many months, chained and immersed in mud and water. By means of a long sash and a file, he one night escaped from his prison; but the gates being closed, it was impossible for him to leave the citadel before morning; and then he was nearly hopeless of eluding discovery. Spiros, as his whole chance of escape, buried himself to the throat in that forest of reeds which fringes the lake of Yanina; endured in this situation, during three days and nights, the extremes of cold and hunger, then seized a boat, crossed the lake, and returned by the mountain-paths into Acarnania. He was afterwards pardoned by Ali, and

became Protopasha to Odyseus, then appointed by that Pasha to the command of the island.

Skyllodemos was feasting beneath a dark pine,
And Irene sat near him to pour out his wine :
" Fill the cup, fair Irene, till morn light the skies,
" Till the Pleiads retreat, and the day-star arise ;
" Then unransom'd return to thine own native land,
" Escorted by ten, the best ten of my band."
" Though thy captive, proud Demos, I am not thy slave,
" My father is noble, my husband is brave."
As the day-light was breaking, two travellers past,
Their beards were untrimm'd, and their looks were o'er-cast :
" Health and peace be on Demos !"—" On you be no less—
" But how know ye 'tis Demos whom thus ye address ?"
" The brother of Demos has told us to greet him."—
" My brother ! ha ! Travellers, where did ye meet him ?"
" In Yanina's dark dungeon-depth did we meet,
" He had gyves on his hands, he had chains on his feet."
Skyllodemos wept fast, and burst wildly away—
" Where fly you, my brother ! my chieftain ! oh stay !
" Thy brother is here—come and meet his embrace !"
Then Demos look'd round, and he knew that loved face,
And they both kiss'd with fondness the lips and the eyes,
Till Demos, recover'd, impatiently cries :
" Sit near me, my brother, and tell me the while,
" How you baffled the Albanian's hatred and guile."
" In the night I unshackled my hands, broke my chain,
" Burst the grating, leapt down on th' inundated plain,
" Found a boat, cross'd the lake, and the night before last,
" Leaving Yanina far, breathed the free mountain blast."

Instead of extracting any more of these Songs in this place, we shall insert two or three of them, at the close of prose articles, in different parts of this Number, as our object is to excite as much interest as we can in favour of the Greeks, and to give such of our readers as may not see the Work itself, some conception of the popular poetry of modern Greece. With all the petulance of the Notes and Preface of the translator, we beg leave to recommend 'The Songs of Greece' to our readers ; for although they may not, as poems, deserve much study, yet as helps to the thorough understanding of the Greek character, they are of the highest interest and value.

**ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIALS OF WHICH THE HANSEN COURT
OF DIRECTORS IS FORMED**

To the Proprietors of East India Stock.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In about nine years your Charter as a Company will expire, and you are, I take it for granted, too attentive observers of what is going forward in the world to imagine for a moment even that it will be renewed.

It behoves you, therefore, in justice to your families, to inquire, ere it be too late, how the interest of your capital and debt is thereafter to be paid, and (if you have nerve enough for the task) to calculate what chance there is (if any at all) of one farthing even of the principal of either being repaid.

These suggestions, and the inference they carry, may perhaps startle you, and dispose you to consider, whether it may not be as prudent to attend to the hints (however disagreeable) of even an anonymous correspondent, as to continue to give implicit credence to the pleasing statements and glowing representations of the smooth-tongued Gentlemen of Leadenhall Street.

To save time, I will at once assume that, (not having taken leave of your senses,) you are disposed to inquire into the state and management of your affairs, and to ascertain whether the most is making for your benefit, of the many advantages which must inevitably cease, with the few remaining years of your monopoly.

That a great deal is making of those advantages, I am willing to admit, but that it is for *your* benefit, I positively deny. I assert, and in the course of my correspondence will prove, that the whole benefit arising from the greatest mercantile monopoly in the world, is frittered away for the individual benefit of its twenty-four Directors.

I will further show, that your interest, as stock-holders, is not in unison with that of the Directors, and that while you are amused with the shadow, they are possessing themselves of the substance.

To awaken you at once to a conviction of this most important truth, and to a sense of the danger which threatens you, but from which your Directors are free, will perhaps be the surer way to arrest your attention at the commencement of our acquaintance, as well as to secure it for its continuance. To this object I will therefore at once proceed.

It is of course known to you all, that your affairs as a Company are managed by twenty-four Directors, of which number six go out annually, and are replaced by as many others. It is equally well known that these Directors are elected by your good selves, and that great interest is made by contending parties to secure your votes.

The Directors, so constituted, have no stipulated remuneration, save some 300*l.* a year to buy gingerbread; and having given themselves out to be men of independent, if not of large fortunes, are generally believed to be such.

The surprise, therefore, (to those not in the secret,) naturally is, what can induce such wealthy men to accept of, not to say, strive and struggle, bow and cringe, for situations of such great responsibility and labour, unless a desire for the immediate superintendence of their own riches, invested, no doubt, to the last sixpence in the Stock of the Company.

To this conclusion, you, their Electors, *must* have also come, before considering to their slightest attract as the management of the Company's affairs; for it cannot (consistently with a proper respect for your powers of discrimination) be believed, that you saw any thing in the Gentlemen in question, to recommend them to your notice, beyond a most religious adherence to their own interest. Let us inquire, therefore, how far your ideas in that respect were well-founded, and whether these said Directors be, as is supposed, sailing in the same boat with you. Of this we can judge fairly enough, by learning what account each has at stake in the gigantic concern over which he presides, of the exact prosperity of which, be it great or little, these said Directors must be allowed to have the best means of judging. If we should find that they are very large proprietors of Stock, we may naturally infer that they think well of the Company's affairs, and that they recommend to you a like investment, not merely for the sake of the *Vote* which it might secure to them, but from a conviction of its real value and benefit to you. If, on the other hand, we find that they are possessed of no more, or little more, of the Company's Stock than is absolutely necessary to qualify them for the Direction, we may fairly infer that they think but lightly of the security, and that having so small an interest in the good or bad success of the Company's undertaking, they have other benefits to gain by submitting to the task of Directorship.

To be qualified for a seat in the Direction, requires, you must know, the possession of 2000*l.* Stock, without which no one can become a Candidate. This 2000*l.* Stock, besides so qualifying, gives the possessor one *Vote*, and distinguishes his name in the Calendar thus *

The possessor of 3000*l.* Stock has 2 *Votes*, and is marked thus * *

6000*l.* 3 * * *

10,000*l.* 4 * * * *

These are called *Stars*, and a man's weight and importance at the India House on a day of ballot may be estimated accordingly. Well, now let us see what number of *Stars*, what amount of Stock your present twenty-four Directors have, or, in other words, what interest they have at stake in a concern with many millions of capital, the arrangement of which they themselves have :

	Stars.	Amount.		Stars.	Amount.
Alexander	4	£10,000	Muspratt	*	2,000
Astell	2	3,000	Plowden	*	2,000
Behb	4	10,000	Prescot	2	3,000
Baillie	2	3,000	Parry	3	6,000
Bosanquet	*	2,000	Lindsay	*	2,000
Campbell	2	3,000	Robinson	*	2,000
Clarke	2	3,000	Raikes	2	3,000
Daniel	*	2,000	Ravenshaw	*	2,000
Edmonstone	*	2,000	Smith	3	6,000
Elphinstone	2	3,000	Toone	2	3,000
Huddleston	2	3,000	Thornhill	*	2,000
Loch	*	2,000	Wigram	2	3,000
Majorbank	*	2,000	Pattison	*	2,000
Morris	2	3,000			
Masterman	2	3,000			
Mills	*	2,000			
Money	*	2,000			

30 Directors' £3,200 each. } £96,000
52 Votes }

Of this number, six go out by rotation every year, leaving twenty-four acting Directors.

Here, we find that these thirty Directors, these thirty rich Merchants, Bankers, retired Nabobs, &c. &c. who have money here, there, and everywhere, invested at much lower rates of interest than the Company pays, hold of its Stock but 96,000*l.*, or equal, upon an average, to no more than 3,200*l.* a piece. In fact, that they think so ill of the affairs of the Company, of which they are managers, and in which they have recommended, nay, urged you to become partners, that they have trusted no more of their superfluous wealth in them than is absolutely necessary (or almost so) to qualify them to partake of the loaves and fishes of the Direction. We are even justified in concluding that, but for such absolute necessity, many of these Gentlemen would hold none at all; for of the thirty, no fewer than fourteen hold not a farthing's worth more than they can help, although the possession of another 1000*l.* Stock would give them another vote, and their names to the public in their own Red Book with more respectability.

The Stock they actually have, is not more than the acquisition of the gingerbread-money would render an object for them to hold;—for a 2000*l.* stock, three hundred a year is no bad dividend, in addition to what the Company pays as interest.

You must now clearly see, that you were wrong in supposing that the prevailing anxiety to get into the Direction, arises from the general extent of wealth and interest which Candidates have in the affairs of the Company, and you will therefore naturally conclude that some other inducement is the cause. That inducement I need not say is PATRONAGE, and Patronage the most enormous and valuable which exists in the world: Patronage equal to many, and superior even to some, enjoyed by crowned heads, and such as might, under any constitution save that of England, be viewed with suspicion and dread.

The nature and extent of this Patronage, and the baneful effects it has had, and must have, so long as allowed to exist, on your interest, will be the subject of my next letter; and I will thereafter proceed to show how much more advisable it would be for you, as Proprietors, to do away with altogether, as far as may be, or to convert to your own benefit, as a Company, such Patronage, than to allow it to exist, not merely for the exclusive benefit of thirty individuals, but as a powerful inducement to the sacrifice of your interest, to which it must inevitably lead, and with which it is wholly incompatible. I may perhaps be told that you, the Proprietors, are aware of all this, and that if you see fit to sacrifice your interests for the benefit of your friends, the Directors, you have a right to do so, without being found fault with; and so may I too, provided, however, it be always *clearly* and *distinctly* understood, that at the expiration of the Charter, when the Bubble bursts, as it must do, no appeal is to be made in your behalf to the generosity of the British nation.

MR. CROPPER'S PLAN FOR THE RELIEF OF IRELAND, AND
THE COLONIZATION OF INDIA.

It is impossible not to lament that so little has been done, during the long period we have been in possession of India, to improve her condition, and raise her to the same rank in the scale of civilization with ourselves. If there were any reason in nature, why she should not be brought to rival Europe in wealth and prosperity; why she should not possess great and opulent towns, good roads, and extended canals; why she should not abound with beautiful seats, large parks, and delightful pleasure grounds; why agriculture, manufactures, and navigation should not be advanced to the same degree of perfection; and why the same science and intelligence should not be made to subsist; all inquiry into the measures that are necessary to produce such a result would be utterly idle: but if it be true that nature has been more bountiful to India than to Europe, and that a higher state of prosperity ought, therefore, according to her laws, to prevail here, no inquiry can be productive of more good, than that which will point out by what process such a prosperity is to be brought about.--*Wheatley's Letter to Mr. Hynn, on the Colonization of India.*¹

THERE are few men who have given stronger proofs of active benevolence and philanthropy, than the excellent and amiable individual, whose name is associated with the subject of our present article. Mr. Cropper has been for many years at the head of one of the largest and most respectable of the mercantile establishments of Liverpool: his wealth and influence there, might have been sufficient to content any ordinary ambition; but he is of that peculiar class of Christians, who say less and do more than most others of their contemporaries; and who add to a sincere and ardent *desire* to benefit the condition of their fellow-men, an unwearied activity in the *practice* of doing good. We have persons enough in England, who *talk* of the necessity of something being done to improve the condition of the lower orders. Even the King himself is not above delivering an *opinion*, and expressing a *wish* on this subject; but he contents himself with that, and leaves to others the task of carrying his wishes into effect. The noblemen and gentlemen who form his Court and Parliament, are not backward to follow so illustrious an example. That their imitation may be perfect, they also content themselves with talking on the subject; and are much too well-bred and respectful to offend their supreme head, by suffering their zeal to outrun their discretion, and doing any thing which could be construed into a wish or intention to go beyond the example set them by their royal master. The influence of all this is not, however, confined to the courtly and the senatorial circles; it extends itself through every class of society below them. The Judges on the bench will lecture by the hour, on the vice and misery of the lower orders; but not one among them will abate the smallest portion of his wealth, or devote the smallest portion of his time to any other aid, than that of talking of the necessity of some plan for relief. The bishops, priests, and deacons of all our great cathedrals, will preach with great apparent sincerity on the example of their divine Master, who bade his followers sell all that they had and give to the poor, and who not only taught his hearers good precepts, but went about doing good;

¹ See Oriental Herald, Vol. I. p. 278.

yet not one of them resigns his tithe, mint, and measure, or gives any thing, but empty words, to promote the object of his pretended desire. Nay, more: when some few (alas! how few!) of the more unpretending members of the community, who are neither of the nobility, the gentry, or the sacred and learned professions, step forth from their humble retirement to obey the maxim of Him who spake the parable of the Good Samaritan, and said to those who heard him, "Go thou and do likewise," the very men who place themselves in hostile array against all such innovations as might improve the condition of the "lower orders," are those from whom (as they are blessed with more of this world's gifts than other men,) the most powerful assistance might at first sight be expected. But the world, with all its vice and misery, is growing wiser, though slowly enough we admit; and the many are now convinced, that the few who are born to the possession of all the rank, the wealth, and the power, that can be enjoyed by hereditary descent, cannot possibly have the same motives to virtuous action, which impels those who have to win for themselves—the consideration and esteem of their fellow-creatures. They do not now, so much as heretofore at least, put their whole trust in princes; and it is well for them that they do not, since they are not now so frequently deceived.

Mr. Cropper, like the benevolent Howard, of revered and honoured memory, is of altogether a different class from those whom we have been describing. He is meek in spirit—humble in speech—a man of few words, and still fewer pretensions. But he is undaunted in his energies—magnificent in his conceptions;—and if his philosophic and benevolent views were carried into effect, his name, now honoured chiefly for the private virtues that adorn it, would tower above those of most living individuals, as associated with more vast and important changes in the physical condition of man, than have ever yet been effected within one generation upon the face of the globe. It may, perhaps, be assumed as a general rule, that in proportion to the magnitude of their design, the extent of the countries over which they are to extend, and the importance of the results to be effected by them, all great schemes for the improvement of mankind will be difficult in their accomplishment. Mr. Cropper's plan is, however, a happy exception to this general rule; and being to be formed out of the materials now actually existing, without calling new powers, new commodities, or new agents into being, it requires but a repeal of an absurd and mischievous law, to lay the foundation of more wealth and more happiness than would be necessary to satisfy the mind of the most sanguine speculator on the progressive improvement of the condition of his species; and it is a subject of the highest praise to the author of this scheme, that he has not contented himself with merely writing on the subjects of which he treats, but has made himself practically acquainted with the actual condition of the several classes of people whom it is the object of his labours to benefit. He is of the class of the Howards, the Bentham's, and the Owens,—men who have not only had "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" always at heart, but who have directed their especial attention to the best modes of relieving the miseries of the many, whose feet have trodden many a mile in the prosecution of their benevolent intentions; and whose hands have ever been as open to give, as their tongues to recommend, the contributions necessary for carrying the great objects of their wishes into effect.

Mr. Cropper's earliest labours were directed to the consideration of African Slavery, in an admirable paper; (which we hope to be able some day to reprint) he demonstrated the "Impolicy of Slavery" as a mere question of pecuniary consideration, in the most forcible and unanswerable manner; and showed, that instead of the continued existence of this curse of mankind being a benefit even to those who lived by the inhuman traffic, it was the chief cause of the deterioration of their own property; besides burthening the nation with an enormous tax to support what every heart must, before it be corrupted by familiarity with its horrors, detest and abhor. His attention was next directed to the consideration of the state of our East Indian possessions, from which he soon perceived the means might be brought, which should, in the course of a few years, put an end to Slavery at once and for ever. The absurd and monstrous monopoly of the East India Company was the only obstacle to the immediate colonization of their vast possessions, to the further development of its almost unlimited resources, and to the creation of a commerce hitherto unparalleled for the amount of its wealth, or the extent of the happiness it would progressively diffuse. This led him to the institution of the Tropical Free Labour Company, which has been described in one of our previous Numbers, and which we are happy to hear, is likely to proceed with vigour in its operations. The last of his benevolent labours (of which we have enumerated only a few of the leading branches) was a personal visit to Ireland, for the sake of seeing for himself the actual condition of its unhappy people, and inquiring into the best means of improving their condition.

The result of his tour has been the production of an unpretending, but able and highly interesting pamphlet, entitled 'Present State of Ireland, with a Plan for improving the condition of the People.' In the front of this, he has introduced the following excellent and highly appropriate motto, from the speech of his Majesty George the Fourth, on opening the present Session of Parliament:

His Majesty recommends to you to persevere (as circumstances may allow) in the removal of similar restrictions on commerce; and his Majesty directs us to assure you, that you may rely on his Majesty's cordial co-operation in fostering and extending that commerce, which, whilst it is, under the blessing of Providence, A MAIN SOURCE OF STRENGTH AND POWER TO THE COUNTRY, CONTRIBUTES IN NO LESS A DEGREE TO THE HAPPINESS AND CIVILIZATION OF MANKIND.—*The King's Speech*, 1825.

If those who put these words of wisdom into the Royal mouth were but sincere in their professions, they would whisper also into the Royal ear, that an intelligent class of men like the merchants of England must laugh to scorn the pretended liberality of unfettering the commerce of the country, while such an odious monopoly as that of the East India Company exists. Either the King's Ministers do not themselves believe what they make their royal Master say, that "a free commerce is a main source of strength and power to the country, and conducive to the civilization and happiness of mankind;" or, if they do believe it, they neglect their duty in not seizing every occasion to unfetter the intercourse with India; or purchasing (if it can be done by no other mode) the remaining remnant of the monopoly of the Company, and throwing India and China open to the country at large. They are either hypocrites in professing what they do not believe, or unfaithful stewards of the great

interests of their country, in not exerting themselves to the utmost to conform their conduct to what they do believe. There is no escape from the alternative.

But we must proceed to give some account of the Work before us. The pamphlet on the 'State of Ireland' is divided into the following sections:

On the Condition of the People.—Over-Population.—Plans for Relief hitherto adopted.—Plans proposed for improving the Condition of the People.—Advantages of Ireland for Manufactories.—Objections answered.—On the West India Question.—Conclusion.

As the whole pamphlet occupies less than sixty pages of large print, it may be readily conceived that the several heads are very briefly touched. This, though it will be lamented by some, will be a great recommendation to others: for nothing is more difficult than to get the wealthy and influential men of England, especially, to read any thing that exceeds a few pages, or that presents to them the aspect of a volume. For their sakes, as well as for our readers generally, we shall be as brief in our analysis and extracts as we can, though from both we hope to present a pretty clear conception of the author's views on all the several topics,—using, whenever we can, his own simple, yet forcible and affecting language. On the subject of the first head, the Condition of the Irish People, he says:

Though I left England with strong impressions of the destitute condition of the peasantry of Ireland, I had not proceeded far from the splendid city of Dublin, before I saw abodes of human wretchedness, of which I had formed no previous conception; miserable and dirty mud cabins were the common residence of the pig, the fowls, and the family. Some of the worst had walls of sods scarcely two feet high; pieces of rough timber found in the bogs and covered over with straw, formed what was intended for a roof, (for they could scarcely be called thatched,) they had no chimney; but the smoke, issuing through all parts of the straw, gave the whole more the appearance of a heap of rubbish recently set on fire, than of a human dwelling.

On arriving at Naas, a considerable town, our carriage was surrounded by a great number of beggars. The only handsome buildings I noticed, were a prison and a court-house; and the first considerable structure we saw, after leaving the town, was a barrack, which was succeeded by another a few miles further on. I could not but lament that so little appeared to be done to give the people employment, whilst so much expense had been lavished on the means of coercion, of trial, and of punishment for crimes, to the commission of which their miserable and neglected state had no doubt contributed.

No Indian reader can peruse this without being forcibly struck with its resemblance to what might be strictly said of almost every part of British India; but of Bengal, the seat of its Supreme Government, more especially. At Calcutta, called (as if in mockery to the miserable beings who skirt their luts around it) the splendid City of Palaces,—in this metropolis of the British power in India, are to be seen a magnificent palace for the Governor, a superb hall for banquets, balls, and midnight revels, a spacious court-house for trying criminals, a vast jail for immuring felons and debtors, a costly fortress to keep the surrounding country in subjection, and superb mansions for the habitation of the white rulers of the land. But, without leaving the city itself, the eye of the benevolent passenger is offended with squalid and half-fed beings, who labour on the smallest pay and poorest sustenance throughout the day,

and crowd at night into smoky huts "like heaps of rubbish set on fire," costing not more than a few shillings to erect, and so insecure from intrusion, that instances have occurred within the "City of Palaces" itself, of jackals walking into the Native huts at night, and mangling to death the infant children lying by their mother's side! If the traveller should proceed beyond the boundaries of Calcutta, he would find handsome barracks and luxurious mess-rooms, at Barrackpore and Dum Dum; splendid villas along the banks of the river from Garden Reach to Hooghley; and in every station of the interior, a well-built court-house, revenue-treasury, and prison; besides handsome and commodious residences for those who superintend them. But the wretched Natives, from the sweat of whose brow is exacted all the tribute necessary to build, support, and pay the heads of these establishments, are as destitute as they can safely be left, of all but just as much as is necessary to their reproduction of more for their rapacious and insatiable masters.

After describing the excessive misery of the population, in the south of Ireland more especially, where the poverty of the people is so great that they live almost wholly on potatoes, without salt, milk, herrings, or any kind of animal food, while corn in large quantities is shipped off from Ireland for other countries, the poor people of that being unable to buy any, even at the most moderate prices, for themselves, though in extreme want of food,—Mr. Cropper says:

It could not be supposed but that such misery would be productive of crime. It is so; but on looking into the whole case we shall often find palliations. When the landlord can get no rent from the tenant, either from his misconduct, or from the extreme sub-division of the land having made it impossible for the occupier to pay any, he will feel desirous to be rid of him; and when we consider his situation, we cannot wonder at his wishing to make his property of some value to himself. We ought also to look at the other side of the question, and consider the situation of the poor man. Every thing of value may have been taken from him; he has no chance of obtaining another farm, or even a dwelling. Driven houseless from the spot where perhaps he was born, or it may be from a house himself had built; can we wonder that he should feel something within him pleading his right to subsistence on the soil which gave him birth, something of that principle of natural law which is recognised by the poor-laws of England, but which here affords no provision for distress? Can we feel much surprise at the excesses which under some such circumstances are too frequently committed?

Here, again, we have a vivid picture of India presented to our view. In that country, also, tenants are often unable to pay to their landlords, the Indian Government, the amount of their rent, or land-tax, of which the greater part of the Company's revenue consists; when their estates are put up to sale by the Collectors, and the former occupiers "driven houseless from the spot on which they were born." Hence arise boundary disputes, dacoites, or gang-robbery, and all the violence which the utmost vigilance of the police cannot always keep down. The cause in both cases is the same—the oppressed and degraded condition of the people. The remedy for both would be equally similar—productive employment and lighter taxation. Another picture, which is equally applicable to Ireland and to India, will complete our extracts from this division of the Work:

These notions of the incurable indolence of the Irish, which are entertained

by many benevolent and well-disposed persons, are rapidly giving way, and as they cannot bear exposure to the light, will soon and for ever vanish. They seem to have had their foundation in a variety of circumstances. A vast mass of misery presented to our view, in the first place, produces feelings of sympathy and a desire to relieve the afflicted; but when its overwhelming amount appears to go far beyond any means of relief, we turn from the hopeless object in despair; a temporary apathy may be produced in the most benevolent persons, and there is a danger of our attributing the sufferings of our poor fellow-creatures to themselves; time may at last produce this effect on the most candid and liberal mind. Such might be the case even in England; but what must it be in a country where no inconsiderable portion of the poor are separated from the rich, not only by the immeasurable difference in their conditions, but also by a difference of language, and perhaps more than all, by a difference of religion, and the prejudices to which religious animosities give rise.

On the subject of alleged Over-Population, Mr. Cropper has some excellent remarks. The population of England are not too numerous, because they are actively employed and sufficiently provided with all the necessaries of life. The population of Ireland, if too numerous, is only so because of the general misery. It would be more correct, therefore, to say, that there is a deficiency of the means of happiness within their reach, than to say that there are too many people to admit of the whole enjoying happiness. One of the principal arguments urged by the enemies of Colonization in India is, that that country is already over-peopled. But this is not the fact. As in Ireland, the people are extremely miserable, not because of their aggregate numbers, but because a few have a great deal too much, and the many a great deal too little, of the wealth produced by the country. On this head, the author has the following passages :

That the rate at which mankind are capable of increasing, if all checks to their increase were removed, is such as would, at no very distant period, produce a population, which it would be beyond the power of the earth to support, is a point of which I feel no doubt.

But if Ireland is capable of supporting her present population, or even a greater number, in a high state of comfort, (a fact upon which I find no difference of opinion,) then that country cannot now be over-peopled, and a remedy may be found for her miseries in some improvement in the arrangements of society, which may develop her resources, and put those comforts she is so capable of affording, within the reach of her people.

Some of those who contend that the present evils of Ireland are attributable to an excess of population, recommend education, and the inculcation of correct principles of prudence and economy, as the means of curing those evils, and preventing their further increase. While I approve most fully of education as one means of raising the condition of the people, I cannot expect it to produce this object, unconnected with employment. But if, by giving the people employment and education together, we let them feel the comforts of an improved situation, we may be assured they will endeavour to retain them; for exertions, which are used to maintain an object once in possession, will, in general, prove to be far more energetic than those made to obtain what is only in prospect. If we begin, by education, to inculcate principles of prudence, as the means of acquiring comforts which had never been known, and can only be enjoyed at a distant period of life, or by a succeeding generation, the effect will be much less powerful than when those same principles are inculcated, as a means of holding advantages of which man is in the present enjoyment.

The same error, here so satisfactorily refuted, is one that has pervaded the few attempts, or rather pretended attempts, to improve the condition

of the people of India: schools and religious teachers have been granted them; but nothing, absolutely nothing, has been done to improve their physical condition. Let the restraints on the production and import of East India sugar be removed, let Colonization be fully permitted in India, and we should see, in ten years, such effects produced in India, as mere teaching, whether in schools or churches, will never without that aid effect. The people are not too numerous; and, as Mr. Cropper very justly observes, if they were, it would be rather an advantage than otherwise, in impelling them to fall into plans for their employment. In the case of Ireland, he says:

If a proper course be now adopted, there is, perhaps, more cause for rejoicing than for regret, on account of the numbers of the people of Ireland. Necessity is the only means by which the natural indolence of man is overcome, and the more obvious the necessity the greater will be the willingness to work, or even to change the habits of life. In short, if we look at the beneficial effects produced on a portion of the people of Bengal, from the cultivation of indigo, aided by British skill and capital, we shall cease to regret the numbers of the Irish, especially if we consider that they may be fully and profitably employed for themselves, and that they will, at the same time, be instrumental in supplying with employment, and raising to comfort, a very large proportion of their fellow-subjects in India.

Extract of a Letter from Captain William Gowan:

"In the districts of Tirhoot, where the British Indigo Planters are numerous, and have long existed, there has undoubtedly and manifestly taken place a very happy improvement in the state of the Natives, especially those connected directly or indirectly with the Indigo Planters, who there are so respectable, and in general so beloved, as to be resorted to by the peasantry around them, to arbitrate their disputes, instead of going to law or appealing to force; also for communications of scientific, agricultural, mechanical, and other European discoveries, and lastly, for advice and medicine in troubles and sickness."

We cannot pass by this note of Capt. Gowan's, to the truth of which, every man who has visited different parts of India, will subscribe, without adding our own conviction, that this improvement would take place, wherever independent British settlers, not in the service of the Government, should be allowed to take up their abode in the country; that this has uniformly been the result wherever they have settled, and that it always would be the case as long as the settlers carry with them the arts and sciences of civilized life. We have endeavoured to impress this important truth on the minds of our readers, in almost every Number of our work; but we might fortify our position with quotations from almost all the writers who have ever written on India. Ram Mohun Roy, a native of the country, and one of the most intelligent men that Asia ever produced, asserts in his celebrated memorial to the Supreme Court of Calcutta, against the restrictions on the freedom of the press,³ that in consequence of the improved condition of the Natives wherever they mix with independent merchants and other British subjects, (as in Calcutta,) the population are better off, and that the value of land rapidly increases, notwithstanding the high price of every thing there compared with the interior of the country. If the reader should be able to turn to the second Number of this work, he would find, in a letter addressed by Mr. John Wheatley, an English barrister, at Calcutta,

³ See *Oriental Herald*, Vol. I. p. 131.

to Mr. Wynn, the President of the Board of Control, (from which the passage at the head of this article is taken,) an array of powerful and unanswerable arguments, in favour of the immediate Colonization of India, from which he anticipates, in an extensive degree, the benefits which Capt. Gowan describes as peculiar to the districts named by him. We extract one passage only from this excellent letter, and refer the reader to the original for the remainder :⁴

Should British subjects be allowed to purchase lands, and should freedom be given to the introduction of the science and intelligence of Europe, by an UNRESTRICTED SYSTEM OF COLONIZATION, the face of things would in a short time undergo an entire change, and India would be brought more nearly to resemble Europe in prosperity of aspect. Instead of a dreary extent of country, saddened rather than relieved by mud-hut towns and villages, and inhabited by a painted pagan semi-barbarous race, a new order of beings would spring up; a body of rich landholders, with a respectable tenantry in the country, and a body of rich manufacturers in the towns, who would remodel all things after the manner of Europe, and gradually raise the character of the Natives to a level with their own. It will be denied by few, that if the Natives are ever to be brought to follow European laws and customs, they can be brought to follow them by example only, not by precept; by seeing the practical good that flows from these laws in the wealth and happiness of the people who live under them.

We shall pass over the division of the Work in which advertence is made to the plans for the relief of Ireland hitherto adopted, in order that we may have the more space to devote to the consideration of those which Mr. Cropper proposes for future adoption : and from these we select the greatest of all, as coming more within the immediate scope of our publication than any other, and as being also likely to produce more good than any plan without it. On this the author says :

The cotton trade has extended with greater rapidity than any other. Forty years ago, the consumption of England did not much exceed 19 millions of pounds, and it now exceeds 160 millions; nor is this vast increase confined to this country alone, for in France they now spin as much cotton as was spun in England fourteen years since. If the increase of this trade has been so rapid in these countries, may we not conclude that, when it has been once fully established in Ireland, its extension will be equally rapid? But if the immense population of Ireland were employed with machinery, where, it may be asked, are we to find a market for the produce of their labours? They must do for other countries what England has done for them; they too must supersede the hand-labour of other countries by their machinery. British India affords the finest field for their exertions. That country alone affords an abundant supply of the raw material, and a market for the manufactured article. Ireland has only to offer to the population of India, cheaper manufactures than their hand-labour can produce, and to take in return those articles which her own climate does not afford; and thus, whilst she adds to her own prosperity, she will at the same time contribute to theirs.—The desire to obtain those necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life, which an intercourse with countries under different climates supplies, makes foreign commerce a powerful means for introducing manufactures; but where these are once established, the greatest source of employment arises from the increased comforts of the people themselves.

The most natural, lasting, and extensive exchanges will always be made be-

⁴ See *Oriental Herald*, Vol. I. p. 80.

tween countries under different climates, whose productions and pursuits are most varied; thus our most extended commerce will be with countries within the tropics. Let us then examine what proportion of their inhabitants are now furnished with the products of our machinery. When we cast our eyes over the map of the world, and look at China, India, and Africa, we shall be convinced that we are not yet supplying one-tenth part of the population of these regions. And what is the reason of this? Can we not sell the goods which they require cheaper than they can make them? The British manufacturer is undoubtedly able to undersell all the fabrics of these countries; and the extension of our commerce with the world, has but one obstacle to its progress—the want of some article for consumption at home, to be received in payment for our manufactures. Now it appears evident, that this difficulty will gradually diminish as the condition of our own population gradually improves. What a fine field for the extension of commerce, does the improvement of the Irish population afford! We have only to remove obstructions from trade, to enable them to procure what they stand in need of, and we have a boundless market for foreign productions. If, in the short space of about half a century, (since spinning machinery was invented,) one-tenth part of the population of the globe is supplied with clothing by it, this is surely a very great progress—and what, we may rationally inquire, prevents our supplying the other nine-tenths? There will naturally be a difficulty in the exchange of commodities with countries under a similar climate, and in them England will soon have to contend, if she does not do so already, both with machinery and productions like her own. But how are we circumstanced with respect to countries in different climates? From an immense proportion of their population we are either partially or wholly excluded by acts and regulations of our own making. Of an extended trade with Africa, we are deprived by the slave trade of foreigners, (which we are able to suppress; as will be shown hereafter,) or else by prohibitory duties and restrictions on some of her productions. We are in a considerable degree excluded from the trade with our own dominions in India, by prohibitory duties on her sugar. A direct intercourse with China is wholly prevented by the monopoly of the East India Company; and from the trade in her sugar, we are shut out by the heavy prohibitory duty imposed upon it.

Where then, are we first to begin to break through these barriers of our own creating, which hinder Ireland from rising above her present depression and misery, and which prevent a vast increase in the prosperity and the comforts of the people of England? I answer, without hesitation, in our own dominions, in countries under our own laws, where the people have a right to look for paternal protection from the Government, and for the benefits of that system of free commerce, now so generally understood and acknowledged.

It has already been said, that the want of profitable returns is the general cause of the limitation of our commerce. Let us examine how far this remark will apply to India. When the trade was first opened, the rupee was worth 2s. 9d. in exchange with England: it is now reduced to 1s. 10d. The effects of this exchange will be more readily understood if stated thus:—Suppose a British manufacturer sold his cloth for a rupee per yard, he would at the first rate of exchange receive 2s. 9d. English, whilst at the latter, he would get but 1s. 10d., though the price paid by the consumer was in both cases exactly the same. The cause of this difference will at once be understood by any commercial man, to be a want of profitable returns; but notwithstanding these obstructions, the increase of our exports of cotton goods has been most surprising. In 1815, their official value was 78,197*l.*, and in 1823, 1,640,984*l.*, a manifest proof of the vast extension that would take place in this trade, if the obstructions were removed.

The soil and climate of Bengal are admirably suited for the growth of sugar; and sugar is one of the most extensive and important article of returns; nearly the greatest value of this article is consumed in Great Britain, even

under the present enormous duties: our commerce with India, we may therefore say, is mainly prevented by an almost prohibitory duty on her sugar, it being 10s. per cwt. more than is paid on that from the West Indies.

Besides, it will be found, that an improved and extended cultivation of sugar in India, would enable the producer so completely to undersell the sugar growers of Cuba and the Brazils, as to put an end for ever to this nefarious traffic on the African coast, which all our endeavours, and even large pecuniary bribes, have hitherto failed to effect; and this once accomplished, the great barrier to our trade with Africa, and to her consequent civilization, is removed.

We are entitled to have our tea at half its present price;^b and if it were thus reduced, (even though the Company still held their charter according to the terms of it,) a far greater quantity would be used, and must be paid for by the exportation of the products of our own industry.

These things cannot all be effected at once; we cannot in a moment convert the whole unemployed Irish population into industrious manufacturers, nor, if we could, should we find that the people, with whom we are proposing to exchange the productions of their labour, had raised a sufficient quantity of articles to be given in return; those people will only increase the growth of their sugar, tea, &c. and the Irish people will only increase their manufactures, as an increased demand shall offer inducement to do so: but as there is an abundant population on each side, their mutual wants and the means of obtaining further comforts, will act with great rapidity on both.

If I am right in my estimate, that our present export of manufactures does not supply more than one-tenth of the population within the tropics, and that we can supply the other nine-tenths much cheaper than they are now supplied; there can surely be no doubt in the mind of any rational man, that there might be sufficient trade for the full employment of the Irish people, not only to place them on a level with those of England, but also to raise both to a degree of prosperity and happiness far beyond what either of them now enjoys.

Having shown the possibility, nay, the practicability of giving employment, prosperity, and happiness to Ireland, my plan for effecting that object is very simple; it contains nothing new—no untried scheme; it is only to put into practice an acknowledged principle; it is only for the Government to carry their own enlightened commercial views into effect: that the same principle which has been put into operation apparently against her, may also be suffered to operate in her favour; in a word, to remove present restrictions, and give her the advantages of a free trade.

We commenced by saying, that all this good could be at once effected, without waiting for the expiration of the Company's charter, merely by repealing the one absurd and iniquitous clause of the Act of Parliament granting this charter, which declares, that no British-born subject shall reside in India without a license from the East India Company; and which gives to the local governors there, the power to take away at pleasure, the license of any one authorized by their masters to reside in their dominions, and to banish him without a trial or a hearing from the country! No Frenchman, Dutchman, Spaniard, Turk, or Jew, requires such a license. It is British-born subjects alone that are liable to this degradation; but while this badge remains, is it possible that any thing like a free trade can exist? To say that a trade is free, and at the same time to admit that no man is free to buy or sell a moment longer

^b See Edinburgh Review, No. LXXVIII. p. 458.

than the Governor pleases, is a contradiction in terms. Let Mr. Cropper and his benevolent associates think of this, and they will soon see where the source of all the present evil, as it regards India, lies; and confess the utter hopelessness of any amelioration, unless that tyrannical and abominable clause, of a highly unjust law, be immediately expunged from the statute-book. That the voice of the whole country is not raised against it, is a reproach to the character of the age.

We pass over the head under which the capacity of Ireland for manufactures is considered, and in which that point is established in the affirmative beyond all doubt; because no one, who thinks of its soil, its climate, and its local features, can hesitate to admit the fact; and come at once to the answers to various objections which Mr. Cropper boldly meets and successfully refutes. From this, we shall quote the principal passages:

When it can be proved, that there are 80 to 100 millions of people in British India, who wear cotton—that a commerce between Great Britain and countries under warmer climates, where productions and pursuits are varied, is the most natural, and may be expected to be the most extensive—that sugar is one of the most important and extensive articles of exchange of all foreign productions—that if there were no duty on sugar, a Native of India would be able to procure five pieces of calico, by the cultivation of sugar, while, by his own hands, he could make only one—that the people of Ireland would use much more sugar, if the price were low, and they had employment—that the high duty, now paid on this article from the East Indies, precludes the use of any but the finest qualities;—it might seem a loss of time to attempt to prove so self-evident a proposition as that a reduction of the duty on East India sugar would be productive of great advantages; but as the question of an equalization of duties has already been discussed in the House of Commons, it may be proper to enter into the subject.

It is said, the reduction of duty could have no operation on the price of sugar to the consumer in this country, for, as long as we have a surplus, the price in the English market must be regulated by the price in the general market of the world: and that whether East India sugar first came to this country, or went to the Continent direct, is a matter of no importance to the consumer, so long as there is a surplus of production.

It is also argued, that the East Indians may send their sugar to the Continent and the United States;—that the largest export from the East Indies, in one year, is about 11,000 tons; and that Bengal at present imports more sugar from China and Java than she exports to Europe.

A pamphlet lately published, entitled '*East India Sugar, or an Inquiry respecting the Means of improving the Quality, and reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by free Labour in the East Indies*,' clearly proves, that very great improvements may be made in the quality of the sugar, and that the cost of its production may be greatly reduced. To form, therefore, any argument on the present extent of the sugar-trade of Bengal, in order to show that it cannot be increased, would be to shut our eyes to the notorious fact, that, by the aid of British skill and capital, the cultivation of indigo in British India has almost superseded its production in any other place. It would be the same thing as to contend, that because Ireland exports a small quantity of manufactures, she cannot manufacture for exportation; and, in short, to prove that her population are now in misery, from the want of employment, would, on that position, be proof that they must always remain so.

When we know that the only obstacle to the extension of our commerce is the want of articles for home-consumption, in return for our exports, and that

⁶ See Report of the Liverpool East India Association, page 50.

we are taxed, with a bounty, to make sugar dear to ourselves, and cheap to the people of the Continent, to diminish our own consumption in order to increase theirs, and thus to send away from us an acknowledged benefit, in order to confer it on our neighbours and our rivals, whose wants, whose climate, and whose pursuits, are similar to our own, it is absurd to bring forward the state of things produced by such a system of folly, as any proof of what it would be under a wiser one.

But if we were to keep out of view these obvious facts, and to conclude that things must go on as they are, we should find that the consumption of sugar

In 1699, was	16,000 tons
1701 to 1705	13,000
1771 to 1775	76,000
1786 to 1790	82,000
1814 to 1815	118,000
1816 to 1818	132,000
1819 to 1820	146,000
1823 & 1824	160,000

Our import from the West India colonies has, on the other hand, since the year 1808, (when the slave-trade was abolished,) been nearly stationary, and is about 180,000 tons, the surplus for exportation being about 20,000 tons. Now, if we take the ratio of increase in the consumption for the last nine years as our criterion, we shall find that it rather exceeds 10 per cent. in three years; and if it goes on at the same rate, there will be very little left for exportation at the end of three years more. There is no doubt that, if the duty were reduced, a portion of the sugars which are now shipped from India to other parts would come to this country, and we might thus have an increase of the supply in twelve or eighteen months; but it is not likely that sugar, produced by increased cultivation, in consequence of the change, could be in use in this country in much less than three years; and, therefore, to speak of the surplus exported, is to speak of a circumstance which would, in all probability, cease to exist after the proposed plans were in operation. So far from this being any argument against the measure, it furnishes a strong one in its favour; for if we do not mean to submit to pay the West Indians a monopoly price for their sugar, we must look to an extended cultivation in India for our own consumption, even if we did not anticipate an increased consumption in Ireland. If the prosperity of the country should continue to increase for nine years to come, as fast as it has done for nine years past, (which it is only reasonable to expect,) the matter may be reduced to a rule-of-three question:—If the consumption of sugar has increased, in nine years, from 118,000 tons to 160,000, what will 160,000 tons increase to in nine years more? We shall find the consumption at that time to be about 217,000 tons. Now, according to these statements, there are but 11,000 tons exported from India, and this added to the whole import from the West Indies, will make 191,000, or 26,000 tons short of a sufficient supply. And, therefore, if the increasing comforts of the people are not to be checked by an enormous monopoly price of sugar, we must look to its extended cultivation in British India.

But sugar is imported from China into Bengal. And what does this prove? Are the soils or the climate of China more fit for the growth of sugar than those of Bengal? This has not been advanced. Are the people of China willing to work for less wages than those of Bengal? The contrary is proved by an export of manufactured goods from Bengal to China. The land is as good, and the wages are as low; and yet Bengal imports sugar from China. What is this but a confirmation of the statements of the pamphlet before mentioned, and a proof that the culture and manufacture of sugar in Bengal wants improvement? The sugar of Bengal is actually imported into England, though it pays 10s. per cwt. more duty than that from the West Indies,—a sufficient proof that it is produced cheaper in Bengal than in the West Indies. Sugar is imported into Bengal from China,—an equally clear proof that it is produced

cheaper in China than in Bengal; and are we to be told, that it is no disadvantage to Great Britain to be excluded, for her supplies of sugar, from every market but one, and that one the very dearest of all?

The advocates of this state of things tell us, we may take these cheap sugars to the Continent, and sell them there. And is that the way to encourage British industry, and to increase the comforts of the British people? The sugar of India, which is eaten by a German or a French manufacturer, adds just as much to the comfort of the poor starving Irishman, as the labour performed by the German or Frenchman contributes to his emolument; and thus, in fact, these foreigners get both, and the poor Irishman remains as he was. But we are to be paid for this sugar, and by that means procure something that we have more need of. Nay, if they on the Continent have more need of the sugar, and we have more need of something they can produce, it is all very well, and the system of free trade says—let the exchange take place. But what are we doing? We force to the Continent, by prohibitory duties and bounties, the sugar, which, if supplied at a cheaper rate, would be consumed at home. Suppose we have employed an Irishman in manufacturing goods for India, and allowed him to sell the sugar he received in return, his employment would be gained to the country. But that must not be. This sugar is to go to the Continent; it is not to interfere with the West Indian monopoly. No; it must be sent away, even though the goods we may take in return equally interfere with some production of our own soil; and it may be, that by forcing this sugar to the Continent, we have forced as much flax into England as just supersedes the labour of another Irishman, who was before employed in growing the latter article. The Irish people will have gained nothing by this effort to bring trade with one hand, and with the other to drive it away, while foreigners have the whole advantage of employment. Things may go on in this unnatural way for a while, but we shall soon find that, instead of sending us the flax, the foreigner will meet us in some foreign market with his linens ready made; and, in the end, the consequence will be, that as they consume the sugar of India, they will also supply them with goods in exchange.

This will appear no very speculative view of the case, if we consider the amazing rapidity with which the French manufactures are extending. The consumption of cotton on the continent of Europe, principally in France, in 1822, was about 306,000 bales, in 1823, 266,000, in 1824, 360,000 bales. The amount of cotton manufactured in France is now about 75,000,000 lbs., which is principally consumed at home; but if the manufacture continues to increase as it has done for many years past, we shall find her rivalling us in foreign markets. Shall we then refuse the India trade to Ireland, for the purpose of driving it to France?

No one will deny the fact, that the only obstacle to the extension of our trade is the want of a market for our returns; and that, if we have more trade, the people must have more comforts. Who, then, in their senses, would tax these comforts, in order that they may be too dear for the people, and cheapen them to foreigners, in order that *their* comforts and *their* trade may be extended? Were this system examined and understood, what Englishman or Irishman would vote for it? We might, indeed, expect it to be supported by Frenchmen, by Germans, or by Dutchmen, but surely never by Britons.

It has been asked, "If we establish manufactures in Ireland, on account of the low price of labour, may not these, in their turn, be superseded by the still lower rate of wages in India?" By others it has been said, that the people of India are divided into castes, and that if we take away employment from the manufacturers, they will not till the soil, and will be involved in great distress.

To the first of these objections I reply, that if, when a market for their agricultural produce is refused, they do not manufacture by machinery, there is very little prospect of their doing so when an extended market is opened for that produce. We have some security, in the general prediction of mankind for agricultural employments, and more in the probability that few would be

disposed to work in confined factories under so hot a climate, except from absolute necessity. Then with respect to the second objection: it is to be expected that the extension of commerce will, by degrees, destroy castes and other superstitious customs, with their attendant evils; and what method is so likely to effect this, as to make these superstitions inconvenient? Besides, it will not be seriously proposed that we should reject this means of relief to the Irish, and still leave them in misery, rather than disturb the superstitions of the Hindoos.

Again, it will be said, this proposition involves two very delicate and difficult questions; and so I admit it does—its effect on the East and West Indian population. With respect to the latter, I mean to treat it at some length, under a separate head; but of both I may say, that the more difficult and delicate they are, the more they need investigation and inquiry. We must either pursue some plan concerning them, or leave every thing to chance: if we have any plan, it must be either the result of investigation, or of mere notions founded on ignorance; and there cannot be a question, in this enlightened age, which of these we ought to adopt.

We have already so far exceeded the limits afforded us by other demands on our space, that we must close our remarks, and leave the consideration of the West India question for a future article. This postponement will not, however, be construed into an indifference as to the bearings of that important topic, as we have very recently expressed our sentiments on it in unequivocal terms. We cannot conclude without remarking, that there was never a period in our history, as far as our recollection or reading serves us, at which so many and such important national objects hung together by one thread, as at the present moment: namely, the improvement of the condition of the people of Ireland; the abolition of West Indian slavery, and all its horrors; the civilization of the African world; the destruction of idolatry and superstition in Asia; the reform and release of the criminals which crowd our English prisons; and the probable extinction, or at least the certain abatement, of war, and all the miseries it entails upon the nations who engage in it. All these objects are to be accomplished by extending universal commerce: and the first link in the great chain is, to open India to immediate Colonization, and unrestricted freedom of trade. On this subject, we take the present opportunity of subjoining the following portions of a letter from one of the most benevolent of men, who, to great theoretic knowledge of political economy and enlarged commerce, adds a thorough acquaintance with all the practical details of business; and in enforcing these subjects on the attention of the individual to whom his letter was addressed, he says:—

Is it the object of one man to improve the condition of the Irish population? We can only do it by giving them employment; and this can only be had by opening, without restriction, the markets of India.

Is it the object of another to raise to freedom all the sons of Africa now held in slavery in the Western world, (according to Baron Humboldt, 5,000,000)? It can only be done by admitting to active competition the free labour of India.

Is it the object of a third to civilize the nations on the African coast?—The first step towards it is, the entire destruction of the slave-trade; which will at once be effected, when the labour of slaves is superseded by the cheaper productions of free labour in India.

Is a fourth desirous to dispel the darkness which upholds the idolatry and superstition of our vast dominions in India, and to improve the condition of the people?—Let him look at the effects which the increased and increasing cultiva-

tion of indigo has already produced; and he will also see, in the effects of extended intercourse and commerce, the best means of securing those immense possessions.

Is a fifth following the footsteps of Howard, and caring for that, till lately, most neglected portion of the human race, the criminals in our prisons?—Let him examine who they are, and he will find no inconsiderable portion to be the poor and miserable population of Ireland, whom distress has driven to the commission of crime.

And lastly, is another desirous to put an end to the unchristian and barbarous system of settling disputes by an appeal to arms?—What way so likely within the reach of men, as to give them an unrestricted freedom of commerce, such as shall make men feel that it is their interest to promote each other's happiness, rather than to destroy it?

There is no effectual way of producing any one of these great objects, except by pursuing that direct course which is sure to embrace them all: namely, the opening of India to Colonization and Free Trade, not merely with her sea-ports, but with every part of the interior. And so long as this right is withheld from the British nation, so long are the Ministers of England, or those with whom it rests to grant it, guilty of the grossest injustice to their fellow-countrymen, as well as inhumanity and indifference to the great interests of the human race.

LA JOURNÉE SERA DURE, MAIS ELLE SE PASSERA.

In the dark hours of gloom, and affliction, and sorrow,
Can the spirit be nerved to endurance of fate?—
Yes, in surety and faith of a coming to-morrow,
Man brooks every pang he is doom'd to await.

The hour may be bitter, but cannot be long,
The minutes must fleet, though on agony's wings;
Nor can fiendish invention its torments prolong,
Till satiety comes to the vengeance of kings.

Poor Damiens, borne to his merciless bed,
Glanced on to the period when torture must cease;
In the hope of that hour he stemm'd nature's cold dread—
The sun that has usher'd will set in release.

Is it theirs, the mere mortals, who reign in a right,
By none but a servile considered divine;
By the symbols of terror to quell and affright,
The spirit unseen and its searchings confine.—

Let the panders to cruelty lavish their skill,
The cross be but mild, a mere pillow the block:
To its Maker alone bows the fix'd master-will,
And unshaken encounters oppression's worst shock.

PASSAGE IN KHASWINI, THE ORIENTAL PLINY, CORRESPONDING

WITH THE HERMIT OF PARNELL. TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,—Just before I read, in your last Number, (p. 374,) the satisfactory proofs from “M. de Guignes,” that the *Anciennes Relations* “are genuine and authentic,” a learned friend who had met, in the country, with the *Oriental Herald* for April, obligingly informed me that, in *Notices et Extraits des MSS. du Roi*, (1. 156,) I should find “a full defence of the authenticity of the two Mohammedan voyages;” to which he thinks, and he is no slight authority, especially on such a subject, that “even more might be added.” The article to which he referred me I found to be written by M. de Guignes, and, in substance if not in form, such as you have described as communicated by that learned Orientalist to the *Journal des Savans*.

To the same friend I am indebted, with reference to the conjectures on the origin of the *Hermit*, (p. 61,) for the following extracts from Mous. Chezy, in the *Christomathie Arabe* of the Baron Silvestre de Saey, (Paris, 1806.) At iii. 414, M. Chezy thus introduces *Kazwini*, whom he calls the Oriental Pliny, and who died in Syria towards the end of the thirteenth century:—

“Kazwini cite à l'appui de ses reflexions sur la Providence une histoire assez originale, qui me paroît avoir fourni l'idée de la charmante pièce de Parnell, intitulée *l'Hermite* (the Hermit;) je vais transcrire icice passage.”

The story is then narrated in the original Arabic, to which is annexed the following translation:—

“Moïse passant un jour au pied d'une montagne, où il y avoit une source, y fit ses ablutions, puis gravit la montagne pour y prier. Sur ces entrefaites un cavalier vint se désaltérer à la même source, et y laissa une bourse remplie d'argent. Après lui arriva un berger, qui vit la bourse, la prit et s'en alla. Ensuite vint un vieillard accablé de misère et portant sur sa tête une charge de bois. Il se débarrassa en cet endroit de son fardeau et s'étendit sur l'herbe pour se reposer. Mais à peine y étoit-il que le cavalier revint pour chercher sa bourse, et ne la trouvant pas, il s'approcha du vieillard, qu'il soupçonnoit de l'avoir prise, pour la lui faire rendre, et le tua à force de coups. ‘Grand Dieu!’ s'écria Moïse, où est donc ta justice dans ces événemens? Dieu alors lui révéla que le vieillard avoit anciennement tué le père du cavalier, et que celui-ci avoit, envers le père du berger, une dette qui montoit précisément à la somme contenue dans la bourse; qu'ainsi la peine du talion et l'acquit de la dette se trouvant accomplis entre eux deux, il n'y avoit rien là que de conforme à la justice divine.”

Thus the same century appears to have produced two apologies, which, with varying circumstances, had the same design—to illustrate the doctrine of providential retribution in the present life. Yet, as *Jacobus de Vitriaco* died before the middle, and *Kazwini* probably survived to the end, of the thirteenth century, for the former may still be claimed a priority of the invention; nor, on a comparison of the stories, can I agree with M. Chezy, that the latter furnished the materials for the *Hermit* of Parnell, who I must still think was indebted rather to Dr. Henry More's *Dialogues*, than to any earlier authority.

N. L. T.

May 8th, 1825.

THOUGHTS OF A CALM OBSERVER ON THE EAST INDIA
COMPANY'S CHARTER.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,—My last left the history of the East India Company as, perhaps, its most important period, when these two great rival associations, namely, the *Interlopers* and the *Legitimate Company*, after having nearly ruined each other by their commercial, and even warlike, hostilities, at length, as will be seen hereafter, resolved themselves into a strict confederacy against all mankind besides, but especially against their own countrymen, who are the only Europeans as to whom the general commerce of India and China is absolutely interdicted.

Much, it is true, depends on the time in which we live. There is, perhaps, less of mutability in the fundamental maxims of states than we are apt to suppose; their maxims continue the same: it is the mutations in the affairs of men which call for a different application of them. National interest and national glory are still the objects; although the progress of society, during the space of a century, may call for entirely different measures for their attainment. It is admitted by the author of 'The Wealth of Nations,' who strongly deprecates trading monopolies, that many undertakings are so much beyond the grasp of private capital as to require the combined strength of Joint Stock Companies; and that privileges, partaking of the nature of monopolies, are necessary to encourage the migration of settlers for the formation of colonies, as well as for their maintenance throughout their infant state; although, when arrived at maturity of strength and intellect, the same privileges would become questionable, both as to their policy and justice. England may have established itself in India too effectually to require any longer the aid of a Company to be sustained at the expense of the trading rights of its people; while, perhaps, his Majesty of all the Russias could not achieve for his subjects a mightier political blessing than the institution of an East India Company, modelled, in some degree, after our own, or such a one as the writer of this letter, or any man equally conversant with Indian affairs, could readily suggest. Even Charles the Tenth might find, that his only means of renewing his acquaintance with India would be through the medium of some such Company as that which the frenzy of the Revolution put down; although, in less than half a century, it might be equally wise to throw open the trade thus acquired to the whole people of France.

Our own East India Company is an instance which proves the truth of these observations. I will not say that its two hundred years of history has not been, upon the whole, usefully employed in bringing it to its present powerful state; but does it follow that it is not now high time to revise that Institution, and inquire if the enterprising spirit, and the overflowing capital of British subjects, ought not to be openly and legally employed, to their utmost extent, in the traffic of India and the Eastern seas, in preference to affording them no alternative but that of lying dormant, or exercising their activity through the medium of the Americans, or other foreigners?

It is with the hope of better enabling my countrymen to judge of these matters, that I propose in this letter to trace the outline of the Company's history, from the great charter of William the Third to the present time. Reflecting persons may, I think, thence infer, with tolerable accuracy, what will be the fittest course to pursue for the future government of British India.

I have troubled you with this exordium, in order to call your particular attention to the Act of the 9th and 10th William 3. c. 44, which I regard as the foundation of the second part of the Company's history, and as containing such unrepealed privileges as would enable the Company, if relieved from the cares of Government, and confined to their original occupation of merchants trading to the East Indies, to acquire for the Proprietors pecuniary advantages of immense magnitude, without trespassing on the principles of free trade.

The Act in question was passed in the year 1698. It raises a new Company, under the title of 'The General Society,' to consist of such persons as shall subscribe two millions to the exigence of the State; for which they are to receive eight per cent. per annum. The subscribers are besides to enjoy the exclusive privilege of trading *exclusively* into Asia, Africa, and America, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, to the extent of such two millions. The Act contains a provision, that such of the subscribers as prefer general to individual trading, may form themselves into a Joint Stock Company, trade from an aggregate fund, be invested with the same privileges, be denominated 'The English Company trading to the East Indies,' and be sanctioned and supported by a charter which the crown is thereby enabled to grant. There is an exception in favour of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies,' that is, the *Old East India Company*, who are to continue to trade till the 29th Sept. 1701; the said charter to be revocable on three years' notice after the 29th Sept. 1711. The greater part of the subscribers preferred to incorporate themselves in the Joint Stock Association; and a charter, to the effect of the Act, was granted to them on the 5th Sept. 10 William 3. styling them 'The English Company trading to the East Indies.'

The two Companies, the New and the Old, soon found it their interest to unite; and accordingly we find in an Act of the 1st of Anne, c. 12. for granting aid to her Majesty, the following recital, *viz.*: "And whereas the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, and the said English Company, have agreed to unite their capital stock in the said two millions, and trade to the East Indies, and other parts, within the limits of their charter, whereunto they severally are entitled, under the Act of Parliament of the ninth year of his said late Majesty's reign, intituled 'An Act for raising a sum not exceeding two millions, upon a fund for payment of annuities at the rate of eight per cent. per annum, and for settling the trade to the East Indies,' whereupon a charter is intended to be passed."

The intention here intimated was carried into execution by the 6th Anne, c. 7. The leading *interlopers* had found their way to legitimacy as subscribers to the two millions; the junction was sanctioned by Parliament, and from that time has borne the name of the '*United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies.*' The *Old Company* by deed.

dated 22d March 1709, surrendered to Queen Anne their charters, their corporate symbols and capacities, and became legally and politically defunct, after an active, though not always a pure and virtuous course, of upwards of a century.

It is to be observed, that the charter of the 9th and 10th of William was for three years, and three years' notice, so as to expire in 1714; that, before its expiration, namely, in 1708, the 6th of Anne made fresh conditions with the Company, and fixed the duration of their charter at fifteen years, and three years' notice from that period, so as to expire in 1726; and that, fourteen years before its expiration, new conditions were again made with the Company, on which occasion their charter was extended to 1737, including three years' notice. It is pretended that these successive prolongations were in return for assistance afforded to Government.

The *United Company*, now invested with the sovereignty over such parts of India as they then possessed, and with the entire monopoly of its trade, felt secure for many years. Those troublesome spirits, the *interlopers*, had now become a part of the *United Company*, and were soon found more unbending monopolists than those whom they had formerly opposed. The only acts of the Legislature, which immediately regarded the Company for a considerable period, were directed against a new order of interpolers, who were now trading to India under foreign flags and foreign commissions. The Acts of the 5th and 7th of Geo. I. prohibited this practice, and enacted severe penalties against it; but it is not easy to shackle and keep down the spirit of commercial adventure: a new speculation in the trade of India was gaining ground; British merchants and others became proprietors in foreign East India Companies, particularly in those which were about that period established in the Netherlands, and which were principally supported by British capital, thus prohibited from employ in its native region. The 9th Geo. I. prohibits such adventure or concern with foreign Companies, subjecting the British proprietor to forfeitures, confiscations, and other punishments of great severity!

Whether Government acted wisely, even in that day, in thus keeping down the commercial spirit of their countrymen, and in thus leaving the field open to foreigners, may well be doubted; it is, indeed, difficult to account for their conduct otherwise, than by the convenience which they derived from the sums of money, which were from time to time paid them, in one shape or other, by the *United Company* in purchase of their monopoly.

It may have struck you, Sir, that notwithstanding these Legislative grants (for *Crown* grants had by this time become exploded) purport to give to the *United Company* the exclusive trade to India for a certain number of years; in almost every instance, and long before the expiration of such grant, the Legislature has not scrupled to require from the Company new and intermediate conditions, thus evidently claiming to act upon the principle which I noticed in my former letter, namely, that of holding paramount authority over charters themselves, however solemnly granted, when they considered that the public interest, the admitted foundation of such grants, required alteration or revision, without regarding the length of their term, though usually attended with some

colourable concession, to give to power the name and appearance of compact!

The next Act of importance was the 7th Geo. I., which enacts, that the Company shall pay to Government two hundred thousand pounds as an absolute gift, neither subject to interest or repayment; this was five years before their then existing charter would expire: in return for this sum, six years more of exclusive trade are doled out to the Company.

There is, however, in this act a provision of great moment, which seems to have been regarded till lately as obsolete, though capable of being called forth with a degree of beneficial effect, that seems to have escaped the notice of our speculative capitalists. The eleventh section of this Act provides, that on the expiration of three years' notice after 1736, and the repayment to the Company of 3,000,000*l.*, the right of the United Company to the whole, sole, and exclusive trade to the East Indies, and parts aforesaid, shall *cease and determine*. But the following section recognizes in the fullest terms, that provision in the charter of William, which I have more than once noticed, and enacts, "That nothing shall extend, or be construed to extend, to *determine the corporation* of the said United Company, or to hinder, prevent, or exclude them, from carrying on, at all times, *after the determination of their exclusive right*, as aforesaid, a *free trade* into and from the East Indies, and parts aforesaid, with all or any parts of their own joint stock, goods, &c. in common with other subjects of his Majesty." That is, if the Legislature were to think it advisable, for high national purposes, to throw open the whole trade to India to-morrow, and assign to the State the management of its own sovereignty, the Proprietors would find themselves a perpetual Joint-Stock Company of the most perfect and complete kind, and ready, with their vast machine of commerce, to launch into the trade of India, Africa, and America, upon a scale unlimited as to profit, and as to extent unparalleled in the history of the world!

As I shall probably, towards the close of this discussion, trouble you with some further observations on the very interesting predicament in which the Proprietors may possibly ere long be placed; I will only now add, that by the 17th Geo. II. cap. 17, the Company were called upon for another million, in return for which was granted a further term in their exclusive trade. Whether those who now govern our affairs, would allow a million, or many millions, to shut out British subjects from the richest commercial harvest which ever invited the industry of a nation, may perhaps soon be put to the proof!

Finding myself arrived on the threshold of the reign of George III. a period not less pregnant with events to the East India Company, than to the empire at large, and having betrayed myself into a longer letter than I intended, but which you are at liberty to divide as you please, I will take my leave, in the hope of concluding in my next the undertaking of

A CALM OBSERVER.

JUST TRIBUTE TO THE OCCASIONAL VIRTUE OF THE TIMES.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*,

SIR,—There are no remains of classical antiquity more justly esteemed than a variety of concise maxims for the direction of human conduct. Among these I have always admired one, *fas est et ab hoste doceri*, as old as the age of Ovid, and well-known, as it deserves to be. It was thus happily expanded by the poet Watts:—

Seize upon truth, where'er 'tis found,
Among your friends, among your foes,
On Christian, or on heathen ground,
The flow'r 's divine, where'er it blows.

Of this excellent counsel I was forcibly reminded yesterday, when I read some remarks, which, possessing all the beauty and fragrance of the poet's flowers, I would remove to a more genial soil, and I, therefore, take the liberty of sending them to you, from the columns of the evidently time-serving *Times*, so justly described in your last volume, (p. 330,) as deciding, on a mere calculation of dividends, either to expose the wrongs of an injured Queen, or to *cry havoc* among the loudest of her courtly and cruel persecutors. The *Editor* of such a publication, learned, perhaps, and liberal-minded, must surely earn *hardly* his remuneration, while lending himself to the sordid interest of a *proprietor*, such as the satirist Young may not unaptly describe—

Some stupid, plodding, money-loving wight,
Who with much pains, exerting all his sense,
Can range aright his shillings, pounds, and pence.

The Editor, however, as if liberal principles, or, at least, the profession of them, began to be the order of the day, and he would “pursue the triumph, and partake the gale,” thus introduces “the message of the Vice-President of Columbia to Congress.”

‘Among official documents, we know of none so interesting, from the relation between the parties by whom and to whom they are communicated, as speeches or messages from the chief magistrate of a free commonwealth, addressed to the representatives of the people. The President of an American Republic is like a witness before a jury: he can have no corrupt concealments that are not easily guessed at and exposed, and for which he is not liable to be punished. He must tell the whole truth, because he is but the steward of the nation, who manage their own concerns, who audit their own accounts, and who treat their magistrates as their servants, not their superiors,—electing them, watching them, controlling them, superseding them, and always teaching them to know their proper distance. But, besides the obligation to tell the people all that they have a right to hear, a republican chief magistrate acts under another necessity—namely, that of exhibiting a performance which, in point of intellectual dignity, neither he nor his countrymen need be ashamed of. He feels that the public opinion, by which his statements, arguments, and sentiments are canvassed, is all-powerful, not merely in affixing to them their just value, but in determining his own fate and fortune: he cannot, therefore, afford to be despised. And, in general, a republican “king’s speech,” or state paper, is, as compared with those of monarchies, equally distinguished for talent and for truth. But, again, there is another peculiarity in the character of free communities. If there be many truths, there are few novelties in their official

disclosures. Events transpire the moment they occur, and, transpiring, the press lays hold of and publishes and records them for the whole world. The press, in a free country, is that window in the bosom for which a great man once besought the gods, that all mankind might see what was transacting within him. But, besides enforcing virtue by publicity, this inseparable friend of freedom almost equalizes throughout society the knowledge which it expedites; it cuts the statesman's mystery from under him, and leaves hardly any thing for the nation which enjoys it, to learn, from her political functionary, beyond the use to be made of facts already current. Nor on that point even are the bulk of the people far behind the chief officers of the State.

It is difficult to read these sentiments in the *Times*, and to suppress the exclamation, "*O si sic omnia!*" Nor do I remember to have seen any where a better description of what may be expected, to quote a writer in your 1st volume (p. 625.), "where men are not rocked into legislators, and rulers in the cradle of hereditary right;" but "where nature guides and virtue rules;" a condition of social life which the enlarged mind of Berkeley foresaw among Heaven's choice gifts to the American continent.

April 7, 1825.

ADJUTOR.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

Having spoken as freely of the character of *The Times*, as we are prepared to do on all other subjects of public interest which may come within the range of our duties, we readily embrace the present opportunity of expressing our admiration of the sentiments quoted from it by our candid Correspondent; and that we may imitate his example of transplanting from that source what we can unequivocally adopt as suited to our own pages, and in unison with the views and principles uniformly advocated therein, we subjoin an excellent Letter which appeared in *The Times* of the past month, on the subject of the Tea Trade. When it is considered that the use of this article is now almost universal in England, and that its enormous price is felt as one of the heaviest taxes on the necessities of life, it is surprising that every Paper in the kingdom does not teem with outcries against its continuance. The Letter is as follows:

To the Editor of The Times.

SIR,—In a former letter I called your attention to the enormous tax levied by the East India Company on the article of tea, by limiting their supply to one quarter of an ounce per week for every person within their monopoly and as their lately-published 'Declaration' of quantity to be sold in June exhibits, instead of an increase to meet the extra consumption of the summer quarter, an actual diminution of nearly 300,000 lb., comparing the quantity with the time over which it is to be spread, (being 7,500,000 lb. for fourteen weeks, instead of 7,300,000 lb. for thirteen, as in the present quarter.) I submit, that it now becomes expedient to seek the interference of those whose duty it is to see that the possessors of this monopoly perform, in spirit and in letter, every part of their contract with the public.

That the extent of the indirect taxation imposed upon us may be known, I subjoin, from a list now before me, the prices of a cargo of teas, of good quality, sold in New York in March last, whilst our own sale was pending; and confining myself, as in my last letter, to black teas, (green being comparatively unimportant, and at present dear from an accidental cause,) I have contrasted them with the "putting-up prices," as they are called, which are fixed by the sellers themselves, as the lowest which will yield them a reasonable profit, as well as with the prices which the purchasers were compelled to pay:—

Price at the sale in New York, at six months:—Bohea, 1s. 2½d. to 1s. 3½d.; Congou, 1s. 9d. to 2s. 1d.; Souchong, 2s. 1d. to 3s. 1d.—Putting-up price in London:—Bohea, 1s. 6d.; Congou, 2s. 2d.; Souchong, 3s. —Sale prices in London at three months' prompt, but for cash before delivery, and exclusive of duty:—Bohea, 2s. 5d. to 3s. 4d.; Congou, 2s. 7d. to 3s.; some fine ditto, 3s. 8d. to 3s. 9d.; Souchong, 3s. 8½d. to 4s. 10d., in December, (none sold in March).

Two points must immediately strike us:—1st, that the American private merchants can sell their teas, including the better descriptions, (and I understand they are well content with their profits,) at prices from 12½ to 20 per cent. under those which our Company declare to be necessary to yield a moderate profit upon their lowest quality; and 2d, that the East India Directors, whilst every sale-catalogue which they issue contains their printed acknowledgment that they can afford their teas at the above "putting-up" prices, have succeeded, by limitation of quantity, and various other methods, in raising the prices to the public upon the first class no less than 66 per cent., upon the second and most important, about 30 per cent., and upon the third about 35 per cent. beyond their own estimate of a fair return. There can be no good reason why the East India Company should be exempted from the ordinary risks of their commerce by this regulation; but if tolerated at all, there should surely be some reciprocity in it; and if they are not to sell but at prices which yield them a remunerating profit, does it not follow that they are bound to supply the country at those prices with whatever quantity it may require? Be it remembered, also, that these prices are exclusive of duty, which, to the consumer, doubles the excess. Supposing that the present duties remain, if the Company were to supply us, as they are well able to do, upon the terms of the American market, we should be paying for Bohea, duty paid, 2s. 5d. to 2s. 7d., instead of 4s. 11½d.; Congou, ditto, 3s. 6d. to 4s. 2d., instead of 5s. 2d. to 6s., and 6s. 10d. to 7s. 6d. for fine; Souchong, ditto, 4s. 2d. to 6s. 2d., instead of 7s. 5d. to 9s. 8d. Such a state of charges cannot exist without the introduction of large quantities of smuggled tea, for which the practice of "hawking" the article, now so general, affords remarkable facilities. In 1784, when, before the commutation act, the duty was nearly as at present, cent. per cent., and the Company's price very nearly the same, the Court of Directors, in a report which they published, (now before me,) stated, that "it seems probable that at least as much tea was smuggled as paid duty;" but the opinion of the tea-dealers of that day was, that the smugglers engrossed two-thirds of the whole trade; and it is a remarkable fact, that so convinced were the smugglers that it was necessary to their existence to keep up a high price for tea, that they actually became the principal bidders (and purchasers to a large extent, although it was not their primary object to become such) at the first sale after the alteration of the law; and this bold manoeuvre was practised in reliance upon their knowledge how inadequate was the increased supply given by the Company to the real demand of the country; yet the quantity upon which they thus ventured to operate was eight-ninths of the average of the sales of the last year; that of 1784 being 6,454,947lb., and the average of the four sales of 1824, 7,225,000lb. Are smugglers less daring or less intelligent in 1825 than 1784? or will the costly coast-blockade avail to prevent a recurrence of the evil?

I think I am fully justified in charging upon the Company the whole of the

¹ The hawker has several licensed rooms (not houses) in different places, within the district in which he proposes to sell his tea by going from house to house. As he can permit his tea from one of these rooms to any other, or to that of a confederate, he has only to obtain a permit for any quantity which he expects to dispose of during his day's march; and having thus got rid of it, he can receive the like quantity from the smuggler, and proceed boldly to his place of destination, with the protection of a legal permit; and by virtue of this he can again have a legal permit for his smuggled tea, and so on. This is now going on to a great extent.

excess of price paid by the customer, because so long as Ministers see teas forced up by actual demand to a rate so much above the "putting-up prices," (Bohea, for example, to 4s. 11½d. duty paid, which at one advance would come out at 3s. 0½d.,) they must be aware that any reduction of duty would yield no relief to the public, but go directly into the pocket of the Company. Can it be doubted, that if the latter could be awakened to a sense of their duty, Ministers would then give to this important article the consideration it deserves, especially as they could devise no means of relieving the West India interest so efficacious and popular as by reducing the price of tea? At the present duty the poor man ought to get his *pound of good common tea* at 4s., or under, and would do so but for the monopoly of which we complain; and if even this were accomplished, the consumption would be doubled; but whenever the Company shall do justice to the nation which tolerates its anomalous existence, and the Ministers reduce the duty one-half, the consumption of legal tea will be more than quadrupled, and consequently a large increase of revenue will take place.

It will naturally be asked—If all this be true, how can the Company be so blind to their real interests as not to conform to the just expectations of the country? Can it be, that the fortunate young men who obtain China writerships (always the near connexions of the Directors) are remunerated by a per centage on the proceeds of the tea they send home; and that they and their relatives, who compose the Court of Direction, dare not incur the risk of temporary diminution of profit by a reduction in price, since the advantage of the increased consumption might be deferred a year or two? Can it be, that the Directors cannot help allowing the calculation of how many China writerships will remain to them, to cross their minds and warp their judgments? But surely these are not reasons why the country is to sit down quietly under a charge of 30,000,000*l.* payable by quarterly instalments during the nine years which remain of the charter; for if these writers, or their friends at home, have really "vested interests" in the pockets of the public, let it be so understood at once, and let them openly derive their emolument from the produce of the general taxation of the nation.

PETER PEROE.

ADDRESS TO THE PROPRIETORS OF EAST INDIA STOCK.

Friends and Brother Proprietors of East India Stock:

You were told how to preserve your dividends, and you have done so with a witness.

As often happens in human affairs, the very measure you have taken to accomplish your object, (as you were credulously led to suppose,) will prove the means of its destruction.

Providence will not behold with indifference such heartless ingratitude, such abuse of authority, and perversion of influence: for, rest assured that by your unanimous vote of the 18th of March, 1825, (in as far as 575 votes are to be taken as the voice of the East India Company,) you have sealed the fate of your "dividends," and your political existence together; by this act of *felo de se*, both will soon be consigned to dissolution, and to the general reproach of Asia and of Europe.

A SILENT OBSERVER.

**FRAUD AND ATTEMPTED BRIBERY OF A RELATIVE OF A
GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT HYDERABAD.**

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Arcot, December 1824.

IN perusing the Third Number of your ably conducted periodical, the passage affording a striking proof of Asiatic demoralization, and of the general belief entertained by the Indian public, "that every Englishman has his price, and is swayed by bribes like themselves," (contained in the Diary of a Bengal Officer,) recalled to my recollection a recent instance of chicanery and cunning, opposed to the blindest stupidity, in an attempt lately made at Hyderabad, to turn the present highly respected Resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, out of his situation. The detail of the conspiracy is as follows:—

A Moonshee from the city attended some of the officers of a corps stationed in the neighbourhood of that Gomorrah: one day, in the course of conversation with one of his pupils, the subject turned on Mr. Canning, who was shortly expected to arrive as Governor-General. The officer in question casually stated to his teacher, that this event would be of considerable utility to him in forwarding his views in life, as he happened to be related to Mr. Canning. This piece of information the Moonshee greedily swallowed, and subsequently applied it to forward his views of aggrandizement by the following extraordinary method:

He had heard that Chundoo Loll, one of the Ministers of the Nizam, had a rooted aversion to the Resident, probably from the upright conduct of the latter in refusing all presents (which in that capital better deserve the appellation of bribes) in his endeavours to prevent the overseer, who has charge of the collection of the revenue, from oppressing the Ryots by exorbitant exactions, and in attempting by these means to reclaim that mis-governed country (the Nizam's territory) from ruin. Our sagacious friend, the Moonshee, then knowing how uncomfortable Chundoo Loll was under the scrutinizing eye of the Resident, bethought himself of a plan to work on the feelings of the crest-fallen Minister.

He disclosed to three or four other Moonshees, some of them in the employ of Chundoo Loll, by whose means he could only hope to gain admission to the presence of the above, the information he had obtained from his pupil before-mentioned, that he was related to the talked-of Governor-General. These confederates all agreed, that this was an excellent opportunity for cajoling the Minister out of a handsome sum, by way of a bribe, to the relative of the Governor-General, to use his influence with his patron, and get Sir Charles deprived of his appointment. These *Talib-ool-Ilms* laid this plausible story before Chundoo Loll, who eagerly caught at the bait laid for him, and presented the confederates with the sum of 10,000 rupees as a present to the officer in question. This money the Moonshees coolly shared amongst themselves. So far the affair prospered, and the unsuspecting Minister lulled himself in the hope of shortly witnessing the departure of Sir Charles from Hyderabad; but after a considerable space of time had elapsed, and seeing that the Resident was still in the enjoyment of his situation, he

naturally began to suspect some foul play, and that "ils lui en a donner d'une bonne;" he, therefore, requested the chief of the plotters to bring his pupil before him, in order to satisfy himself of the truth of the statement which had been made him. To this the Moonshee agreed, and in his next visit to his pupil, endeavoured to discover if he had any curiosity to visit the interior of the city; but seeing that his inclination was not bent in that way, our Moonshee repaired to another of his pupils, and proposed an excursion to the city, and saying he would take him to the house of a rich relative of his. To this proposal the officer agreed, and at night he was arrayed in a rich native dress by the Moonshee, put into a splendid palankeen, and conveyed safely into the palace of Chundoo Loll, where he found the great man seated in a small apartment, being at that time totally unconscious in whose presence he had the honour to be. The conversation, at the request of the Moonshee, was carried on in English between the officer and himself, and the Moonshee explained in Persian, (which the officer did not understand,) to the Minister, the sentiments of his pupil; the deluded Chundoo Loll all this time imagining that this was Mr. Canning's relative before him. The officer having remained some time, rose to depart; and the Minister, to secure more effectually the interest of the supposed relative of the Governor-General, pressed his acceptance (much to the astonishment of the officer) of a magnificent necklace. This he had philosophy enough to refuse; and making his salaam, left the closet. Our knowing friend, the Moonshee, casting a cupidinous eye at the necklace, remained behind for a short time with Chundoo Loll, and told him that he would easily persuade the officer to take the necklace, and that he had better intrust it to him. This the Minister was weak enough to do, and the Moonshee, in addition to his share of the 10,000 rupees, pocketed the jewels likewise.

Some time afterwards, the whole of this well-concerted plot was disclosed by one of the confederates turning Nizam's evidence, in revenge for having been apportioned only 500 or 600 rupees by his fellow-plotters: and the subject is now undergoing investigation.

A. B.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

As the writer of this letter has furnished his name and rank as a guarantee for the authenticity of his statement, we readily give it insertion in our pages in conformity to our uniform rule, not merely to profess, but on all occasions to prove, our sincere belief, that the utmost freedom of the press may be safely indulged, and that when both sides of a question can be fairly heard, truth will in the end prevail. That Chundoo Loll should desire Sir Charles Metcalfe's removal, appears to us most natural, after the events of his administration: and that he should be weak enough to believe, that bribes offered to the relatives of a new Governor-General might hasten his wishes, only shows that he knows something of European as well as Asiatic vices. The cure for all this would be, the utmost publicity in all state proceedings; and a Free Press would do for Hyderabad, what it has done for every city that has yet enjoyed it,—purge it of the worst of its impurities.

ACCOUNT OF THE NESSERIES, A PEOPLE INHABITING THE MOUNTAINS NEAR ALEPPO¹

THE Nesserié, who inhabit the chain of mountains to the east of the territory of Latakeea, are divided into four sects, in which we meet with a mixture of the religious practices of Paganism, of the Jewish law, of that of Mahomet and Ali, together with some of the dogmas of the Christian faith. They are distinguished by the names of *Shemlié*, or worshippers of the sun; *Clissié*, worshippers of the moon; *Ghaibie*, who worship God the Creator, absent and unknown; and *Shemelié*, who recognise no divinity. These latter are often confounded with the *Ghaibie*, on account of the identity of several of their customs.

The Nesserié have seven festivals:—Christmas, New Year's Day, the Epiphany,² the 17th of March, the 14th and 15th of April, and the 15th of October. The first two are distinguished by the name of *Conzeli*.

The young men are not initiated into the mysteries of their religion until they have attained the age of fifteen. As soon as they are thought to have shown sufficient circumspection and intelligence, one of the leading men of the village takes charge of the neophyte, carries him alone into the mountains, and gives him instruction for the space of forty days; at the end of which the young initiate returns to his parents, and has the right of wearing the turban, which was previously prohibited. This is the symbol of his initiation; from this time he designates his instructor by no other title than that of *master*. The women are regarded as forming part of the cattle of the household, and treated like slaves; they have no notions of religion; and when they are bold enough to ask for information on the subject, their masters answer that their religion consists in the reproduction of the species, and in being obedient to the will of their husbands.

During the first or second festival of the Couzeli, the men meet together, mysteriously and by night, in the house of the Sheik of the village; no stranger is admitted, and even their own women are excluded. They sit cross-legged round a large earthen vessel full of wine, into which they cast twigs of the olive-tree, and round which they arrange an uneven

¹ On the manners and religious ceremonies of the Nesserié,* known in Europe under the name of Ansari,† by Felix Dupont, Dragoman, exercising the functions of Vice-Consul of France, at Lataqué, in 1821.—Translated from the *Journal Asiatique*.

² M. Dupont unquestionably means that the Nosairis have festivals which correspond with the days on which Christians celebrate the birth of Christ and the Epiphany. It would be a curious investigation to ascertain the origin and object of each of these festivals, in the religious system of the Nosairis.—*De Saey*.

* These are the same with the Nosairis. M. Dupont uses the term Nesserié, when he speaks of an individual, and its plural Nesserié, when he speaks of the entire sect. Particulars relative to this sect may be found in Niebuhr's Travels, and also in an article by M. Rousseau on the Ismaelites and Nosairis of Syria, in the 42d number of Malte Brun's *Annales des Voyages*.—*De Saey*.

† This is the name under which M. de Volney speaks of the Nosairis, in his Travels in Egypt and Syria. Among the Arab writers, *Ansari* signifies a descendant of the inhabitants of Medina, who received Mahomet after his flight from Mecca, and declared in his favour.—*De Saey*.

number of lighted tapers. After the Sheik has prayed, and blessed the wive, he gives a portion of it to drink to every member of the assembly by turns; and it is pretended (but this is a fact which no one can verify) that, to conclude the ceremony, they put out the lights, introduce all the married women of the village, without distinction of rank or age, (the maidens and uninitiated young men being alone excepted,) and that every man seizes on the first comer, were she even his mother, his sister, or his daughter.

The Nesserîs have no sacred books. They are forbidden to write, or to note down the fundamental points of their religion, of which they have no knowledge, as has been before remarked, except through the medium of initiation and verbal instruction. They recognise each other by signs, like the Freemasons, take an oath never to divulge the mysteries of their worship, and actually resist, with heroic fortitude, the most dreadful torments and the most seductive offers. There has not been, up to this time, a single instance of apostacy in a Nesserî; nor have the Turks, by any means whatever, been able to prevail upon them to divulge their secret. They sometimes receive persons of another belief; but these are never initiated until their constancy has been subjected to a long and severe trial; and they are closely watched to the end of their lives, and immediately sacrificed if detected in the slightest indiscretion. A very remarkable and still more extraordinary circumstance is, that these strangers are frequently more fanatical than the Nesserî themselves, and quite as scrupulously attached to the inviolability of their oaths.

In proof of this, I need only adduce an instance which happened at Latakeea, and which I have heard related by several credible persons: One of the Governors of this town, who was exceedingly desirous of penetrating into the mysteries of a worship so faithfully concealed, after having martyred a great number of the Nesserî, without having been able to extract from them their secret, was so struck with their unyielding firmness, that he employed a courageous and intelligent Turk, in whom he confided, to proceed to the mountain of the Nesserî, to establish himself amongst them under some pretext or other, and to spare no pains to get himself initiated in their mysteries, in order that he might afterwards reveal them to him; promising him, if he succeeded, a considerable sum. The Turk undertook the mission. After undergoing a five years' probation, in various ways, he adopted the religion of the Nesserî, and returned to Lattakeea to dispose of his property, and to take his family with him to the mountain. His friend the Governor heard of his return, sent for him, and eagerly demanded if he had accomplished the object of his mission—if he had become a Nesserî? But what was his astonishment, when the Turk, after answering his questions in the affirmative, added, that he neither could nor would satisfy his curiosity by revealing his profession of faith; such a confidence being expressly forbidden by the new religion which he had embraced. The Governor, astonished at his refusal, and stimulated by the most eager curiosity, tried in vain to subdue him by entreaties and menaces, by anger and supplications; and at last, seeing that nothing could shake his constancy, plunged his dagger into the poor fellow's heart.

The Nesserî are circumcised, perform their ablutions like the Turks, and say their prayers at midnight and before sun-rise. They may pray sitting, standing, or walking; but they are obliged to begin anew, and

perform a second ablution, if they speak to one who is not of their religion, or if they perceive, whether near or at a distance, a camel, a pig, a hare, or a negro. In their prayers they curse the man who shaves beneath the chin, the impotent, and the calipha Omar and Abu-beer; although, in the presence of Turks, they pretend to be Mohammedans. They drink wine and spirits, but not in public; and as their festivals cannot be celebrated without wine, they substitute for it, when they have none, a decoction of raisins, to which they give at least the colour, if not altogether the taste, of wine.

They have a prophet, whom they call Heumdan-el-Gheussûbi; and they persuade the Turks that this is Mahomet. They make use indifferently of Turkish and Christian names: as, Gabriel, George, Elias, Mah-mud, Hassan, Mustapha, Ibrahim, &c. &c. They believe in Christ's mission in the character of a prophet, in the twelve Apostles, and in the four Evangelists; they even read our Gospels and our Psalms. Their year commences with that of the Greeks; and they have retained the Greek names of the months.

The Shemélié,³ who constitute the most superstitious sect, eat no female animals, nor any that are maimed, blind, or diseased; there are also some among them who never smoke tobacco. The other Nesserîe are not, in general, so scrupulous: they do not fast, they only abstain from eating the flesh of the hare, the pig, the gazelle, the camel, crabs, porcupines, eels; in a word, all fish without scales, and all shell-fish, which are generally forbidden.⁴ The Sheiks, called Ulema, or learned, are distinguished from the rest by their head-dress, and costume. They never eat out of their own houses, lest they should participate in ill-got wealth, which is in them considered a heinous offence. This conscientious scruple does not, however, actuate any other class than the literati, who perform the functions of ministers of their worship; for the rest of the people, far from imitating them in this particular, live for the most part on theft and rapine.

The Ghatbié⁵ worship a God, absent and unknown; they say that the Supreme Being, after having created man and animals, and having regulated and directed all things, rose into the air, where his spirit, his intelligence, was dispersed and disappeared, leaving the world as he had made it.

The Clissie,⁶ or worshippers of the moon, compose the most numerous sect, and are also looked upon with the greatest consideration by the others. Still the Nesserîe, of all the sects, marry indifferently with each other, without raising the slightest difficulty. Their marriages require only the consent of the Sheik, and of the farmer of the village; there is no written contract. As soon as the intended bridegroom has concluded his bargain with the parents of the bride, (for the Nesserîe purchase a wife with the same formalities as a mare or a cow,) the marriage is com-

³ This name appears to be of Arabic origin, but I know not for what reason it has been adopted by these sectaries.—*De Sacy*.

⁴ It is deserving of remark, that fish without scales, and certain kinds of shell-fish, were also proscribed by Hakem-Biaur-Allah, the founder of the religion of the Druzes.—*De Sacy*.

⁵ This name is derived from the Arabic *ghâib*, which signifies *absence*, *any thing concealed*.—*De Sacy*.

⁶ I am ignorant of the derivation of this term.—*De Sacy*.

The rejoicings begin on the Monday; the music and dancing last night and day until Thursday, when the bride is mounted on a horse, which is led round the village, preceded by a troop of young people, displaying a white handkerchief attached to the end of a cane, and accompanied by all the inhabitants of the place, men, women, and children, singing and shouting after the Arab fashion. When this ceremony is over, one of the assembly makes a collection; each of the persons present gives, according to his ability, some piece of money, and the produce of the collection is delivered to the bridegroom, and serves to furnish out a plentiful supper for the whole assembly, which afterwards disperses. The new-married couple then retire into a little building prepared for the purpose; and several of the relations or friends of the bridegroom remain at the door, until he gives them notice that the marriage is consummated, which is immediately announced to the whole village by a salute of musketry. With respect to widows, their own consent is all that is necessary for entering into a second marriage: their parents having no right to demand any thing of their intended husbands. Adultery is not punished with much severity: the husband repudiates his wife, as soon as he can prove that she has been unfaithful, receives again from her parents the price which he paid for her, and marries again, if he pleases, a day or two after. The gallant is compelled to marry the deserted fair one, or to absent himself for a year and a day; but if the adultery was committed with a foreigner, the woman is punished with death.

The Nesseric wash their dead like the Turks. Their deep mourning consists in blacking the face, loosening the turban, and letting it fall carelessly over the neck, and changing no article of dress for forty days. They all believe in the metempsychosis, and revere the memory of certain of their sheiks or santons, who have died in the odour of sanctity. They are by no means scrupulous of oaths in the name of God, which they pour forth on the most trifling occasions; for this reason the Turks place them below the Jews, and maintain that they are men without faith or law, and whose lives and properties may be violated with impunity. They even believe that it is a meritorious act for them, as Muslims, to shed the impure blood of a Nesseric.

This warlike and mountainous tribe would be strong enough to shake off the yoke of the Turks, and to maintain their independence, were they not divided by motives of interest, almost always occasioned by implacable feuds between different families. The Nesseric are vindictive, and maintain their rancour for a long time: the death even of the culprit does not appease their fury, for their vengeance is accounted insufficient, unless some one or more members of his family are included in his punishment. Their territory extends from Antioch almost to Tripoli. They occupy nearly all the mountains eastward of Latakeea, and a considerable share of the plain. This extent of country is divided into sixteen *moukattaa*, or farned divisions, of from twenty to twenty-five villages each, administered by *Moukadem*, or Governors, who receive their investiture every year from the *Mutselim* of Latakeea, and who pay annually four hundred purses of miri. Of these sixteen departments, or *moukattaa*, one is inhabited by Turks and Christians, three by Turcomans, and a fifth by the Kadamesc, a sort of idolaters, whom I shall have occasion to mention again. The remainder are inhabited by

the Nesserié and a few Christians. The total amount of their population, without reckoning those of the environs of Antioch and Aleppo, and of Caramania, where there are many Nesserié, is near forty thousand, and they occupy a hundred and eighty-two villages, thirty-two of which are in the plain. This agricultural but impoverished race are crushed by the vexations of all kinds with which they are burthened, and which frequently compel the *moukataa*, situated on the tops of the mountains, in inaccessible situations, to revolt. This completes the ruin of those parts of the country which are destitute of the means of defence, and which are ravaged without mercy by the Turkish troops in their passage. All the peasants or shepherds with whom they meet, however innocent, and although they may not even have belonged to the revolted *moukataa*, are arrested, bound, and thrown into infectious dungeons; they are commonly condemned to the *pal*, a sort of death which is especially reserved for the unfortunate Nesserié.

On the mountains which border on the territory of Tripoli, there exists another sect, which differs from that of the Nesserié, and is called Kadamésé. They occupy a *moukataa*, containing a score of villages.

THE BANDIT.

[From 'The Songs of Greece.']

A MERCHANT wound his arduous way
Down some steep mountain road,
With twenty-seven mules before,
Tottering beneath their load.

Banditti station'd 'midst the rocks,
Which choked that narrowing vale,
Stopp'd all his mules, and then prepared
To search each corded bale.

They fancied ponderous bags of gold
Within those bales must lie,
Because he begg'd them to forbear,
With tears in either eye:—

“In pity, Sir, unload the mules,
“Those wretched mules, no more;
“My back is broke, my arms are stiff,
“With loading them before!”

The savage captain fiercely cried,
His hand upon his hilt:
“Ye see this, unbelieving dog,
“Thus child of shame and guilt!”

“He only thinks about his mules,
“Nor trembles for his life!
“Where are ye all, my Pahlkars?
“Spirits of blood and strife

The Bandit.

"A poniard's point must tranquillize
 "This merchandizing slave,"
 The pitying band forbore to strike,
 Because he seem'd so brave.

But, like a tiger on his prey,
 The savage captain flew,
 And plunged a dagger in his side,
 Before that shuddering crew.

The murder'd merchant's cries were shrill,
 And then his groans were deep:
 "How will my father learn my fate,
 "My distant mother weep!"

"Where dwells thy mother? trust to me
 "The message when we meet."
 "My mother was in Arta born,
 "My father lives in Crete.

"And were the Klepht, my brother, here,
 "I ne'er had met with harm!"
 The captain caught the dying man
 With faint and trembling arm!

And bore him, wing'd with terror's speed,
 And shuddering, to a leech:
 "Oh! thou who know'st what human art
 "And direful magic teach,

"If for the niggard peasant's price,
 "Thou e'er hast cured another,
 "Now for the ransom of a king,
 "Cure *him*,—he is my brother!"

"I oft have cured such yawning gash
 "As knives and sabres deal:
 "But wounds like these thy dagger gave
 "No earthly power can heal!"

Then to his murderous brother thus
 Th' intrepid merchant said:—
 "At least, present my father these,
 "My mules, when I am dead!"

"How shall I tell my angry sire,
 "And how my weeping mother:
 "I seized on these my brother's mules,
 "And slew that guiltless brother!"

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**A BOMBAY OFFICER'S REMARKS ON THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS
FOR THE ARMY OF THAT PRESIDENCY.**

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—The interest you have ever taken in all that concerns the welfare of the Indian Army, induces me to write to you on the subject of the long expected army arrangements, which, as usual, have disappointed the greater number of those interested; the benefits, as to promotion, being confined to officers of the higher ranks, who, by becoming commandants of regiments, remain in the service for life, and thus check, for many years, the promotion of the army which was occasioned by retirement, on attaining the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and serving twenty-two years in India.

I am, however, satisfied, that the advantages to be eventually derived from each battalion becoming a regiment, far outweigh the immediate injury to a particular rank in the army, and this I believe is the general feeling.

Another branch of the new arrangements is not so satisfactory. I advert to the staff allowance of 400 rupees to each officer commanding or in charge of a regiment. The allowance to a Subaltern, and even to a Captain, is liberal; but the boon decreases, in proportion to the rank of the officer, thus:—a Major has only 200 rupees above the allowances on the old system; a Lieutenant-Colonel only 100; and the officer commanding a brigade of two or more regiments, derives no benefit whatever. This arises from other allowances being discontinued to the brigadiers, and the full batta of all commanding officers being struck off. To consider this a liberal arrangement, after so many years of hope deferred, is to suppose those who suffer from it devoid of common sense and feeling. The Madras Government have declined acting upon it; and there is a confident expectation of the batta being restored to commanding officers of regiments, and the table-money to brigadiers with retrospective effect, as never having been intentionally discontinued by the Government at home.

Nothing could be more explicit than the Court's orders with respect to the army at each Presidency being remodelled: "that each battalion should become a regiment, and that each regiment should be numbered in the order in which they were first raised and formed."

These instructions were literally carried into effect at Calcutta and Madras, but totally neglected at Bombay; only one regiment of those embodied previous to 1798-9 having received its proper number. On what principle the Court's orders have been disobeyed, it is difficult to conjecture; but it can only be temporary, if justice is done to each regiment at this Presidency, as it has been done at the other Presidencies, and agreeably to the positive letter of the orders on which the arrangement was framed.

Another arrangement at this Presidency, I cannot pass over without notice. It regards the old Marine Battalion, a corps raised at a very early period, and even distinguished by its conduct, courage, and fidelity, under the most trying circumstances. The records of Government bear ample testimony to the merits of this fine old battalion, and among other instances, the devoted attachment to the service shown by a body of them, when prisoners at the Isle of France, during the last war. Nothing could

induce them to take arms against the Government they had served, and by which their families were protected under the care of an old and respectable officer, commanding the corps at Head Quarters.

This battalion had been frequently superseded, but was at last partially restored to its rights as a regular body, by becoming the 1st battalion of the 11th regiment, the two battalions of the 12th regiment ranking below it, being raised subsequently to its being made a regiment of the line.

By the instructions of the Court, this battalion was entitled to stand very high in the line, but was numbered the 21st regiment.

Subsequently, by an order of the Bombay Government, but referable to the sanction of the Court of Directors, this fine and respectable old corps has been deprived of its officers and its number, and thrown entirely out of the line, on the principle of an extra corps, to be commanded by any Captain or Major in the service who may be selected. The first officer appointed is a Major from the European regiment, unacquainted with the men; and from never doing duty with Natives, uninformed as to their habits; their feelings, and their prejudices.

If European officers were considered useless to this corps, does it follow that so distinguished a regiment should be thrown out of the line,—a measure only heretofore resorted to where punishment for misconduct was intended? The sequel, however, will add to your surprise considerably; when I mention that the officers (European) were posted to an extra battalion raised a few years since, and which became the 21st regiment of the line, and took rank of the 22d, 23d, and 24th regiments. It is impossible but that the Native officers of the old 21st must feel hurt at this extraordinary arrangement, by which they are thrown out of the line, and their place supplied by a corps raised but a few years, and not a man of which has ever seen an angry shot fired.

I fully anticipate the Court's disapproval of this measure, and hope to see the good old corps restored to its rights, and enjoying the number to which their instructions on the subject entitle it. The decisions from home must be free from prejudice; and there can be no doubt that the most mature consideration will be given to a question which involves the interests and feelings of one of the most meritorious battalions in their service.

It had been invariably the custom of our army, that the senior regimental officer with each corps should command it, when no Lieutenant-Colonel was present; this, however, has been set aside; Majors are made transferable, and, latterly, even Captains: one being lately ordered to take charge of a regiment, and that not his own, at a garrison station. I wish to avoid comments upon this departure from an established custom of this as well as other services. That it may lead to abuse is certain; and the command of a regiment may, in time, be considered in the light of a staff-appointment, and conferred by interest to the injury of officers who have served steadily with their corps; nor can I admit that the principle is less unjust, because it has not hitherto been carried to extremes. The customs of a service should be sacred, as innovation, once admitted, places the rights of officers entirely at the mercy of power which is not always accompanied by judgment, although it may be good intentions.

Bombay, Dec. 1, 1821.

A BOMBAY OFFICER.

RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE AT RELICS OF THE OLDEN TIME.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,—Ever since I had an opportunity of observing the liberal spirit, and the patriotic, or rather the philanthropic tendency, of the *Oriental Herald*, I have indulged the ambition of finding myself among your correspondents, if you would accept such occasional communications as can be expected from a writer who has passed his grand climacteric.

While we *avant-coureurs* in the journey of life are obliged to slacken our pace, and can now only maintain (as portrayed in Addison's beautiful allegory) "a hobbling march on the broken arches" of Mirza's bridge, we are continually missing another and another, among the few surviving companions of our way. Whither, then, shall one repair, who has proved the "vanity and vexation of spirit" inseparable from length of days, while his mortal associates are falling beside him, but to his "immortal friends in his closet"? Thus, daily experiencing how rare is the appearance of an old friend, I am more and more disposed to cultivate a friendly intercourse with old books; and would offer you, now and then, as your limits and my leisure, health, or inclination shall allow, the result of such conversations as I may hold with those *venerables*.

I propose to pay a peculiar attention to what may occur on the topography, the manners and customs, or the early history of the East, conformably to the principal character of your work; not, however, to the exclusion of topics which interest, or at least deserve to interest, civilized man, wherever he may be found. While too often encountering some monument of human folly, to which the impartial press has afforded an unmerited preservation, I would especially offer a grateful homage, however inadequate, to the memory of those genuine benefactors of mankind, who opposed themselves, often at their imminent peril, to the errors and prejudices of their times; anticipating, and thus frequently advancing, the improvements of a later age: all, of whatever colour, creed, or climate,

Who taught with truth, or with persuasion mov'd;
Who sooth'd with numbers, or with sense improv'd;
Who told the powers of reason, or refin'd,
All, all that strengthen'd or adorn'd the mind.

While amusing myself with such a project, and somewhat fondly relying on "life's futurities," sixty-five of my years are "numbered and finished." I shall, therefore, by your leave, indulge the fancy of considering no book or pamphlet as belonging to *The Olden Time*, unless it were published, or at least written, before I was born.¹ Thus, while rambling now and then into the overpraised "good times of Queen Bess," or even

¹ There are few occupations that afford us more delight than that of casting a backward glance on days gone by. The past has for us much more pleasures than the future, and we shall be glad to add to the enjoyments of the present, by bringing out the hidden treasures of the past to our aid. We shall receive our venerable correspondent's communications with unmixed satisfaction; and we only hope that his excellent example will stimulate many who are not so far advanced into the autumn of life (its winter so warm-hearted a philanthropist can never feel) to contribute their occasional aid to the re-production and re-enjoyment of relics of *The Olden Time*.—ED.

into the times of the English Nero, (her merciless sire,) and more frequently into the seventeenth than into the later century, the year 1760, famous for the birth of several millions besides myself, and in which commenced the eventful reign of George III., will strictly bound any approaches towards the *time-present*.

Should you encourage my design by accepting this introduction, I will soon submit to the ordeal of your editorial judgment No. 1 of *The Olden Time*.

April 22, 1825.

SENILEUSJ

A BENGAL OFFICER'S OPINIONS ON THE MILITARY PROSPECTS
OF INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Bengal, Nov. 15th, 1824.

It is now but a short period since I wrote to you on the state of this country, particularly as it regarded Military affairs; yet my prognostications are fast fulfilling. We have had a mutiny in one of the Native Regiments and a terrible, though necessary example has been made: but it is now highly necessary that other steps should be taken by this Government; a course of conciliation, and of measures to raise the respect and credit of this Army, and (if not too late) to attach them to the Government: they require to be treated with that consideration which is due to their importance in maintaining our ascendancy in the East. For many years past a contrary system has been pursued, and we are now feeling the effects of it. Desertions are taking place by hundreds from the troops ordered on service, and, ere long, they will take place by thousands, while the Native Powers in every quarter are ready to rise against us. We have no channel in this country by which we can make the Government acquainted with the real state of things: and I, as a duty, take this method of expressing my conviction, that unless the Native Army of this country is treated with more consideration, the country is lost. It is very evident that an army, constituted as the Native Armies of the Company are, must take its tone from its European Officers; and when they feel that every act of the Government tends to their degradation, can they, or will they, uphold the Service to their men? I have done all I can, as an individual, to save them from an error, the consequences of which are now so serious. If free and temperate discussion had been allowed in the public prints of this country, things never could have come to this pass; but our rulers having obstinately determined upon one erroneous system,—of seeking information from the Civil portion of the Service only; they have gone on in error, and I almost fear it is too late to retrieve it. It has heretofore been the generally expressed opinion of the Civil Service, that the military influence has no effect whatever upon the collections of the revenue; we shall now see who are most capable of judging of the true interests of the country, and what dependence is to be placed upon interested opinions, at variance with common sense. A Government that is held solely by its military preponderance, never can afford to treat that branch of its establishment with the contempt which this has experienced of late.

MILES.

APPEAL TO PROPRIETORS OF INDIA STOCK.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I am surprised that such able and independent Proprietors of East India Stock as Sir Charles Forbes, the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, Mr. Hume, and many others, do not more frequently convene General Courts of Proprietors, now that the advantage resulting to the public interest at large from such discussions have been made so fully evident from what has transpired since the debates on the Hyderabad Papers.

Until then I was, myself, disposed to believe that General Courts produced little or no effect; but I am now quite satisfied that their want of efficacy has proceeded only from the indolence and supineness of some, and the interested inducements of others, to render them as little frequent as possible; by which means, scarcely any opportunity offers for exposing and discussing abuses, which might otherwise be eradicated. Supposing, however, such General Courts to be held only every quarter, or even every two months, the interval is too great to keep alive that interest which must be preserved to work with effect.

There are many, Sir, who have a strong aversion to General Courts, because they fear the exposure of defects and correction of abuses, by which they profit. Still, a very large majority of the Proprietors have a direct interest, and I hope a desire, to induce them to seek a reform, and to improve every branch of the Service.

Some, through indolence, and many through ignorance, believe the Court of Directors to possess sufficient abilities and inclinations to do all that is desirable, without the stimulus of General Courts; and conclude that the aid of the Board of Control is all that is required. They are, however, much mistaken; and should recollect that although the Board of Control does some little good, and prevents some abuses, it is not in its province to originate measures.

Let the reflecting Proprietor, who is disposed to intrust carelessly the happiness and prosperity of seventy millions of our fellow-creatures, and the entire management of a most extensive empire, to 24 persons, notoriously engaged in various other occupations, some directly at variance with the duties they have to perform as Directors, consider how few of that number are even *considered* to be able and intelligent in the various occupations for which they were expressly educated. Again, let him consider how much of their time is necessarily devoted to the promotion of their own affairs, as well as that of their numerous friends, and it will be found that very little time is left to apply to their duties as Directors. Not much inquiry is requisite to discover how few, except the Chairman and his Deputy, attend at the India House, excepting on Court days; nor to find out how they are employed when they are there.

It may be asked then, *who* conducts all the business as it is now carried on? The best answer is, perhaps, to be found in the reply given by Mr. Astell, as Chairman, to Mr. D. Kinnaird's question, as to how it

happened that a letter of the Bengal Government, which the Court considered as very important, regarding the license to the house of Messrs. Palmer and Co. to make loans to the Nizam, remained unanswered from the India House for two years? The answer of the Chairman was this: that the delay was owing to one of the Examiners having died, and another being sick! Confessedly admitting, that without these Examiners there was no one who could or would perform the duty. Hear this, ye Proprietors of India Stock, and judge for yourselves!

The Court of Directors have a great aversion to General Courts; the reasons are too evident. The Company's interests, however, and the interests of India, as well as of the British public, demand that they should be more frequently held. If they even assembled once a month, more good would be effected in twelve months, than is likely to be produced by the prevailing system in as many years. Surely nine independent Proprietors (for no more are required to sign a requisition) can be found for this purpose. Let them only exert this privilege, and incalculable benefits may even yet result therefrom.

AN OLD PROPRIETOR OF * *.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

It was said of old, "that if ten righteous men could be found in Sodom, they might have saved their city." It was, however, destroyed; from which we may infer that the required ten could not be found. In the present instance, our Correspondent thinks that if nine active, zealous, honest, and independent men could be found among the 3000 Proprietors of India Stock, the body to which they belong might still be redeemed from much of the odium, as well as positive loss, which certainly awaits them. Perhaps he is right: but where are the nine to be found? We can state, of our own knowledge, that when it was wished to call a General Court for the sake of taking into consideration the question of a Free Press in India, the most important that could occupy the attention of any public assembly, nine signatures could not be obtained in all London! The three individuals named by our Correspondent first signed it; the two next were persons living at a distance from London, whose signatures could only be obtained by a journey into the country; the sixth and seventh names were given through mere courtesy; the eighth, it is believed, from principle; and the last, after much solicitation, merely to complete an otherwise hopeless requisition!—Such are the Proprietors of East India Stock! On a subsequent occasion, where the same subject had to be debated, the requisition was filled with scarcely less difficulty. The names of three persons favourable to the object in question were obtained; the fourth was given as a matter of personal favour; the three next from motives of a strong interest in the question, but under much hazard, to the individuals, two of whom were still in the Company's service; and the two last, from motives that are unknown, but it is believed, mere accommodation to the individual. After this, what public questions can obtain nine signatures to call a General Court every month? We answer, None. The Court of Directors are strongly interested in preventing them; and the Proprietors at large are not interested in their being held. Unless, therefore, some oppressed individual has a case to bring forward, and enlists a few benevolent as well as public-spirited friends on his behalf, no requisition can be got up. That this is a disgrace to the general body we admit. But the remedy is in making the dividends an *actual* instead of a *nominal* thing, in taking off the restriction which confines them to 10 per cent., and making them rise or fall, as the profits of the good, and the losses of the bad, government of India may affect them. The hope of profit, and the dread of loss, will bring crowded Courts; while honour, justice, and public principle would harangue to empty benches.

EFFECT OF THE LATE DECISION AGAINST THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—When our country, or any portion of it, is in danger, supineness is criminal: I do therefore loudly proclaim, that our possessions in India are in danger.

The time is again arrived, when, in the emphatic language of that eminent statesman, Warren Hastings, (by whose magnanimity and transcendent talents India was preserved to Britain when assailed by perils the most appalling,) it may with truth be asserted, "That our existence there is suspended by a thread so fine, that the touch of Chance may break, or the breath of Opinion dissolve it."

With reference to this state of things, the historian of the present period will have to record the remarkable but lamentable concurrence, that whilst India rises up, and with outstretched arms, implores the return of the Marquis of Hastings, a portion or party of that community which he so long, so zealously, and so beneficially served, was at the same moment straining every nerve in the capital of the British empire, to calumniate the character, and stigmatize the conduct, of that illustrious nobleman.

When every document and every page, having reference to his government of India, was in vain scrutinized with malevolent assiduity, and the English language ransacked to misconstrue or pervert the honest meaning of every word or sentence that may have been written in private confidence, or in the warmth of unsuspecting friendship; when all this, I say, proved abortive in affording any semblance of corrupt motives, or collusive conduct, the talons of vindictive persecution were made to grasp another theme, endeavouring to brand the character of Lord Hastings with the charge of criminal favouritism; with reference to the incidental indulgence of the best feelings of our nature, and the discharge of the most sacred obligation which can devolve on mankind—viz., the promoting the welfare of the offspring of departed friends, solemnly consigned to our protection! Under such invidious construction, might not all patronage or persons in authority be liable to the same imputation? What! according to this view, is all the vast patronage of the India House but favouritism? Do not the Directors bestow their patronage on their own connexions and their friends, and their friends' friends, to the exclusion of the destitute offspring of old and faithful servants, who have served them long and well; unless they can by any means gain access to individual favour? Were all the community admitted to claim a share of that vast patronage, would not hundreds and thousands of young men of superior, or at all events of equal qualification and pretensions, present themselves to their choice? But, no! Such is the condition of their office, and such its best reward: the indulgence of the most grateful feelings of the heart. And is it, then, in the person of the Marquis of Hastings only, that any indulgence of such feelings is to be denounced as a high crime and misdemeanor? Heaven forbid such perversion and injustice! and the voices and parties which have aimed at that imputation will be consigned to the oblivious pity of mankind; whilst the beneficent character, and the splendid achievements and virtues of the Marquis of Hastings,

will continue to adorn the page of history, and be justly held forth as a bright example to future generations. Favouritism, in its worst form, can only be deemed culpable when it operates to the disadvantage of the state, or the injury of individuals. Now, in regard to the instance in question, it has been ably contended, and remains to be disproved, that its operation was actually beneficial to the state, and in nowise injurious or prejudicial to any individual whatsoever.

But I am not content to rest the character of the Marquis of Hastings on a negative comparison. I do confidently assert, without fear of contradiction on any fair grounds, that at no period of our Indian administration, for the last fifty years, has favouritism been less prevalent; or fitness and capacity, qualification and merit, been so much attended to in the selection for office, and the bestowal of appointments, as under Lord Hastings's government; during which, the character of the service was exalted, and the best interests of the state promoted and secured. I do not except from this general position even the administration of the great, the good, the revered Lord Cornwallis, to whom I always looked up with veneration, as an ornament to the peerage, an honour to his profession, and one of the most exalted characters of the age in which he lived. But all who remember that period, will also recollect, that the amiable qualities of his Lordship's mind, yielding to the interposition of those around him, very often allowed the needle of patronage to be attracted to the north of the Tweed.

But enough on this score. The same jaundiced eye and cavilling spirit might equally apply the same ungracious construction to most of the patronage of every Government, or men in power. Do not all occasionally indulge such feelings?—Aye! and very properly and necessarily so, for upholding the fabric of Government; whilst in such indulgence they derive their best reward and most soothing consolation, for the turmoil of office, and the asperities to which all who are in public life are exposed.

Reviewing, then, the passing events of the present times, the historian, I fear, will have to record, with reference to mismanagement abroad, and a malign influence at home, that the downfall of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, was sealed in Leadenhall-street, under the dictatorship of William Astell, in the year of our Lord 1824-5.

GANGETICUS.

SUGGESTIONS FOR AN EXTENSION OF COLONIAL INFORMATION.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I am a constant reader of your able and useful Work; and as it appears to be conducted with a view to public objects and the general good, it has occurred to me that a few succinct suggestions from time to time, principally intended to glance at particular subjects on which information and elucidation promise to be both useful and acceptable to the public, may be candidly received. There being at present a pressure on my time, and your day of publication being at hand, it is not practicable to do more than put down a few hasty sentences.

It has been the misfortune of Britain, that her people and rulers have remained in great ignorance relative to her transmarine possessions. If

your work be perseveringly conducted in a way to remove this ignorance, as it regards our Eastern possessions, and the Eastern countries generally, it will effect a most important end. It is pleasing to observe that you do not limit yourself to India, but regularly give us intelligence from New South Wales and various other countries lying to the East of the Cape of Good Hope, as well as from that territory itself. I should hope, however, that with the extension of your correspondence, and progress of your arrangements generally, you may be able to give fuller information. For example, if you could command leisure deliberately to inspect the file of Sydney Gazettes; this, joined to your letters from that quarter, and the oral accounts of some of the many intelligent individuals whom duty or interest leads to pass some time in that colony, and return thence, would, probably, enable you to draw up articles fraught with unexpected information. The public is ill-informed on many points of the geography of that region, which is the more interesting at the present juncture, on account of its being adapted to the colonization of whites.

While papers, and almost volumes are written on the question of the course of the Niger, and perilous journeys undertaken to ascertain it, it is remarkable that we should have been so slow to explore parts of New Holland, not very distant from our existing settlements, and that the public should evince no curiosity on the subject. The North Eastern part of that great island should be particularly interesting to us, as lying between the settlement of Port Jackson in its present extent, and those of Van Dieman's Land. If the country north of Bass's Straits, and bordered to the eastward by the Pacific, should prove a fertile one, which it may do, even if we had complete proofs of the whole of its coasts being barren and dreary, it would be an important discovery. It has been reported, on what specific authority I forget, that a fresh water river falls into Port Philip, *though the intention of founding a settlement there was given up on account of there being no fresh water.* That was the reason assigned by Colonel Collins, I believe. The discoveries made by land have justly taught us to distrust merely maritime inspection. Captain Cook passed Port Jackson by without notice. Flinders was, I think, a good while in Moreton Bay, yet did not discover the Brisbane; and several other rivers have, of late years, been discovered along the east coast, that had not been known, so far as I know, to any navigator. A succinct history of what has been done in geographical research in that region, with a statement of what remains to be accomplished, and the best conjectures that on present grounds can be formed, would be a curious and useful article.

A history of the unfortunate Colony at Algoa Bay would, in your hands, form another such article.

As a general observation, I should recommend *retrospect*. It may be very well for the poet to act on Horace's advice, and after Homer's example,—

Et in medias res,
Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit;—

but the public writer, whose aim is not to confound but to instruct, and to lead his reader from real facts and correct dates, to sound conclusions, will carry him back to what has preceded, and put him in possession of all the miscellaneous circumstances necessary towards the full understanding of the case and question. And here is seen the judgment and

skill of one really fitted to be a public instructor. Such a one, however, fully and minutely informed himself, enters into the ignorance of others, and supplies the specific means of its removal.

You would probably do well, now that the enlargement of its size admits additional matter, to give in your publication the earliest practicable reports of Debates in both Houses of Parliament. Your Indian readers, especially, will not like to be referred to Hansard; and methinks, the *Oriental Herald* cannot be conceived complete, or to correspond to its title, unless the matter above alluded to be regularly admitted.

In case of these proving welcome, I may, at a future time, trouble you with a few more remarks and hints.

April, 26, 1825.

ILL EX.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We are obliged to our kind Correspondent, for the interest he evinces in the success and utility of our labours; and approving of most of his suggestions, we print them, in order that we may accompany them with a promise to do our best to adopt them as opportunity may admit.

DEFENCE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S NAVAL SERVICE.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I am a constant reader and great admirer of your Work; but as an old officer in the Company's Naval Service, I cannot allow the article in your last Number, on the 'Disadvantages of Indianmen Sailing Singly' to pass without severe censure. The letter from Admiral W. B. Page, I read with mixed feelings of contempt and indignation: bad he confined himself to urging the necessity of two ships sailing in company, and of adopting precautionary measures to prevent fire when drawing off spirits, I might have agreed with him; but even in his observation on the latter subject, he has betrayed gross ignorance of the present system; for, I believe, very few, if any of the Commanders, permit spirits to be drawn off in the hold or spirit-room; and assuredly, the melancholy accident on board the *Kent* did not arise from that cause. His strictures on the want of discipline in the Company's ships are founded in error; and his remark about the folly and injury of hazarding the lives of our brave soldiers in any but King's ships, is perfectly absurd. The discipline on board Indianmen is sufficient for all purposes of safety and comfort. The ships are of a very fine class; and the commanders and officers are, in point of seamanship, as efficient as the officers of the Royal Navy; and, not unfrequently, decidedly superior as navigators. For a confirmation of these assertions, I confidently appeal to the thousands who have sailed in Indianmen. I have the highest respect for the King's Service, and am most unwilling to draw invidious comparisons; but, when I find one of its Admirals gratuitously heaping unmerited reproaches upon the East India Naval Service, for want of discipline, skill, and safe ships, I cannot be silent. I can only conclude, that his comments are the effect of antiquated notions, blind prejudice, or puerile dotage.

DERENSON.

London, 10th May, 1825.

A COURTEOUS LETTER FROM SOME GREAT UNKNOWN—IN BROAD STREET.

Broad Street, April 1825.

AN Occasional Reader of THE ORIENTAL HERALD is desirous of affording the Editor an opportunity of correcting a palpable misstatement, which appears in the Supplement to his Journal for the present month.

In the 'Sketch of the Six Days' War at the India House,' as the writer is pleased to term it, 'taken on the spot,' he has imputed to Mr. WEEDING, one of the speakers on that occasion, the following observation:—"No one, said the honourable Proprietor, in Catholic countries, heard of a more profitable pilgrimage to Mecca than this;" and then the writer goes on to say, "until Mr. Weeding made the discovery, we never knew that the Catholics of Italy or Spain were in the habit of offering their devotions at the shrine of the Arabian Prophet."

Now, to this statement the writer of the present article, who attended during the whole of the six days' debate, is desirous to give the flattest contradiction. He *denies*, in the first place, that Mr. Weeding once alluded even in the slightest degree to the journey of Mr. Palmer's Moonshoe to Arabia, or to the liberal allowance which he received from the Nizam's Minister to cheer him on his pilgrimage. No allusion whatever to the circumstance having been made by Mr. Weeding in his speech, the "blunder" becomes that of the author of the Sketch, and the "general laughter," which was never heard of till it appeared in the pages of the Oriental Herald, is converted into a smile of contempt for the malice of the writer, and compassion for his weakness, who, in his endeavour to affix ridicule upon a Gentleman that is far above it, is compelled to invent a falsehood for the purpose.

To show the total disregard evinced by the writer of the Sketch, though "taken on the spot," of the truth even of the commonest circumstance, and his incapacity therefore to give a just description, he affirms, that Mr. Weeding spoke on the *first* day's debate, whereas it was not till the *third* day that he had an opportunity of addressing the Court. He describes the same Gentleman as speaking from the extremity of the Court. On the contrary, he spoke from the midst of it, being not more than six seats from the floor of the Court.¹

The Editor of The Oriental Herald is now called upon, by his Occasional Reader, to contradict the false statement of the author of the Sketch as publicly as he has given insertion to it.

If the Editor will consult the notes of his short-hand writer, he will there learn, that on the *first* day indeed, a Gentleman, the very first who entered at large into the subject, did allude to the Pilgrimage to Mecca, but in very different terms from those stated in the Supplement to the Oriental Herald. The Gentleman here meant, though he has never been in Palestine, or in Arabia, is as well informed on the customs of the Roman Church and those of the Musulman Creed as any Protestant Gen-

¹ These are two such important facts that they deserve especial notice. We shall recommend reporters in future to take accurate instruments with them into Court, to measure the exact distances of the speakers from the chair. According to our own notion, six seats from the floor may well be called the extremity, as the speakers rarely or ever ascend beyond it, as far at least as we have seen.—E.D.

tleman of liberal education may be supposed to be. The imputation, therefore, if applied to him, would be equally unfounded:

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

The writer of this article is as much entitled to be heard as any one else: but, if he be a Gentleman, which some will doubt when they read the coarse language of his production, he ought to know that, in common courtesy, when one man accuses another of palpable misstatement, of contemptible malice, of invested falsehood, and gives "the flattest contradiction" to his assertions, he ought to do so openly, signing his name at the foot of his letter, and letting the world, as well as his adversary, see *who* is this mighty champion, whose word is to be taken as true, though no one knows what are *his* pretensions to be believed above another, whose assertions he denounces as false. It is difficult to imagine a greater degree of arrogance than that exhibited by such a pretender to infallibility; or a greater degree of ignorance than that which could lead a person to believe that any one would pay the least attention to his dogmatism. An anonymous reasoner will be believed on the strength of his arguments: an anonymous assertor and denier, on the accuracy of his facts: but when A. declares that a thing is true, and B. contends that the same thing is false, the result is, that readers give implicit credit to neither. We were ourselves prevented by continued illness from attending the Court during either of the Six Days' Debate: but the writer of the article in question *did* attend, and wrote from notes taken on the spot. If he confounded Mr. Weeding with some other speaker, there was no malice in the deed. There were so many dull orations delivered, that this error might well be forgiven: and when Mr. Weeding attains the eminence of Mr. Canning or Mr. Brougham, he will be safe from such mistakes of the reporters. At present he must be content to rank among the many equally distinguished speakers, whose names are not known beyond the range of Leaden-hall-street, and not even to every one there.

LETTER OF THE ABBÉ DUBOIS, ON THE STATEMENTS CONTAINED
IN 'THE FRIEND OF INDIA.'

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,

Paris, March 1, 1825.

I HAVE read throughout with attention 'The Friend of India,' No. X., in which the author endeavours to refute what I have published on the state of Christianity in India: no part, however, of what he advances, has been sufficient to convince me that I was in error, nor to induce me to blot out a single paragraph of what I had previously written. What I have been particularly shocked at, in this production, is, the vehemence and the tone of acrimony and animosity which characterize it, and also the scurrilous expressions and injurious terms continually repeated therein, not only against myself personally, but also against all Missionaries of the Catholic religion generally, who are represented as fanatics, ignorant persons, cheats, impostors, liars, emissaries of Antichrist, &c. &c. I had always thought that this style of writing had been left to the polemical works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that good education, and the purity of modern manners, had entirely banished it from the productions of the present day, in which it was only employed by writers who, having a desperate cause to support, endeavour to supply their deficiency of plausible arguments by invective and insult. Under this persuasion, I had carefully abstained in my work from all offensive personality, and had confined myself within the strictest limits of moderation and decency.

Another serious subject of reproach against the author of 'The Friend

of India,' is, the want of fidelity which pervades nearly the whole of the quotations from my work, which are generally mutilated, altered, falsified, or even altogether forged. He takes pleasure in attributing to me sentiments the most absurd, and, at the same time, the most odious; and tortures his imagination to deduce from my principles the most extravagant consequences.

In my letters on the state of Christianity in India, I discussed the two following questions:—1. Does there exist a well-founded hope of propagating the Christian religion in India? 2. Will the communication of the Bible, translated into the idioms of the country, to the Pagan Hindoos, conduce to this desirable end? These questions I determined in the negative; and maintained, first, That in the actual state of things, there exists no human means of converting the Hindoos to Christianity; and, secondly, That the barbarous and almost unintelligible versions of the Bible, at present profusely circulated among them, not only will not produce the desired effect, but will lead to a directly contrary result, by increasing the aversion entertained by these people against the Christian doctrines.

The author of 'The Friend of India' undertakes to combat these two assertions, and emphatically promises the speedy conversion to the Protestant religion, of the five or six hundred millions of idolaters who inhabit Asia, as well as of all the people of the earth. According to him, the time is not far distant when the lion shall lie down in peace with the lamb, and the warrior shall turn his sword into a ploughshare, and then universal peace and happiness, under the mild and pacific dominion of Christ, shall be the inheritance of all the nations of the world. To destroy my assertions, the author has called into contribution all the metaphors, allegories, hyperboles, and parables, which he has been able to discover in the Old and New Testaments; with the assistance of which, by giving to them the interpretation most adapted to his subject and his opinions, he thinks that he has victoriously refuted me. It remains, however, to know whether his readers and mine, especially those who are acquainted with the actual state of things in India, will possess the same conviction with himself, and will draw from his premises the same conclusions.

He next undertakes to show, at very considerable length, that the only cause which has rendered futile, during the last three or four centuries, all the efforts of the Catholic religion to convert Pagans, has consisted in its not having commenced, like himself and his associates, by circulating among them the Bible; but he announces, with the fullest confidence, that now that he and his friends have begun the work in a proper manner, the word of God cannot fail to produce its effects; and this position he endeavours to establish by several passages of Scripture. Dilating on the universal victory which the Bible is speedily about to obtain over idolatry, he repeats his gross and injurious epithets against the Catholic religion and its Missionaries, and affirms that this corrupt religion is unworthy of so brilliant a conquest; that this must be the work of the Protestant church or rather of the Bible alone; inasmuch that, in this author's opinion, it is not necessary even to send Missionaries to convert Pagans, it being quite sufficient to transmit to them several millions of Bibles, without explanations and without comment, and this alone will be fully adequate to effect the desired result. To these points, the two hundred pages of 'The Friend of India' are reducible.

May it not be remarked, that if the tree be to be judged according to its fruits, the hopes of this author appear to be purely chimerical? Thirty years have already elapsed since Protestant Missionaries have been numerous throughout India. During that interval, they have circulated in the country upwards of a million of Bibles, and after thirty years of uninterrupted labour, they reckon yet, according to the acknowledgment of the author himself, only one thousand proselytes. May we not, at the sight of so paltry a success, apply to these gentlemen the fable of the *Mons parturien*, which, after having uttered, during a long period, cries which resounded through the world, and gave rise to apprehensions of a terrible convulsion of nature, at length brought forth a mouse? During thirty years, it may be said to them, you have filled the whole of Europe with the most pompous reports of the happy effects of the Bible on the people of Asia! There, you have said, are five or six hundred millions of children whom she is ready to bring forth from the ruins of superstition! These are the news which we announce to you with the fullest confidence, and the completion of which you will speedily witness! But how does it happen? Might even the most credulous and the least clear-sighted reply to them, that after the Bible has been for thirty years in the most severe labour, during which you have caused it to utter cries which have resounded throughout Europe, and excited in all, expectations of the most glorious events, instead of bringing forth millions, it gives birth, in all the strength of its youth, to only a single thousand, and even those mere abortions, the greater part of which perish by apostacy, almost as soon as they are born?

The author endeavours to derive consolation, if not in the number of the newly-born children of the Bible, at least in their quality. They are, according to his description, the purest gold; and if we were inclined to give implicit credence to his account of them, they leave far behind them, in the purity of their faith, in the tenderness of their devotion, and in the fervour of their piety, the Christians of the apostolic ages. I know not whether he will find, even at the distance of six thousand leagues from the scene of action, people simple enough to give credit to such stories. For myself, who have just arrived from the country, and who know its situation, I am unable to conceive how any one dare thus abuse the credulity of the weak and ignorant. I offer one authentic fact, among many others of the same kind which might be quoted, which was long the subject of conversation in all the societies of India, and which will by no means tend to confirm the brilliant description given by the author of the fervour of his Biblical Christians:

About two years before my departure from India, the Protestant Missionaries of Serampore found themselves under the necessity of discharging from their service all their new converts, whom they had employed in their printing-house in order to furnish them with the means of subsistence. These new Christians having lost their caste by embracing Christianity, and finding themselves deserted and without any resource in society, presented a Memorial to Dr. Middleton, the English Bishop of Calcutta, laying before him their melancholy situation, and calling on him for protection; explaining to him, that when the Missionaries had induced them to become Christians, they had promised to supply them with the means of existence, and begging of him to use his interdiction to compel them to fulfil this promise; declaring, that they should otherwise

be reduced to the dreadful necessity of perishing by hunger, deserted and abhorred as they now were by their Pagan relatives and friends. The Bishop inquired into the affair; and the Missionaries alleged, in their justification, that they had been compelled to act in this manner, because these wretches, after their conversion to Christianity, had become so vicious, and especially so intemperate, that they feared lest the sight of the daily and scandalous excesses committed by them should pervert the whole of their Pagan workmen. Such are these Christians, who, in this author's opinion, are equal, if they do not surpass in fervour, those of the Primitive Church.

Has the author of 'The Friend of India' forgotten the history of the famous Arab, Nathanael Sabas,¹ who, after having been baptized a few years since by Dr. Kever of Madras, was taken into the service of the Missionaries of Serampore, to assist them in translating the Bible into Arabic and Persian? Has he forgotten the pompous praises of his faith and of his fervour, which they published so emphatically in England and elsewhere? Have they forgotten what was published with respect to him by Dr. Claudius Buchanan, among others, who was not ashamed to disgrace the pulpits of the churches of London, by introducing in his sermons an eulogium of the lively faith of this impostor, to whom he dared to apply the name of the "Star of the East," and whom he represented as the "Apostle destined by Providence to cause the sun of truth to shine throughout the whole of Asia?" Have they forgotten that this cheat, after having completely duped them for three or four years, during which they supported him in a splendid manner, was detected in an unworthy abuse of the confidence which he had secured by his hypocrisy, and in the very act of making use of the free access he enjoyed to the presses of the mission, to employ them in the printing of Arabic productions defamatory in their character, and highly injurious to the Christian religion, and to the British Government? Do they not remember, that when he could no longer conceal his knavery, he declared that he had never been a Christian, and that he had only pretended to be so, in order to become thoroughly acquainted with the doctrine and mysteries of the Christian religion, for the purpose of combating them more effectually? This wretch died in exile, in the island of Penang, invoking Mahomet, and blaspheming Jesus Christ. Such was the eclipse of the "Star of the East," and thus terminated the existence of the "Apostle destined to cause the sun of truth to shine throughout the whole of Asia."

At some future period, when I shall have more leisure than I now possess, I propose to give a more extensive review of 'The Friend of India': in doing so, I shall endeavour to confine myself within the limits of moderation and decency, and shall certainly not soil my pen, by casting back, upon this author, the foul words and the insults with which he has loaded me and those who share in my opinions.

J. A. DUBOIS, Priest,
(formerly Missionary in Mysore.)

¹ Evidently the same person mentioned under the name of Sabat, at page 589 of our present Number, held up by the Missionaries as one of those especially provided and prepared by God to assist them in their great work of diffusing Christianity!—Ed.

**SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA AND
OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.**

BENGAL.

Our last accounts showed that the present state of India was pregnant with alarming expectation; but little or no public intelligence of any importance has arrived from the East during the past month; which is not surprising, while it is the policy of the East India Company to keep the people of England as ignorant as possible of the real condition of their territories; and while, to ensure the attainment of this object, their servants abroad are authorized to put down all public opinion there by visiting with arbitrary punishment and ruin, those who dare to state the truth. Being so well provided with means of keeping every one in darkness but themselves, these Directors, through the permission of the British Parliament, are farther enabled to mislead the public here by letting out only so much of the official despatches as may be calculated to give a favourable impression, while they conceal the rest. We stated, in our last Number, that the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, regarding the circumstances of the mutiny and massacre at Barrackpore, had reached this country; but although some explanation of that shocking transaction is so loudly demanded, they are still kept secret. The public newspapers of England now assert, that the number killed was nearly six hundred; out of a corps of little more than seven hundred men; which is still worse than the darkest picture that had ever before been given. So far from any resistance being intended by the unhappy victims, we are assured; that even when they were mercilessly fired upon and sabred, although they had arms in their hands loaded, not a single musket was discharged in self-defence! Not one circumstance is alleged to take from it the character of a wanton cold-blooded massacre; and if there were facts to prove the contrary, would the East India Company conceal them? Does it think that the British public will be satisfied with silence on such a subject? or, like the Roman Senate when it heard the shrieks of *Marius's* victims, accept as a sufficient reply, that it was only some criminals which had been ordered to be executed? During the last twenty years, we have read a great deal of declamation about the massacre of Jaffa, the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, &c.; but in the history of military executions, it will be difficult to find a parallel for that of Barrackpore; and the Company may find, that even its two millions of Indian tribute will not bribe the voice of a British public to approve of the slaughter, in cold blood, of five or six hundred unresisting men, almost under the walls of the palace of its Oriental Ruler. All the waters of the Ganges will not wash out that foul stain from its history; nor will the wealth of Golconda gild the bloody page that records it to posterity. Sir E. Paget has the character of being a brave as well as an honourable man; and if there be circumstances of justification which would set this passage of his life in a fairer point of view, he has, indeed, much to complain of against those who wrap it up in dark and suspicious concealment. Theirs is the blame, if injustice be done him. We contend for nothing but publicity, and wish not that he or any member of the Indian Government should be condemned without a fair and open trial, although it denies that justice to others. But the injustice in-

flicted on individuals by the system of concealment is as nothing, compared with the deep and lasting injury sustained by the people of India. Therefore we shall persevere in our efforts to make known the true situation of our Eastern empire, from the private sources of information in our possession; since all public channels of communication are obstructed or rendered worthless.

We have received some interesting letters on the general state of the country of Bengal, as observed by those on the spot in the course of the last year. The cultivation of the soil is described as having been greatly extended, but not at all improved in quality. By the splitting of large estates and other natural causes (among which we may mention one, the tax of ninety per cent. laid by the Company on the rent of every Zumeendar) "all the old and respectable families, all the landed aristocracy, were sinking into the earth, and nothing growing up in their room. The whole tribe of *Bunyas*, (which we may translate usurers,) who lend their money to the petty farmers, and get a lien on the crop, are thriving and fattening under our system. Almost every new brick edifice in the towns or large villages belongs to a *Bunya*. The old prejudices against Colonization are fast wearing out, and the vital necessity of that measure begins to be perceived. In this respect, it is admitted, that the 'Calcutta Journal' hastened the spread of just opinions greatly."

The effect of the general course of policy pursued for the last two years, has at last produced a prostration of the understanding, that would even satisfy the Bishop of London. The alarm which exists at the idea of differing in opinion from, or, as it is called, *opposing the Government*, exceeds what had ever been seen before in Calcutta. Everything is tamed down into a most orderly love of decorum. An example of this is given, which shows, that while the Government is incapable of thinking to any good purpose, its servants are afraid to express any thought of their own. All the Indian Papers have been long stuffed, to nausea, with puffs about 'Shaksperian Bridges of Tension and Suspension,' named from the Post-Master-General of Bengal, who lays claim to them as a new invention, and has the advantage of suspending them throughout the country. He got a committee to sit upon them, which pronounced them to be original, and Government gave him orders for them on a very large scale. A gentleman sent to the 'India Gazette,' the most liberal Paper now in India, a communication, proving that the barbarous Javanese had bridges on the same principle, as common as their Nullahs in the interior, and many of them of very great span. The Editor, warned by the fate of his brother Journalist, whose whole fortune had been sacrificed because he dared to state the truth, inserted a Note to Correspondents, declining to discuss that delicate question in the history of the arts, lest it should hurt "individual feeling!"

As there can be no better test of public opinion, than the sentiments expressed by intelligent persons in the sincerity of private confidential communications intended only for the eye of friendship, where, consequently, there could be no motive for either extenuating or exaggerating, we give here an extract out of many of the same description:

There is but one opinion as to the incapacity of Lord Anherst, which exceeds even what was at first anticipated from the obscurity of his life, and the insignificance of his personal appearance and physiognomy. Most people suppose he will be recalled, and all pray for it. We have just received the 'Annual Regis-

ter of 1822,' and every body reads with applause, and shows to his neighbour, an excellent lament on the appointment of Lord A. (the unfittest man), instead of Lord B. (Lord W. Bentinck), the fittest to be Governor-General.

Sir Edward Paget seems to have taken the helm into his own hands, much more than the constitution of the Indian Government warrants. We formerly stated the alarm that took place, and the bustle of defensive preparation in the capital after the destruction of Captain Noton's detachment; on which occasion, the executive functions of the state seem to have devolved almost entirely on the Commander-in-Chief. The order for building or buying a fleet of gun-boats to cope with the war-boats of the enemy, was not given till after that event, at which period there was no naval defence at the mouth of the Sunderbund, Burrampooter, or Megna. Nor was there any seaward, and very little landward, defence for Calcutta, which quaked for a week! Suppose that, instead of an able man, as Sir E. Paget is acknowledged to be, there had been a Commander-in-Chief of a different description, to lay hold of the reins of government, when, on the first appearance of danger, they seemed ready to drop from Lord Amherst's feeble hands. We might refer to innumerable proofs to show, that it is the deep conviction of reflecting men, who form their judgment on the spot, that England never was guilty of a more shameful dereliction of duty towards India, than in sending such a Governor-General to rule over it; and, come what may, those who have done this cannot acquit themselves of a fearful responsibility.

Persons taking a real concern in the public welfare, as almost all Europeans in India must do less or more, seeing the aspect of the political horizon growing every day more and more gloomy, seem at last to write with a feeling of despair. The following extract is from a Letter of December last:

Nothing can be more sad than our state here, public and private; and were it not that the mind sickens under the hope that has so often been deceived, we should almost fancy that things have got to that pitch, when some change for the better must take place. That the accounts of private wrongs as well as public mismanagement, which must have, ere now, accumulated before the Board of Control, will at last cry loud enough to command some attention, and show that the Government of this country is a little more important than it has sometimes been convenient to admit; that its chief offices are not with safety or honour to be filled on principles that would dishonour the choice of an Under-Secretary and Clerkship at home; but that much care should be exercised in England, before any are sent hither who have acquired no previous character there for anything—who are alike unknowing and unknown—who have all to learn, even the right principles by which they should be guided in the acquisition of the requisite information. This is no school for babies to learn their horubook; or, if it must be so considered, in spite of all warning, at least there should be an able and judicious master, not one who is weak and inconsiderate, and rash in all public measures; obstinate, imperious, and tyrannical in those of a minor, private, and individual nature.

As an illustration of the last proposition, reference is made to the case of Mr. F. Macnaghten, fully noticed in our last Number. In confirmation of the views of it there taken, we may quote the opinion of a person on the spot:

This Gentleman (the son of Sir Francis Macnaghten) has just been suspended the service, for an act of imputed disrespect to his superior, in a letter, for which a rebuke or change of office would have been sufficient, or, in the opinion of many, too severe a punishment. No explanation, no expression of contrition, on his

part, for any real offence given or taken, sufficed, even after suspension; nor was he called on at all to explain *before* it passed. Moreover, the Board of Trade (which did not think the young man altogether in the wrong) got a very severe reprimand indeed, for taking a view of the case different from the Government! If it be true (which is confidently reported) that Sir Francis bitterly laments the time-serving part he formerly acted, (in consenting to license the *Prés*;) with what kind of reflections may he now ask himself,—for *what* and for *whom* did he so act?

He is described as boiling with indignation, and threatening to proceed immediately to England to appeal for redress of his unheard-of wrongs.²

Unhappy situation! (sighs the writer) where the accumulation of private injuries affords the only chance that public measures may be mended.

From others, you will learn, that the same discontent pervades *all ranks and lines of the service*, except the few who share the loaves and fishes, and who are a good deal perplexed as to the moment when they should prepare for the *rising of another sun*! The loss of European life in this war has been (for its duration) quite without parallel, upwards of 2,000 men, I believe, very near to 3,000! Will the Horse-Guards be quite tranquil at the reduction of so many fine young soldiers in regiments just come out to the country? That sad mutiny, too, at Barrackpore! A new regiment is raising in the room of the 47th, and two more are spoken of; but I suppose it is mere talk as yet.

It is said, that a petition to the King, or Board of Control, or Parliament, is in circulation in the Upper Provinces, praying for protection against the incessant endeavours of the Indian Authorities to cut down and take away old established allowances, guaranteed by virtual and specific contracts, necessary to the support of the Petitioners in that country and climate; and on the faith of which, they entered on that service from which they cannot now retreat, having devoted to it their honour, lives, and fortunes.

In quoting the opinion entertained by persons on the spot respecting the state of the Indian Army, we are actuated by a hope, that this and such publications may contribute to rescue the East India Company from the dangers to which it, above all, is exposed by the pernicious suppression of truth throughout its territories, in consequence of the despotic laws enacted by its Servants, to keep their "Honourable Masters," as well as the whole world, in ignorance of every thing done in that remote country, except what those delegates of enormous authority shall themselves choose to disclose, with whatever colouring they may think fit to put upon it; while no other dare open his lips but at his peril, under pain of their displeasure. This power, which they have arrogated to themselves, places them almost entirely beyond the pale of human inspection and control. Would it not be better that honest men might be allowed to promulgate their sentiments in the Indian Journals, that they might be considered on the spot, refuted if erroneous, and attended to if incontestably just. Of the late lamentable symptoms of discontent in the Army, it is written:—

The root of the whole evil is the want of European Officers. Never was the army so weakly officered, nor were the officers ever so much strangers to their corps, having been shuffled about in consequence of the late splitting of each

² By other accounts, we learn that Sir Francis's departure was postponed till the middle of February, and that a work composed by him on *Hindoo Law*, as administered in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, was about to appear.

regiment into two. The evil, for which reference was made home in order to procure a remedy, has been aggravated to a degree that renders it scarcely compatible with the public safety. Never was there less heart and more discontent in the Native Army. From all the corps marching to the south-east frontier, there have been desertions to the number of one or two hundred men from each regiment. Nothing has been done to counteract and compensate, for the hardships and privations which the extension of our territory necessarily occasions to the Sepoys. It is not easy to say how those great inconveniences would best be obviated; but it is certain that the most indispensable and powerful remedy would be, to attach, in every sense of the word, a sufficient number of European Officers, who should consider their regiments as their homes, and from year to year share all their fortunes,—cold, hot, wet and dry—in quarters and in the field—from Chittagong to Loodhiana. As to diminishing the Staff: in the first place, a certain number of prizes are necessary; and, in the second place, granting that certain situations in the Commissariat, &c. might be filled by non-military men,—this country does not contain such persons, and our present most incapable Governor-General is every now and then thinning the small number of British licensed individuals, whom we can count. I should think that an immediate addition of not less than five Officers per regiment, chiefly, if not wholly, in the rank of Captain should be given. You may consider this the most urgent question regarding India, except, indeed, the recall of Lord Amherst, which is unanimously prayed for, and confidently expected. This expedition to Rangoon is the very counterpart of Walcheren.

Another writer, in giving a sketch of the general aspect of affairs towards the end of the year, says :—

Government are now so sore, that they wince at the least touch, and get alarmed at the most abstract and general questions on politics. The Editor of *Bengal Hurkaru* acknowledged that he had been interdicted from discussing the supposed relations existing between the Company and Runjeet Singh. With that abject submission to power, which denotes the utmost degeneracy of soul, and the completest prostration of independence, he crouched under the infliction, and in a subsequent paper endeavoured to whine himself into favour, with the school-boy apology of its being his first offence. The political squeamishness regarding public affairs, supposed to touch Government, has been somewhat relaxed in cases affecting the Native prejudices; and writers have not been backward in exposing with truth and even eloquence, the degrading and impious customs which have fastened themselves on the pride or jealousy of the Hindoos, and are of so remote an origin as to seem an essential part of their religion. I think, with the aid of the Native Press, we shall eventually triumph in our attempts to make them loath that horrid sacrifice, which gives the living to the dead, which, on the detestable shrine of avarice, jealousy, and superstition, immolates youth, beauty, and virtue; and rends asunder, with cruel tortures, the strongest ties of nature—those of maternal affection. If the Press had been free, its voice might, in like manner, as on a late occasion, have reached the recesses of the Council Chamber, and have induced that august assembly to listen to the admonitions of sense and prudence. It might have prevented them from rushing blindly into that warfare, from which they cannot now extricate themselves with honour and advantage.

The present aspect of affairs stands thus: The Rangoon force, which originally consisted of ten or twelve thousand men, is now completely paralyzed. The mortality has been so dreadful, especially among the Europeans, that every authentic report forces upon us the conviction, that out of six thousand Europeans that left Madras and Calcutta in May and June last, only eight hundred could on a late occasion be paraded. The Chittagong force, not yet fully assembled, is expected to be put in motion by the end of December. It is sickly and somewhat disgusted with the long delay. Report speaks of its being destined to attack Arracan. The aggregate of its numbers may be about six thousand men.

It was thought probable that there would soon be a further augmentation of the army in Bengal. If it were intended to take possession (should such a thing be practicable) of Arracan, the rest of the western coast of the Burman Empire, and the country to the south of Prome,

there would be an obvious necessity for an increase both of Native and European troops. Such an accession of territory, with its inevitable addition of expense and risk, must be regarded as undesirable and impolitic. Then what satisfactory termination can be looked for to a war so unfortunate? According to our latest accounts, there was no likelihood of the Commander-in-Chief taking the field in person, as had been long expected. The fact is, that he could not be spared in the Council. Mr. Adam (under whose sage and short administration the foundation of this quarrel was laid) had not returned from Almorah, and his health, it is said, was so far from being re-established, that he would probably come to England.

It is a remarkable fact, that since the extraordinary occurrence at Barrackpore, a general order has been issued granting money rations to the Sepoys employed east of the Burrampooter. This is a sad example, that a despotic Government will not reform itself till the mischief is done. Had this order been published earlier, it might have prevented the mutiny and massacre. It is hoped that the report of the Committee of Inquiry, which no doubt has led to this improvement already made, will also give occasion to other provisions for bettering the condition of the Native soldier.

Our readers were made acquainted with the failure of the 4 per cent. loan at Calcutta. It now appears that the Government financiers are trying every expedient to supply their want of money, without opening a loan at a higher rate, and are offering bills of exchange on the Court of Directors at home, for cash paid into the Bengal treasury. From the opinion entertained of the terms offered, we hardly augur for this project much better success. But the most important financial civil and political measure in progress is one for paying off all the debts due by the Civil Servants to Natives or other private individuals, by an advance of money from Government. This is to be allowed them on the following conditions, viz. : that they pay four per cent. interest; the premium of insurance on their lives to the amount of the debt; and also redeem a tenth of the principal annually; the aggregate of these sums to be deducted by Government from their salaries. All who know the magnitude of the evil will join in wishing this scheme success; but as it appears to be left optional with the Civil Servants to embrace it or not, we apprehend even the moderate rate of interest will not be sufficient temptation for many of them, especially such as from their situation can easily borrow money, without any interest at all, and without any intention of ever re-paying the principal. Therefore, we should not be surprised if many such affect to think this mode of paying their debts incompatible with their independent feelings; although such feelings were by them never dreamt of before. We trust, that in furtherance of this scheme, the Bengal Government will meet with support and encouragement from the home authorities. It is intended, we are told, to extend it to military officers.

The Calcutta Government Gazette of Dec. 24, states the receipt of late accounts of the progress of Runjeet Singh, who had advanced considerably to the northward of Fort Attock, on his march to Caubul. In the passage of the Indus he is represented to have lost about four hundred horses and men, among the latter of whom were some of his best Officers. The remainder of his troops, to the amount of ten thousand men, crossed in safety, and the guns were conveyed over upon elephants. Re-

ports were in circulation at Calcutta, at the above date, that a severe action had taken place between the Sikh forces and the Afghans, in which the latter were defeated with great slaughter.

The same paper states, that at the requisition of the political agent, Capt. Caulfield, four companies of the 15th Regiment N. F. were despatched under the command of Capt. Kiernänder to support the troops of the Rajah of Kotah in their attempt to secure the person of Rajah Bulwunt Singh. The detachment arrived in front of a large stone-built house, occupied by the Rajah in the town of Patun before the dawn of day, and found the gate shut.—Upon an attempt being made to persuade the Rajah to surrender, he opened a smart fire of matchlocks on the party from the windows above ; which was returned with musketry. Capt. Kiernänder then endeavoured to blow open the gate with the guns belonging to the Kotah troops, but the artillery-men being killed and the Sepoys dropping fast, he placed them under cover round the house, and sent into Kotah for guns. On their arrival, the gate was blown down about sunset ; but the entrance and staircase leading to the upper apartments being very narrow, it was determined to make the entrance broader to admit a section. At about 10 p. m. Rajah Bulwunt Singh rushed out sword in hand and attacked the party. Several of his attendants were killed on the spot, but the Rajah himself with about eleven men got away from the building. He was pursued by a small party of the British Sepoys under the command of Sheikh Soobhan, jemadar of the 2d Grenadier Company, and fell during the pursuit with his principal adherents. The Officers present, besides Captain Kiernänder, were, Lieutenants Trout, Evans and M'Nair. The detachment of the Kotah troops suffered severely. Our loss was one naik and three privates killed, and eighteen wounded.

The accounts received in Calcutta from Ahmedabad, stated that the two principal Chiefs of the refractory Coolies, who resisted our force at Dudduna, had been taken by Colonel Miles near the district of Sultanpore, and little doubt was entertained but that this would lead to the surrender of the remainder, without recourse being had to further coercive measures.

In regard to the Burmese war, we have nothing of moment to add to the accounts contained in our last. Our readers were there informed how Sir Archibald Campbell reported his "incredible" achievements, among which was the capture of "two hundred and forty pieces of ordnance," meaning field-blunderbusses ; how, like his celebrated predecessor, "Philip's warlike son," after having once annihilated the enemy, seven days posterior he—

Fought all his battles o'er again :
Twice he routed all his foes,
And twice he slew the slain !

And we also mentioned the honours conferred by Lord Amherst on this double victory, or rather the mode of public rejoicing he adopted for the escape of the Rangoon Army !

The last advices further state, that the "Governor-General in Council has signified in a public manner his high admiration of the judgment, skill, and energy manifested by Sir Archibald Campbell during the late brilliant achievements of the British arms at Rangoon.—The Governor-General requested Sir Archibald Campbell to accept the cordial thanks

of the Government, and to notify to the brave Officers and men under his command, the sentiments of admiration with which it regards the gallantry, spirit, and enthusiasm evinced by them. His Lordship in Council had remarked, with particular approbation, the recorded instances of meritorious conduct displayed by Lieut-Colonel Miles, second in command, and Lieut.-Colonels Mallett, Parlbv, and Brodie; Majors Evans, Saley, Frith, Yates, Dennie, Thornhill, Gore, Wahab, Farrier and Basden; and Captains Piper, Wilson, and Ross. The Governor-General in Council entertains also the highest sense of the efficient services and honourable exertions of Captains Murray, Russell, Timbrell, and Montgomerie, of the Artillery; of Captain Cheape, Commanding-Engineer; Captain Wheeler of the Madras Pioneers, Lieut.-Colonel Tidy and Major Jackson, Deputy-Adjutant and Quarter-Masters Generals; and of Captains Snodgrass and Campbell, Personal Staff to Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell.—The Governor-General expressed his warm acknowledgments to Captain Chads and Lieutenant Killett of the Arachne, and to Captain Ryves and Lieutenant Goldfinch, of the Sophia, and to the Volunteers under their command, for their gallant conduct in the several actions with the enemy's war-boats. That the native troops nobly sustained the long and well-earned fame of our Indian Army.—The Governor-General in Council deeply lamented the loss of Major Walker, of the 3d Madras Native Light Infantry, emphatically styled by Sir Archibald Campbell, "one of India's best and bravest soldiers;" of Brevet Captain and Lieutenant O'Shea, of his Majesty's 13th Light Infantry; and of the gallant soldiers who have fallen in the service of their country. His Lordship in Council trusts, that the brave officers who have been wounded in the several actions with the enemy, may soon be restored to the public service.—A royal salute, and three volleys of musketry, were ordered to be fired at all the stations of the land forces serving in the East Indies, in honour of the victories at Rangoon." To those who have perused the despatches of Sir A. Campbell, any expression of the Governor-General's admiration will appear unnecessary, when the Brigadier-General is so fully convinced of his own services and merits, and when his *double* annihilation of the Burmese "men in buckram" has obtained from his own pen such unqualified and egotistical eulogiums, which are spoken of by his Excellency the Governor-Gen. as the *emphatic style* of Sir A. Campbell. The firing of the three volleys of musketry at *all the stations* in the East Indies, is an absurd waste of powder which might be far better employed; and it cannot be wondered that the loans of the Indian Government fall to a discount, when the sinews of war are thus wasted in celebrating such victories! In fact, they appear to be worse than useless; for the last accounts state, that while the British force was employed in the attack of the enemy's intrenchments, some incendiaries, supposed to be emissaries from the Burmese army, set fire to the town of Rangoon; a fourth of which was burnt to the ground, notwithstanding the exertions of the inhabitants to arrest the progress of the flames. This Russian mode of reducing an enemy, appears to have inspired considerable alarm; and although the British forces were successful in checking the devouring flames of their Moscow in this instance, it is evidently such a species of success as induced Pyrrhus to exclaim, "Such another victory and I am undone!"

There seems little probability of the force at Rangoon being able to

retire with honour, and the intention of attempting an advance even by the river appears abandoned. But while the Government of Fort William is deliberating how to extricate the force without disgrace; the troops, worthy of a better fate, are either falling gradually in their successful but destructive combats with the enemy, or wasting under the influence of famine, disease, and climate. We copy the following from the Calcutta Government Gazette, to show how the "Wise men of the East" are attempting to delude the Indian Public, with regard to the strength of the Burmese power, and the facility of conquering a country, the geography of which is but imperfectly, or indeed scarcely known, notwithstanding the familiarity affected by the unknown correspondent :

From a person familiar with the geography of the country, we learn that in two floods, passage from the sea up the Pegue river to Pegue, might be conveniently effected; and that after taking the city, a detachment might even in the rains advance against Toonu or Toongho, the strongest fort in the kingdom. There is said to be a very good high road communicating at all seasons between Pegue and Prome, along which a military force might easily pass to the Irrawaddy, if required. It is also stated, that the country round Pegue is full of deer and other game. There is, besides, a fine road to Prome from the coast opposite Cheduba.

Both the Peguers and the Arracanese continue to be so ill-treated by the Burmese, that they are constantly emigrating in great numbers into the Siamese and British territories. About three years ago, no less than 30,000 Peguers went over at once into the Siamese dominions; and it is thought probable that the Arracanese would be well disposed to throw off the Burman yoke.

The King of Ava himself is said to be possessed of very good feelings, but it is the vanity and arrogance of some of his courtiers, who are in a state of the grossest ignorance with respect to the British nation and character, which has led to the present war. These men have always cherished the notion of recovering the ancient territory of Arracan towards Luckipore, Dacca, &c. and have often proposed its re-conquest. Some years ago, it is added, when Major Canining was at Amarapoora an order passed the Latoo, or Council, to put that officer in confinement and compel him to negotiate the restoration of the territory. The order, however, was immediately withdrawn, but the favourite schemes of the courtiers on the subject were never abandoned, being determined, at some time or other, to bring on a war. The disastrous consequences of such a war had been earnestly pointed out to the King of Ava.

This may pass—*must* pass—in India, where the truth is suppressed, when asserted in a paper published by authority which no one dare contradict; but it is well known in England, that it was not the golden-footed Monarch of Ava, but his high and mighty neighbours, the gold-grasping Rulers of Bengal, the successors of Lord Hastings, who literally "picked a quarrel" (a word well suited to the action) with his Burman Majesty. While he desired peace, they evinced an uncontrollable propensity to war, until they felt its difficulties and dangers. What were their secret motives for plunging the two states into hostilities, which the Burmese appear to have sincerely deprecated? Did Mr. Adam, when he had rendered himself odious by his tyrannical conduct to the Press, think it expedient to court the favour of the Army by raising four new regiments? And in doing so, did he deem it necessary, as an excuse to the Court of Directors for his unauthorized conduct, to show them that the state was on the eve of a war? And did Lord Amherst, unskilled in the crooked mazes of Oriental politics, arrive just in time to convert this sham fighting into sad earnest? Let those explain who are versed in the mysteries of the Calcutta Cabinet. The Government Gazette proceeds:—

We also understood, that all the money which enters the Exchequer at Ava, is immediately run into slabs of 25,000 or 30,000 sicca weight each, and that the magnificence of the Emperor with the Golden Feet, is shown, by having these slabs placed in front of the Palace. In the Great Pagoda of Mengaon, the late King, Mindraghee Praw, deposited immense treasures, and among other articles, the images in gold, about 190, of all the members of the Royal Family, each image being made to weigh as much as the individual represented. The person from whose statements these matters are derived, probably exaggerated the resources of the Burman Empire. He talks of the immense wealth of the Monarch; the beauty and the fertility of the country; its numerous mines of precious stones and metals; and its great commercial advantages in every direction, but particularly towards Tavoy and Mergui.

The introduction of the "slabs and images of gold," is worthy of a state with which avarice is one of the first principles of action. They would persuade people also, that there is in that country a facility of travelling, such as evidently to set rail-roads at defiance. The vanity and arrogance of courtiers having been proverbial in all ages, it is not likely that the palace of Ava should be free from such influence: and the people of Calcutta will not dispute for a moment, that sycophants, and ill-advisers, by pursuing the weak ear of authority, may bring a state, however powerful, to the very brink of destruction. One of the Calcutta Papers of the beginning of January, states, that five Burmese had been brought before the Magistrate, suspected of being spies, having been discovered at a late hour near the town-guard by a party of Sepoys. The result of their examination had not, however, been made public, or if it had, in the shackled state of the Indian Press, the Editors of the Journals had been fearful of increasing its publicity.

Commodore Hayes had arrived at Calcutta on the 20th of December from Chittagong, having been compelled to quit that station on account of ill health; and this will probably be the termination of that famous expedition of gun-boats, which was so many months in preparing and equipped at vast expense; since the Commander-in-Chief has also abandoned the idea of leading in person the Chittagong force; and no mention is made of any plan now formed for its advance. The 'Hampshire Telegraph' gives the following paragraph:—

We have received a letter from Madras, dated January the 7th, 1825, which states the arrival there of the Bombay Merchant, from Rangoon, whence she sailed on the 25th of December, bringing Colonel Miles, 89th Regiment, and a number of sick and wounded Officers from the Army. Nothing had been done on either side since the grand repulse (for it was nothing more) of the Burmese army, represented to have been composed of the entire military force of the Burmese Empire. The Charles Forbes left Madras on the 7th of January, with detachments of European officers and men, the want of which description of force is severely felt; the Burmese being found too brave and desperate to be awed by the presence of the Native force, however numerous. More is to be expected from negotiating with our enemy, than from opposing them, with our comparative scanty and inefficient means. The Lily frigate, Capt. Tincombe, arrived at Bombay on the 16th of December; the Tees, Commodore Coe, was refitting at Trincomalee; the Sophie, Capt. Ryves, was preparing to proceed to England.

Private letters have put us in possession of a few interesting particulars respecting the earlier operations of the army at Rangoon. Mergui, the capture of which has been already noticed, fell into our hands after an action of four hours, when the Burmese were compelled to fly and leave us in possession of the town. After our artillery had silenced the enemy's guns, his Majesty's 89th Regiment stormed the chief gate, and

carried it in the handsomest manner. A bloody conflict then took place on the other side, which, however, lasted but a few minutes, the enemy being compelled to fly with their Rajah, who was afterwards taken. Not a week elapses without some attack on our boats or nighty picquets. In October last there was a regular stockade action, between the Burmese, amounting to about 1000 men, and the 2d Battalion of the 17th Native Madras Infantry, close to Rangoon. After an obstinate conflict of three hours, the 17th were obliged to fly, having lost upwards of 100 killed and wounded.

A grand omission in the conduct of this war appears to have been, the neglect to supply cattle to draw the guns. At head-quarters they are now remedying this, by sending cattle from Calcutta by sea. Our force consisted of six European Regiments, and eleven Native, besides the Artillery, and his Majesty's Ships and Company's Cruisers. All have suffered considerable loss from war, and a sickly season, which was aggravated by the want of sufficient medical aid.

The Rangoon army, composed of troops from the three Presidencies, were immediately to be divided, it is said, into three detachments: one to march against Pegue; the other against Bassien; and the third, under Sir A. Campbell, against Prome, the third chief city in the Burman Empire. A part of this plan of campaign was, that Sir Edward Paget should advance with the Chittagong force against Amerapoorra and Ava; but this, it appears, has been abandoned.

The face of the country, and natural productions of the Burman Empire, are similar to those of India; but the dispositions of the inhabitants of the two nations vary considerably. The Burmese are a lively and inquisitive race, and have no particular caste, but worship idols, and think themselves the bravest nation in Asia except the Arabs. In regard to the late grand effort of the enemy, it is said the Burmese began to invest the Great Pagoda, situated about two miles and a half north of Rangoon, on the 1st of December, and continued their operations till the 5th, when the British attacked their intrenchments, and put that part of their army to flight; but the columns intended to cut off their retreat, getting into a morass, they escaped *without much loss*. On the 8th, we attacked them on the opposite shore of Dallah, carried their intrenchments and stockades, with the loss of 22 killed and wounded. Report states the enemy's loss to be 500 men; Sir A. Campbell rating it at as many thousands! The Great Pagoda, and grounds around it, are now crowded with European troops. The scenes that occur are of a nature singularly odd and amusing. For want of quarters, the men and officers thrust themselves into every little shrine and niche. Some of them will admit a table and chair, or cot; others serve as receptacles for baggage and stores. Round the neck of one divinity is suspended a belt and bayonet; while another has his lap full of knapsacks and cartridge-boxes. The appearance of one figure, in particular, was exceedingly diverting: it was of a size larger than life, placed in an erect posture, to bestow a blessing on another prostrate at its feet; the hands and arms, raised for this purpose, supported one end of a hammock, while boxes and canteens hung about his neck; and the poor suppliant's back served as a good seat for a soldier, quietly cleaning his accoutrements and smoking his pipe. The extent and splendour of this pagoda far exceeds all expectation."

A pontoon train left Calcutta on the 20th of December, to be embarked

in boats on the salt-water lake, whence it will proceed to the army at Chittagong. It consists of thirty-six whole, or seventy-two half pontoons; the boats being formed into two parts, for their more easy conveyance by land. They are constructed of thin teak-plank, covered with tin plates carefully soldered together. The pontoons are, of course, flat-bottomed; and each half, we should imagine, to be about nine or ten feet long, and five broad. The beams and planks, which constitute the platform of the bridge, are so fitted on their respective carriages, that even over the roughest road no play or motion can take place; and each half pontoon covers its own beams and planks by being placed over them, with their gunwales resting on the carriage. The greatest extent over which the bridge can be drawn, is 1500 feet. Over this, troops march along in file. For the passage of troops with a front of ten men, it can be extended to a front of 600 feet; and for a larger front and light guns, to 450 feet. For the transportation of heavy ordnance across broad rivers, the pontoons are formed into rafts of three each, which are capable of supporting the heaviest pieces. The rafts can be towed at the rate of four miles an hour; and the whole reflects the highest credit on the officer who superintended their construction.

In speaking of the late victory at Kemmedine, the Supplement to the Calcutta Government Gazette of Jan. 3d, states, that private letters from Rangoon of the 17th say that the enemy's loss has been very great. The Chuchia Woonghee, one of the Ministers, was killed; and Meela-Woon, next in command to Bundula, fell into our hands, mortally wounded, on the 15th. Several others, of minor note, have also fallen in the engagement.

Prisoners and deserters state, that the General and Minister had arrived at no great distance, with powers to enter into a negotiation of peace on the 3d of the ensuing moon, should the result of the engagement prove unfavourable to the Burmese arms.

By the last accounts from Rangoon, it will appear that the report of the revolution of Ava was incorrect. The following paper of intelligence was given in a short time before the departure of the *Nereide* :—

The King of Ava having placed his son, Prince Chukiamen, on the throne, merely for the purpose of dispelling the predominant influence of ill luck, went himself to Isagine. Consequently, the present war with the English is carried on in the name and under the auspices of the said temporary King.

We would sincerely advise Lord Amherst to follow the example of his golden-footed antagonist, by also resigning, to dispel the ill-luck he has carried with him to India. The grand army of the Burmese consisted, before the action, according to report, of from forty-seven to fifty thousand men; also 1000 invulnerables, armed with swords, and decorated with silver gorgets and medals conferred on them by the Regent Chukiamen.

A letter from Calcutta has appeared in several of the English Papers, stating that such was the dislike felt towards Lord Amherst in that capital, that on his entering the theatre on a late occasion, hisses and other marks of disapprobation were distinctly heard mingled with the plaudits of the few who were near his person, and whose duty it is to applaud. What must be the feelings of a Calcutta audience, when despotism itself cannot prevent their indignation and contempt from bursting forth in audible hisses, even in the presence of their august Sultan, surrounded by his Janizaries? He may suppress truth, but he cannot extirpate thought.

The despot may stifle, for a while, the outward signs of discontent; but it only makes it burn the more fiercely within—the more dangerous because unseen—like a hidden volcano, ready to explode beneath his feet.

We shall add the substance of two of the latest private communications on the subject of the Burmese war. Many, we apprehend, entertain much too contemptuous a notion of the enemy we have to contend with; forming their opinion, perhaps, from the rhodomontade of the valiant General who is employed against them, and who does them less injury with his sword than with his pen. The total defeat of Colonel Smith's detachments must have given a considerable check to the overweening vanity of the assailants; and when we know that the Burmese, even when unarmed, will rush upon our troops in the hope of snatching their weapons out of their hands, we must own that however deficient in discipline, they are by no means so in personal courage. In bodily vigour also, as well as mental, they are said to be much superior to the natives in Asia in general. Although greatly distressed for arms and ammunition, they continued firm and undaunted, determined to dispute every inch with the invaders.

This resolution of unflinching resistance seems, however, to have been greatly strengthened by our mode of attacking them at Rangoon. For the inhabitants of Tavoy and Mergui surrendered at once when informed that private property would be respected; and they remained peaceably at their abodes, rendering every assistance within their power to procure supplies for our troops. Had the same system been adopted towards the people at Rangoon, no doubt is entertained that it would have been followed with similar results. Had they been allowed twenty-four or forty-eight hours' notice to surrender, with intimation that if they did not embrace this offer, their town would be destroyed, they would have soon become convinced of the folly of resistance, knowing their immeasurable inferiority in artillery. Supposing them to have been at first the aggressors, the forbearance of the assailants, and the display of an English flag of truce, would have satisfied them that they might rely on our mercy. The town would have been given up, and have afforded abundance of supplies, with people to man the boats; and the British forces might soon have reached the capital of Ava itself. However, the *Liffey* frigate came abreast of the town, with the men at their quarters, and positive orders to give blow for blow; nay, to return two shot for every one from the enemy. The result is, that we are entangled in a protracted and ruinous war. "Even at this moment (says the writer) the Burmese are ignorant of our real object and intentions. They suppose that we are come to seize upon their country and make them all slaves; and will continue to think so, until some other mode of explanation be adopted than the eloquence of the musket or the bayonet. The conflict will thus necessarily be extremely tedious, harassing, and expensive, not only to the Burmese, but to the East India Company; since it would take twenty years for his 'golden-footed majesty' to defray the charges of the war." As to the pretence of there being any great riches at his capital, *it is all a farce*; a mere bait held out to the army, which, should it ever arrive there, will find itself wofully disappointed.

A letter, bringing private intelligence to a very late date, says—
"Disastrous accounts still continue to be received from Rangoon; of 2600 Europeans who went thither from Madras, little more than 1900

remained alive on the 15th of October; and not above 1200 were out of the hospital. One Native corps, which left Madras nearly 900 strong, by the last report could muster only 300. An officer writes, that he can obtain hardly as much of bad bread, at any price, as will sustain life, and can procure no other provisions." In regard to the ulterior transactions at Rangoon, it is said, "that many battles have been fought, but the enemy although always conquered (according to our accounts) has always advanced, till our army has been besieged in its encampment. On the morning of the 14th of December, Rangoon was burnt by the enemy, who escaped amidst our sickly troops without molestation. The whole of the shipping was in the most imminent danger, and was saved with the greatest difficulty. Four thousand men, the whole disposable force, (or rather, all that remained effective of an army which, about six months ago, was fifteen thousand strong,) immediately prepared for an engagement, the result of which has not been fully known, except that we have gained a *victory*, which compelled *our troops* to *retire* to their position with the loss of many officers and men."

The following is the latest mention of India News that has appeared in the English Papers. It is from the 'Globe and Traveller' Evening Paper of the 26th of May:—

Intelligence three days later from Calcutta was this morning received (by way of Madras); the letters we have seen are dated 14th January. They state that a very general opinion was entertained at Calcutta, that the affair with the Burmese would end in negotiation; but they give no reason why this conclusion should be anticipated, nor do they afford any intelligence from the armies.

It certainly often happens that barbarians who entertain ill-founded ideas of their prowess and power, or who rely on some particular mode of defence, which is found to fail them, grow as abject after defeat as they were insolent before the contest. Whether this has happened to the Burmese, the very limited means of information, as well of events within their country as of their character, which the people in India possess, will not enable them to judge with confidence. We are inclined to expect, that as we have as yet not struck in any way at the centre of the Burmese dominions (not having indeed any where entered the proper territory of Ava), and have done, indeed, little more than repel attacks, the idea of negotiation will be found to be premature. If the negotiations do take place, serious difficulties will arise, and the futility and absurdity of the war will begin to be felt. An extension of the Company's territories at the expense of the Burmese, is contrary to the policy which is inculcated by the Acts of Parliament, as well as by the admonitions of the Court of Directors, who, in their frequent and large accessions of territory, contend (with an earnestness which nothing but the result could lead the world to suspect) that they have had fortune buckled on their backs,

"To bear her burden whether they will or no."

The setting up of other small States, to be protected against the Burmese by subsidiary forces, is equivalent to an extension of territory, or rather leads almost infallibly to the same result, and in the mean time is less secure for ourselves, and less beneficial to the natives.—A pecuniary indemnity is the only apparently beneficial result. But the King of Ava would probably find himself unable to pay any considerable sum, except in the oriental fashion—by an assignment of revenue—which is open to the same objection as the two other expedients. The only consequence, indeed, which seems to have been looked forward to, is the chastisement of the Burmese, i. e. the teaching to ignorant savages of moderation and propriety—an undertaking which promises to be as gainful and productive as that of some ingenious persons described by RABELAIS, who were "washing asses' heads, and only losing their soap."

MADRAS.

By the last accounts from this Presidency, we learn that Sir Thomas Munro was not expected to return home this season; but it had been reported there that he would shortly be superseded by Lord W. Bentinck. The following extract of a letter from this Presidency, dated early in January 1825, will be read with interest:

You will have heard of the new war in India. We here contend on a new field; and it is hard to say to what events these operations may lead. If the war continue another year or two, (and we shall, I think, be fortunate if it is over in double that time,) it is not probable that the Chinese will be indifferent spectators. Our 15,000 men will be exaggerated by rumour into ten times as many, and the jealousy of the celestial empire will doubtless be excited. Even the Siamese, the ancient and constant enemies of the Burmese, have as yet shown no disposition to join us; and it does not appear unreasonable to suppose that both powers may join their forces to expel the European invaders of the Eastern Peninsula. We never can expect to dismember Pegue from the yoke of Ava, for we have mortally offended the religious prejudices of the people of the former country, by our profaning their temples, which have been dug up in search of treasure, and their household gods brought away in hundreds.

I know nothing more of the cause which occasioned the war, than is declared in the manifesto of the Governor-General: and perhaps you will not be able to discover sufficient grounds for the proceedings in that "state paper." At all events, there could be no good reason for rushing into hostilities on a large scale, until sufficient preparations had been made, or until the arrival of the season when troops could act with effect. Instead of which, the troops were hurried off to Rangoon, so as to arrive just at the commencement of the rains, when it was impracticable to carry on any operations by land, and without any flotilla for operating on the rivers of Ava. The result has been what might have been expected: a vast proportion of the European soldiers have died or become unserviceable, and we have not sufficient resources in India to replace them; while the total want of fresh provisions, in the midst of abundance, has greatly added to the evil. The enemy, though brave to a high degree, are without discipline, and indifferently armed. They have a mode of intrenching and stockading themselves, with a degree of rapidity almost incredible; and in these hasty defences they wait our attacks, and destroy numbers of our boldest soldiers. With an army of six European regiments, ten Native battalions, and a fine artillery, our troops occupy still no more space than they had the first week after their landing; and it would have been fortunate had they not landed until October, (instead of May,) when the weather would have been fine, and when boats might have been ready for operations on the rivers.

I conclude that these events will occasion the transmission of a number of European regiments to this country, and a considerable addition to the number of seamen. The want of the latter is already severely felt; and if the war is to be continued, the cheapest mode will be that which enables us to bring forward most means; as otherwise it may last long without our being able to make much impression; and any serious delays will, as I have already said, excite all the nations to the eastward, to take a part in the contest. It was, I believe, expected that the Burmese would sue for peace, as soon as we appeared in force in their country. The expectation, if it ever was entertained, has been sadly disappointed; and if it was not, our means were quite inadequate to the service.

P. 5.—The affairs of Persia are rather in a curious state. The old King is on the brink of the grave. His sons, each at the head of armies, will most probably contend in the field for the supreme power; and in that case, Russia will most probably take a part. We, I conclude, shall not be uninterested in the result; but our resources are in demand in another direction. The Bengal Government has not as yet been able to bring forward the troops expected to have entered Ava from Chittagong and Sylhet; and the corps which have marched in that direction have lost many by desertions, and shown other symptoms of repugnance to that particular service. On the whole, I think you may, ere long, look for very important events in this quarter.

The latest accounts from Madras say, that "starvation and bad government" have driven the northern provinces, subject to that Presidency, into ~~insurrection~~, and acts of violence. It is said that the civil authority in the north is almost entirely dissolved. Persons travelling through the interior report, that whole villages, lately populous and flourishing, are now in ashes and ruins. Men in large bodies traverse the country demanding arms and food, and threatening those who refuse with instant destruction.

BOMBAY.

The fort of Kittoor, owing to whose resistance of the British authority Mr. Thackeray and several others lost their lives, has been taken by assault, by a force under the command of Capt. Walker of the Madras army. Terms were offered prior to the attack, but after an armistice of twenty-four hours, the refractory force still holding out, operations commenced, which terminated in placing that fort in the power of the British, with the loss of six Europeans killed and a few wounded. That of the enemy was much more considerable. Messrs. Stevenson and Elliot, who had been taken prisoners, were not given up until the guns had been opened upon the fort for a considerable time; but they are stated to have been kindly treated while in confinement. One of the accounts of this affair states, that the booty consisted of sixteen lacs of rupees in cash, four lacs in jewels; besides many horses, one thousand camels, and several elephants. Another account states, in addition to the above, that four lacs of rupees were subsequently discovered in the fort. The following is an extract of a letter from Bombay:—

We had a shocking mischance some days ago. One of the Guicawar's elephants which had been trained to hunt, when intoxicated to madness with drugs, and goaded to frenzy by the salet mares or hunters, broke loose, and was ranging the town uncontrolled, no one daring to go near him for sixty hours. Six unhappy creatures were killed by him, and a great deal of damage done in the Bazar. We never recollect the weather being colder in Bombay, than it has been for the last three days. Yesterday, at 2 p. m., the thermometer was at seventy-one in the fort.

SINGAPORE.

The following, in relation to this new settlement, appeared in that *impartial and independent* periodical the 'Asiatic Journal.'

We have been very kindly favoured with letters from Singapore. We were not before aware that there were any serious claims maintained by the neighbouring chiefs to the possession of Singapore, but it is clear there were: and though doubtless all such claims could have been easily repelled by us by force, we still think it is much better to see them adjusted by treaty, especially where we are so much the most powerful party. We have recently struck a grand political stroke here; no less a thing than the arrangement of a treaty with the Sultan and Tomongong, ceding the island of Singapore, and ten miles around its shores, in full sovereignty and property to the British East India Company. The Tomongong not being so needy a man as his principal, was the first to come into the Resident's views, and got a few thousand dollars added to what he was to have received. The Sultan being more refractory, wanted to go away from the settlement rather than sign this deed.

We are induced to notice this, in consequence of the "grand political stroke" of which it speaks. It would appear, that like other "grand political strokes" of the Honourable Company, this one consists in bribing

the servan to betray his master, which service is rewarded with a "*few thousand dollars*" above the contract price. The conclusion of this paragraph deserves particular notice: "The Sultan being *more refractory, wanted to go away from the settlement rather than sign the deed.*" We would ask, who and what prevented him? Was he placed under restraint? Or was coercion used to compel his signature? If so, referring to the English law, we should say, that a deed obtained by fraud or violence is null and void. We have quoted this from our contemporary, because the Singapore papers in our possession have been totally silent upon the transaction.

A diplomatic deputation, from the King of Borneo Proper, arrived at Singapore on the 8th October, at the head of which was the Lord of Kayong, a person of high rank in that country. The deputation landed on the 10th, and the Ambassador proceeded to the Residency House, accompanied by a train of near three hundred persons. The country of Borneo Proper is not only the largest principality of that immense island; but, as far as mere geographical limits may be considered, is one of the most extensive kingdoms in Asia, having little less than 700 miles of sea-coast.

The pirates had again made their appearance in the Straits between Singapore and Malacca. Six large boats had stationed themselves at the Carrimons, and, in the absence of more valuable prizes, had attacked and captured several prows laden with provisions on their passage to Singapore.

On the 6th of December, an Arab ship arrived in the roads bound to Java, having on board 236 pilgrims, natives of the different islands of the Archipelago, who had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca. It is stated, that about 900 of the inhabitants of the Malayan Archipelago are in the habit of visiting that city every year.

Singapore was rapidly increasing, according to the latest accounts, both in extent and population; brick-houses were building in all directions, and the appearance of the place was rapidly improving.

The accounts received at Singapore from Bali state that horrible traffic, the slave-trade, to be still carried on by vessels under the flag of that most religious and Christian monarch, the King of France. In July last, two French brigs from the Island of Bourbon, had visited the ports of Badong and Baliling, in the Island of Bali, for the purpose of purchasing slaves, and had bought a considerable number of young boys and girls, at the rate of thirty to forty dollars each. This island is represented as a most notorious slave-mart. By subsequent accounts, it appears that one of the above ships had taken on board 200 slaves, and that the full complement of these unfortunates for the two vessels was to be 600. The last accounts stated the departure of two French agents from on board the ships at Baliling, for the purpose of purchasing slaves during the absence of the vessels, which had gone round to Badung to receive a number of children whom the Rajah had contracted to supply. A Dutch cruiser had, however, been spoken with at Besuki in Java, the commander of which stated that he was on his way to the Straits of Ball, for the purpose of intercepting the French slave-ships. From this, we hope these iniquitous traffickers in human blood, will suffer the just punishment of their crime, and that the captors will themselves become captive.

Accounts have been received of the loss of the brig *Amboyne*, on

some part of the coast of Hainan, on the 3d of November, from Canton, bound to this port. The whole of the crew, and some small part of the cargo were saved. Heavy complaints were made of the inhospitable conduct of the Natives, as the Mandarins would not permit them to assist in saving any part of the cargo.

This settlement has already become one of the most important of our possessions. The exports, from January to December, 1823, amounted to 5,568,560 Spanish dollars. In 1822, four ships only cleared out for London. In 1823, there were nine. The China trade increases in a corresponding scale.

J A V A.

We regret to find the last advices from Batavia convey a confirmation of the melancholy fate of Mr. Thornton, the particulars of whose capture by the pirates have been so frequently referred to. It appears by the statement given by the Dutch authorities on the west coast of Borneo, that after having landed Mr. Thornton and his people on one of the numerous islands in those parts, an indiscriminate massacre took place, in which the whole perished.

The accounts received at Batavia from Siam state, that as soon as the new King, Kroma Chiat, ascended the throne, he published an ordinance to the effect, that the foreign merchants of all nations trading with Siam, should henceforth have free permission to trade with any resident merchant of the country, on the simple condition of paying the accustomed duty.

From Palembang, the news had been very unfavourable, an insurrection having broken out in that country; and the people of Rawas and Bingi had taken up arms under the command of Seyed Hamza, the adopted son of the Tumungung of the former place, who, in a former action, had been slain by the Dutch. The insurgents had been joined by some of the people of Menancabuo. The Dutch were preparing an expedition to suppress the insurrection, and for this purpose had brought cannon and ammunition from Banca.

B O R N E O.

The advices from Borneo are of considerable interest. By them we learn that the Chinese gold miners, on the west coast of that island, had risen in arms against the Dutch authorities, in consequence, as was reported, of a demand made by them to be put in possession of a certain fortified position held by the Chinese, which the latter refused to surrender, making an appeal to arms. About three hundred regulars and five hundred native auxiliaries had proceeded against the revolters, who were assembled at Sankawang to the number of four thousand men. After a long and fruitless negotiation, an attack was made by the Chinese on a reconnoitering party of the Dutch, amounting to about one hundred men, which, by a feint, had been detached from the main body, and in this situation was routed with the loss of four-fifths of the party. While the negotiation was going on, the Chinese, by felling trees, had blocked up the river by which the Dutch had come up, thus cutting off the communication of the forces with their shipping in the roads; and the place

affording no fresh water, the troops were soon reduced to great extremity. After waiting twelve days for relief, the party took the resolution of quitting the stockade they had erected in the night, making the best of their way to the boats and vessels by crossing the neck of land between the stockade and the mouth of the river. To effect this, they were compelled to abandon their cannon, ammunition, and baggage; and wading to the shoulders in the marsh, they reached the boats with the loss of twenty men, and were conveyed to Sambas. The latest accounts from Borneo state, in addition to the above, that the successes of the Chinese had been so important as to compel the Dutch to withdraw the whole of their outposts and settlements, and to concentrate their force at the three principal stations of Pontianah, Mampawat, and Sambas, at each of which it was found necessary to construct a redoubt for additional security. At Pontianah, where the largest force was assembled, the troops only amounted to two hundred men. The Chinese are mentioned as having fought with a bravery and perseverance hitherto unknown among them; and it seemed not improbable that the Dutch would be compelled to relinquish their Bornean possessions entirely, the maintaining of which, even in peace, is stated to occasion a loss of 250,000 rupees per annum.

MANILLA.

Our letters from Manilla mention that a dreadful earthquake had been experienced in the Philippines, by which great distress had been caused, and a considerable part of the city of Manilla laid in ruins. Several slight shocks of the earthquake had been felt throughout the Island of Luconia during the month of October; and on the 26th a most severe shock was experienced in the town and suburbs of Manilla; which demolished several of the churches, and almost all the private houses. About four miles above the town, and close to the river, the earth opened with a tremendous explosion, and shortly afterwards shoals of dead fish were seen floating down the river into the sea. All the respectable inhabitants of Manilla removed into the country, and left the town quite deserted. The military barracks having been laid level with the ground, tents were pitched for the soldiers on a plain at a short distance. This encampment was, however, totally destroyed by the hurricane which took place on the 1st of the following month, by which the roofs were blown off many of the remaining houses, and six vessels in the roads stranded. The small Spanish squadron which had proceeded against the pirates of Sooloo, had returned from the expedition laden with booty, after having laid waste the coasts of Sooloo and Basilan, with portions of that of Mindanao. The sugar and indigo of the Philippines had considerably increased during the course of last year, but the coffee had fallen off considerably.

CHINA.

The edict which has been promulgated by the Chinese Government, by which the importation of rice into China, duty free, was allowed, continued in force to the beginning of November; but the last letters do not mention whether it had been repealed at that date. The quantity of that article sufficient to exempt a ship from duty was 4050 piculs. The recent embassy from the Burmese to the Chinese Emperor had excited

considerable interest at Canton. The letters, however, state that the Court of Peking is decidedly hostile to that of Ava.

Our last accounts from Canton state that every thing was quiet there, the Lintin question having been entirely set at rest, by the Chinese giving up the point. A shock of an earthquake had been experienced at Canton on the 14th of August last, but no damage was sustained. Great distress had been felt in the neighbourhood in consequence of a dearth, which extended over a great part of the province: but the edict of the Emperor allowing the introduction of foreign rice, had nearly removed this calamity. Two Arab ships had arrived off Lintin, but were not permitted to enter the river, from some demur on the part of the government officers as to the propriety of admitting a vessel under Arab colours to pass the Bocca Tigris; and an express had been sent off to the court of Peking requesting its decision on the subject.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

A file of *The Australian*, a paper newly established at Sydney, has been received. The new Courts, established by Act of Parliament, had but just been brought into operation; and at the assembly of a Court of Quarter Sessions, a doubt arose whether the magistrates should assemble jurymen to assist them. The matter was brought before the Chief Justice, who considered that they ought to be assembled, and issued his *mandamus* for that purpose. All persons who had not come *free* (that is, we believe, who had come as *convicts*) to the colony, were carefully excluded. This paper condemns this policy, as tending to widen the breach already existing among the inhabitants; many of these unfortunate persons having acquired respectability by a long tenor of subsequent good conduct. Rapid improvements are taking place at Van Dieman's Land: surveys of the island had been ordered, and new settlements established. The wool transmitted to England had been returned in cloth, with the most favourable reports of the quality by the Yorkshire manufacturers.

By accounts from New South Wales we learn that the establishment of the Australian Company had excited in that colony the greatest satisfaction; and we perceive, from the advertisements in these papers, that it had commenced its pursuits with great activity. A public meeting had been held in Sydney, on the communication of the death of the late Governor, Major-General Macquarrie. The Judge Advocate-General Wyld was in the chair. It was resolved, that the inhabitants should attend a funeral service; that the bells of the churches of St. Philip and St. James should be set to toll, muffled, for three days, and a sermon be preached by the Rev. Wm. Cowper, the senior assistant chaplain, on that mournful occasion. A subscription was opened for the erection of a monument to record his worth, and the grateful respect of the colonists. An address of condolence was agreed to be presented to Mrs. Macquarrie, which was to be forwarded to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart. M. P., solicitor, as one of the most intimate friends of the late Governor, to have the same duly presented to that lady on the part and in the name of the subscribers. On Saturday, the 13th of November, the bank was closed by order of the Directors, out of respect to the memory of the late Governor, the founder of the establishment.

MAURITIUS.

Our Mauritius Gazettes have been received to the end of November last, but they contain nothing of interest, except on one subject: the admission of the produce of that colony into the home consumption of the United Kingdom. We find, by extracts published by the local Government from its despatches, officially for the information of the planters, that it is proposed, that all the productions of the colony, exported from it after the 1st of January 1825, shall be admitted here on the low duties. This is announced as an extract from a letter of Mr. Lack, Secretary of the Board of Trade, addressed to Wilmot Horton, Esq. on the 7th of June, 1824, and has been promulgated in the island by Government.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE
EASTERN WORLD.

COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF AND THE INDIAN ARMY.

A Court of Directors has been held during the month, at which General Lord Combermere, G. C. B., and Lieutenant-General Sir G. T. Walker, G. C. B., took the usual oaths on being appointed; the former as Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces at Bengal, and second in Council there; and the latter as Commander-in-Chief, and second in Council at Fort St. George. The post of Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, which was at first said to have been offered to Sir G. Airey, is now understood to be meant for Sir Thomas Bradford. The 'Morning Chronicle' justly and naturally asks, "Who are all these gentlemen? In what manner have they made themselves conspicuous for military talent? Who, in short, ever heard of their exploits? Sir T. Bradford may, indeed, be an exception; he commanded in Scotland during turbulent and difficult times, and conducted himself with decision, prudence, and humanity. But what qualifications have the others shown for chief command; above all, for the command of armies so peculiarly and delicately constituted as the Indian Sepoy force? If Sir John Doveton, or Sir John Malcolm were thought too low on the list of general officers to be placed at the head of armies, there was still Sir Gabriel Martindell available, who will probably be a Lieut.-General at the approaching rumoured brevet, and who has distinguished himself through a long life of military and political commands; or there was Sir David Ochterlony, whose splendid military and political talents have raised him to be a Baronet, and a Grand Cross of the Bath, and continued him in the highest employment long after his ordinary tour of staff-command expired.

If it be a thing determined on by the *liberality* of the Horse-Guards, and the *gratitude and independence* of Leadenhall-street, that no Company's officer shall ever aspire to the higher honours of his profession, any more than Counsellor O'Connell to a silk gown; yet there were surely officers of the Royal Service to be found, who had established some slight claim to high employment in our Eastern dominions. Is General Donkin totally forgotten or overlooked, who served with

credit on the Staff in Bengal, as commander of a division in the Upper Provinces, and at the siege of Hattress; and afterwards, was creditably and actively employed in command of a separate corps, the right division of the Marquis of Hastings's grand army in the Mahratta war? But perhaps Sir Rufane Donkin labours under the stigma of having offended, and having been ill-used by that paragon of Governors, pink of nobility, and flower of generals, Lord Charles Somerset,—that worthy compeer of the Amhersts, the Adams, and Elphinstones, in the heroic achievement of gagging, fining, and transporting, public writers.

Putting common justice to the Officers of the Indian Army apart, we should hope that the manifest impolicy of this unfair treatment of them would, particularly at the present time, have some weight at the Horse-Guards. But the narrow selfish principle predominates there, of excluding all Company's officers from chief command, however well qualified by their talents, their experience, and services, to support the honour of their country and the interests of their employers. How will the Company stand excused of a base desertion of the rights and claims of their faithful servants, by acquiescing in their being treated with such flagrant injustice? Is it by this, and by the constantly renewed attempts to cut down and farther reduce the pittances of their officers, that the Honourable Court hopes to secure the attachment of their own Army when the Charter comes to be next under discussion? On the last occasion, (1812,) Lord Buckinghamshire, than whom there had been few better Presidents of the Board of Control, or who have better appreciated the merits of the Honourable Company of Leadenhall Merchants,—was on the point of taking away their Army from the Company entirely; and would have done it, but for an idea entertained in England, that the change of masters would be disrelished by the Army of India.

He was right; for such an attachment did then prevail generally, as we know from the testimony of intelligent persons, in that truly Honourable Body, the Bengal Army. But would any such attachment now stand in the way of a transfer? On the contrary, we have good reason to believe a feeling to be rapidly becoming universal among the Company's officers, that they could not be in greater danger of suffering in their privileges, their allowances, and their comforts, under the protection of the one *great* King, than they are under the tender mercies of their twenty-four *little* Kings. If the Indian troops became Royal, they could not be more degraded, superseded, and kept down, by the preference shown to officers of the European branch of the Army than they are already, through the subserviency of their own masters, who ungratefully curtail their privileges and abandon them to others. Indeed, it is probable that the Commander-in-Chief in England would bestow a much greater and fairer portion of his regard and favour on the Indian Army when it belonged to himself, than he does now, when it is considered an alien, a foreign—we regret to say, an *inferior* species of force; something a little below militia or volunteers.

If the Army were transferred to the Crown, then, as a King's officer assures us, there would be an end of all future cutting and clipping of officers' pay, and the allowances of regimental officers especially. No such curtailment has been heard of in the Royal Army for time out of mind. But in the Company's service there is no end to the vexations

and uncertainties of an officer's pecuniary status. Nothing is secure and certain to him! The Company has been carrying on most ungraciously for years, a war of extermination, (and is still fighting on its struggle) against some old emoluments of its officers who command troops and companies.

The depression of the Company's General Officers in competition with those of the King, is an evil and an injustice which has long been severely felt, and attended with the most injurious consequences, in the Indian Army. But should its wrongs, like those of the Irish Catholics, continue without redress unless when it is wrung out by necessity, the mischief of such reluctant measures in the work of amelioration is fraught with infinitely greater danger, in regard to a country so remote as India. Before the fermentation in Lord Cornwallis's time, and the successful mutiny of 1794, extorted from the Crown the parity of rank, agreeably to the date of commission between the two castes of officers—the Indian Officers were as much under a species of Helotism as the Irish Catholics before the relaxation of the penal laws in 1793. So the Indian Officer began to feel his strength and know his value, and having tasted once the pleasure of holding a Royal Commission, and ranking with his Majesty's Officers, he became proud and restless. By degrees the superior commissions above that of a Major-General's, to which originally, with a strange inconsistency, he had been restricted, were thrown open to him. Next he became eligible to two inferior grades of the Bath; then one or two gallant individuals made their way to the Grand Cross. The last step gained in this ladder of promotion, was the throwing open, to the Company's Officers, of the high post of Civil Governor at the inferior settlements. But no one has ever yet been allowed to aspire to the highest military prize—the chief command of any of the Armies. Yet to this they must come at last; just as the Catholics must with patience and exertion get silk gowns and judgeships, in defiance of all opposing obstacles! The Indian Officers, like the Catholics, have already obtained so much, that it is quite impossible to prevent them receiving all. Had they been kept down in the comfortable slavery of the good old times, when the hoary Company's Officer was made to keep his distance, and feel his inferiority to the beardless youth of the Royal Service, there might have been some chance of preventing them from ever rising above that abject condition. It is now too late to push them aside with safety, and it is well that the newspaper press has begun to take timely notice of a subject so well deserving of serious consideration.

The late deplorable events at Barrackpore show clearly enough that there is something defective in the machinery of the Native Army. It is to be feared that the distance is too great between the European Officers and the highest of the Native Officers. Enough has not been done, in the judgment of experienced and sober-minded men, to raise the better and abler of the Native Officers into situations of power, trust, and emolument. Lord Hastings's institution of one Subadar Major to each corps, with a very small increase of pay, is good, we are told, in so far as it is meant, but by no means sufficient, whether in respect to the dignity or pay of this post, or the number of places created. Sir John Malcolm, we suspect, if we may judge by his published works, would not stop here, but do something much more substantial for the State, and more beneficial and honourable for distinguished Native Public Servants,

Civil as well as Military. Nothing, indeed, in the whole history of our conduct in India does seem so monstrous and intolerable, so well calculated to ensure us the deep-rooted hatred of the higher classes of our subjects, and a brief duration to our Indian Empire, as our rigorous, bigotted, and selfish exclusion of the Natives, high and low, from every office, Civil or Military, of honour or profit, above that of Judge's Assessor to an obscure tribunal, and Subaltern to the European Commander of a Company of Sepoys.

Something, it is clear, must be done, to restore salutary intimacies and old-fashioned sympathies between the European Officer and his Sepoys; such as used to subsist between them, when he felt more dependent on their good will and attachment, in the earlier days of our Indian struggles; and when he was more dependent also on their society to assist him in passing away the weary hours, as a worthy correspondent of the old school informs us, whose letter we may yet give entire, when it can be done with less apparent personal bearing than at this moment. But if our correspondent is right in his views, which we have sketched above, in regard to the invidious treatment of the Company's Officers—to the fatal system of depressing and excluding Native Officers from high employment—to “the folly and madness of keeping up a perpetual blister on the irritable minds of your Officers, languishing in that distant colony and that wasting service;” and, above all, if he is right in ascribing much of “the horrors of the Barrackpore tragedy to the lamentable gap between the Officers and Sepoys, so different from what it was and what it should be;” then what shall we say to the wisdom of those who at this crisis send out three strangers to take the chief command of the three Indian Armies! We should be glad to know what military men think of such a thing; but for our own parts we are free to confess, that such a measure, at such a conjuncture, seems to our apprehension little short of complete infatuation; and that one of the worst parts of our whole anomalous system of Indian Government, is that which admits of these changes every three or four years of our Chief Commanders in India. We have heard, indeed, of Directors alleging, in excuse for their servile acquiescence in extraordinary military nominations, that they considered a previous acquaintance with the Sepoy character and system, and the peculiarities of the European Officer's position and feeling in India, as quite needless, since any *clever* man may attain it in a few months! Let us grant the acquisition to be possible within so short a period, (an assumption very much in need of evidence,) what security have we that we shall light upon a man of those quick parts, or that before even he has acquired the necessary experience, he may not be called upon to act in circumstances where the want of it may prove fatal. Would it be well to have experiments similar to that of Barrackpore repeated every now and then? and conducted probably by hands much less capable or qualified for so arduous a task. But it is needless to detain our readers with further remarks on the absolute wisdom of such opinions, and the fitness of their holders, for managing such an empire as that of the East. No man who had been *resident* in India, and who had any opportunities of observation, could, even by any probable chance, entertain such sentiments. On hearing them, indeed, we were forcibly reminded of the saying of the Chancellor Oxenstern to his son: “See with how small a quantity of wisdom the affairs of the world are managed!”

The Indian Army will rejoice to learn that Major-General Jasper Nicolls is returning to India by the "Thomas Grenville." Here is, indeed, an instance of a highly commendable appointment. General Nicolls has served long in India, and in almost every part of it. His talents for military command were displayed in a most distinguished manner, when Lord Hastings sent him into the Almorah Hills against the Nepaulese, at the head of a separate division; and when he and Sir David Ochterlony showed themselves the only successful commanders during the disastrous and discreditable campaign of 1814-15. But we are more particularly pleased with General Nicolls's appointment to the Indian Staff, because he is so exceedingly popular with the Company's Army, which composes five-sixths of the Indian force. We are assured by Officers who have served under his command, that this popularity, arises partly from confidence in his abilities and his temper, but mainly from his avowed good opinion of the Sepoys, an opinion which they fully justified during the campaign alluded to. It is certainly singular, that neither of the successful Generals, Sir D. Ochterlony and Nicolls, had a single European soldier under his command, while the other divisions that were baffled had several European corps. But Sir E. Paget, it is said, looks down on the Native troops with contempt; and of course, as he is an *experienced* Commander-in-Chief in India, and a Lieutenant-General, he must be much better authority, in such a case, than a couple of Major-Generals, who have only served the best part of their lives with this description of force.

The attention of the public has been called, since our last Number, to an Official Order regulating the distribution of East Indian Prize Money, of which we annex a copy, convinced that it is only by the publicity of acts of this description, rousing the attention of the Empire, that their injustice can be corrected. For the tenacity with which error is clung to, as regards Indian affairs particularly, leaves us little to hope from the justice or liberality of those by whom they are directed :

All booty captured from an enemy by the Company's troops alone, becomes the property of the Company, by virtue of the letters patent from the Crown, dated 14th January, 1758. All booty captured from an enemy by a force of which his Majesty's troops form a part, is the property of the Crown; and no right to any part of such booty is in either case vested in the troops capturing it, except by such special grant from the Court of Directors in the first case, or the Crown in the second. The Court, therefore, have positively directed, that no booty taken from an enemy should be called or considered as lawful prize, or the proceeds thereof in any way appropriated or distributed, without their previous sanction (or that of the Crown, in cases where the Royal sanction is legally requisite); but that all such booty, or the value arising from the sale of it, be set apart and deposited in their treasuries, and a correct account taken of it, and transmitted to them by the earliest practicable opportunity, to await their decision, or the decision of the Crown, as the case may require.

The prospects held out to the troops by this order are not likely to increase their appetites for the Burmese war, in which there are many chances of death and of failure, to only a very faint hope of reward. There is a material difference between an indiscriminate seizure of plunder and a fair division of hard-earned prize. If plunder of an enemy be permitted at all, and it has always been admitted as an excitement to greater efforts, the Indian Prize Money certainly belongs rather to those who won it than to their employers, who have no right or title to

keep armies on foot to enrich themselves, by ordering their forces to devastate these countries.

The Bank of England has made a loan to the East India Company of 2,000,000*l.* which, by causing an excess in the amount, and a decrease in the value of the currency, is partly the reason of the re-action in the money market. This is an illustration of the security of the Company's two millions of annual surplus revenue; it is, on the contrary, compelled to borrow to that amount in England.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

Lord Hastings certainly returns to England immediately, and it is said, meditates compelling the Court of Directors coming to close quarters with him on the subject of his conduct at Hyderabad, so unjustifiably, and unhandsomely impugned by them in the celebrated despatches, to which they have obtained the approval of one of their steady majorities in the Court of Proprietors. It is whispered by some, that his Lordship has been privately written to by the *highest authority*, and offered the government and command in India, to restore external tranquillity, and calm domestic effervescence in that country. This, indeed, would be an honourable and substantial acquittal of his Lordship, from all that the persevering malignity of the Bebbs, the Impeys, and the Astells, would impute to him. We trust that the noble Marquis, when such an opportunity is afforded him, will speedily obliterate every trace of that misrule which, during his absence from India, has already destroyed most of the good effects of his happy administration; that he will not now stop at half-measures, but fully vindicate the rights and privileges of his countrymen in the East, and our great and permanent national interests; that he will rescue the Press, which formerly shed a lustre over his government, from the state of thralldom in which his successors have placed it, and keep down that *civil cabal* which would sacrifice the public prosperity, and every great and glorious object, to the petty selfishness and jealousy of grasping possession of despotic power, altogether free from the "salutary control of public scrutiny," which the noble Marquis and every honourable man may fearlessly court. The newspapers have lately contained an Address to his Lordship from the Merchants of Malta, expressive of their gratitude towards him, for the protection he has afforded them, and soliciting the exertion of his interest with the British Government on his arrival in England, in behalf of their trade, with which he has promised to comply.

THE LEVANT COMPANY.

The resignation made to Government by the Levant Company, of their charter, is a matter of notoriety. A few of the particulars connected with it may, however, be acceptable to our readers. It will be recollected that a change was made in the situation of our foreign Consuls by Mr. Canning, about the time it was first thought of recognizing the independence of the Spanish American States. Up to that period, the Consuls of the Levant Company had been paid by the Company itself; but Government then assumed the task of appointing and remunerating them. It was congenial to the spirit of the times to break down the barriers with which commerce was fettered. Hence we

presume originated the idea of surrendering the charter, and thus throwing open the commerce of the Mediterranean. The importance of the surrender will be best understood by a view of the following table:—

Amount of Goods exported to Turkey and Egypt, from the United Kingdom:

In 1822.....	972,447	8	1
1823.....	1,274,237	16	9
1824.....	1,397,509	1	11

The following resolutions have been agreed to by the House of Commons, and a bill ordered to be brought in:—

I. That upon the surrender of their Charter by the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the Levant Seas, the same shall become void, and the real property of the Company shall be vested in his Majesty.

II. That all personal property of the said Company shall be vested in the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury; and after payment of the Company's debts, shall be carried to the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

III. That all dues and duties of the said Company shall cease and determine.

IV. That the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury be authorized to make allowances or pensions to any officers of the said Company who may be deprived of their offices in consequence of the surrender of the Company's Charter.

We understand that Mr. Charles Ricketts, formerly a Member of Council in Bengal, has been appointed to succeed the late Mr Rowcroft, as his Majesty's Consul General in Peru, and will proceed, in a few weeks, for his destination.

TREATMENT OF A COLONIAL EDITOR.

Mr. Greig, the Editor and Proprietor of the *South African Advertiser*, suppressed at the Cape of Good Hope by Lord Charles Somerset, has lately sailed from England for that colony, Government having assured him, it is said, of future protection. We should like to know, however, whether the arbitrary power exercised by that phoenix of Governors is now abridged so as to ensure safety to those who have the misery to live under his authority. If not, what sort of justice or redress is it to an ill-used individual to be sent back, as in this case, without any compensation for his losses, to begin the world again, placed as before, at the mercy of the very individual who broke up his establishment, and aimed a deadly blow at his credit and fortunes. When he returns, after suffering every vexation, and great loss of time and property, in the hope of again building them up with diminished resources, he finds his supporters scattered, his friends intimidated; and should he, notwithstanding, be lucky enough to recover himself a little, and rise above his misfortunes, the oppressor is still ready to blast all his hopes, and again level them with the dust. Is this the sort of justice which a great nation dispenses to its distant dependencies? Is this the protection which a magnanimous British Ruler should extend to the settlers in our colonies, who are expected to afford an outlet to our surplus population? Are those at the Cape, in particular, to which British subjects have been so much encouraged to emigrate, to be then left a helpless prey to famine and oppression? If so, let us avow at once that colonial Governorships are given away to favourites, merely as a theatre wherein they may gratify their love of power, and indulge their imperious passions, rather than as sacred trusts held for the benefit of mankind, and for the interests of the nation to which they should render a faithful account of their stewardship.

An extraordinary rumour, in reference to the Cape, has been in circulation among the most eminent merchants trading to that colony. It is to the effect, that orders are given to pay the Government paper issued in 1810 at the Cape, the six dollars of 4s., at 1s. 6d. in new coin from England. We shall not comment on this declaration of insolvency, until we hear something further regarding the matter.

DEBATE BEFORE THE PRIVY-COUNCIL.

ONE of the most important events of the month, as it regards the future interests of the people of India, has been the discussion before the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, of the late regulation for licensing the Press in Bengal. The importance attached to this question by those who had to sit in judgment on it, may be inferred from this remarkable fact, that never, since the debate before them on the question of the Queen's right to participate in the coronation of her Royal Husband, has there been so full an attendance of Privy Councillors.

We have obtained from our Reporter a very full and accurate report of the debate; and it will be seen from the enumeration of the Lords, Judges, and others present, how powerful an array of influence was brought to bear upon the decision of this question. The presence of four of the Cabinet Ministers—of all the Chief Judges of the land—the principal Members of the Board of Control, and the chief Law-Officers of the Crown, proved, that the subject of discussion was regarded as no light matter, and the personal attendance of many of the East India Directors showed, that they also were deeply interested in the issue.

The speeches of Counsel lasted from half-past ten till half-past five, without cessation or intermission. All, except the Lords of the Council, were then ordered to withdraw; and their Lordships sat in deliberation until half-past six, when they broke up without pronouncing any judgment. What that judgment may be, or when it may be pronounced, all our efforts to learn have been unavailing. Before the issue of our next Number we hope we shall, however, learn; referring our readers to the full report of the debate, for the arguments used on each side, we subjoin the following remarks on it from the *Globe* and *Traveller* of the 24th:—

Our readers will find in another part of our paper a report of the proceedings yesterday before the Lords of the Council, on the appeal of Mr. Buckingham against the regulation of the Bengal Government, for the suppression of unlicensed printing in India.

The question on which the Council has to decide is, whether the suppression of unlicensed printing be or be not repugnant to the laws of England. By the Act of Parliament which regulates the authority of the Company's servants in India, a power is given to them to enact regulations, which, if "not repugnant to the laws of England," may be registered by the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and have the force of law, subject to an appeal to the Privy Council. The question is, whether a regulation for the suppression of unlicensed printing comes within the proper scope of this discretionary power.

We are certainly bound to admit that the phrase, "not repugnant to the laws of England," is not very definite, and that the intentions of the Legislature, probably not very well understood by themselves, are not now very easily ascertained. But in a statute in which safeguards are provided for the liberties of British subjects in India, the laxity of language should not be turned against those liberties; and in the absence of a clear declaration of the Legislature, we should surely be guided by the common sense and understanding of mankind.

A law by which restraints upon liberty are to be imposed, either directly or derivatively, is to be considered as a law in the highest degree penal, and to be construed strictly. The power given against existing laws and existing liberties is, therefore, not to be taken to be the utmost which a forced construction of the words employed will admit of, but the least which the language, in its ordinary interpretation, will comprehend.

The situation of the India Company's Governments within its settlements or factories, is similar to the situation of our corporate towns within their limits, and the permission given by the act to make regulations not repugnant to the laws, is very nearly analogous to the power which corporations actually exercise within their local jurisdictions.

We would put it to the common sense of any man, whether, if the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London had a power given them, in the same words, of making regulations for the good government of their city, not repugnant to the laws of England, their sweeping away the liberty of the press would not be deemed an unwarrantable extension of that power?

We would ask whether, if by previous laws, applicable to that city in particular, British subjects inhabiting it were subjected to peculiar restrictions, these limitations of their freedom could be fairly adduced as a justification for annihilating what had been by law allowed to remain?

We would ask also, whether even the special enactments of the law, as to other matters, would not form a presumption that a subject equally important should not be disposed of under a general clause; whether they would not create a presumption that the discretionary power to make "regulations" should be understood merely to apply to objects which the Legislature might overlook, or, not overlooking, might deem unworthy of special notice?

That the liberty of unlicensed printing in India is of great importance, we are prepared to contend—that it is inconsequent and immaterial, the advocates of the regulation are precluded from maintaining, by the violent means they have taken to suppress it, and by their arguments as to its dangerousness. That it is a thing likely to be overlooked by any English legislator,—that it is a peculiar growth of Indian factories, which a British Parliament could not have contemplated, we can hardly suppose that they will affirm. Do they imagine, then, that it was purposely overlooked, in order that the judges of its existence might be those whom it might check or irritate; and that men, insolent in brief authority, repulsed in schemes of personal slander, or floundered in absurd prosecutions, might strangle one of the great liberties of the English subject, and write on it this epitaph, that its destruction was "not repugnant to the English laws"?

The Company's Council take a distinction between regulations *propter* and regulations *contra legem*, regulations against the law and regulations beside it. But if this regulation is not against the law, what is it? It may be said that to punish all petty offences with death would not be a regulation against the law, for the law of England punishes some offences in the like manner. It may be said, that to take away the trial by jury from all offenders, because the law of England takes it from some, would merely be *beside* the law. In this way the Bengal Government may exercise a power as great as they assume. But if there be one thing that in common estimation is peculiarly English—a privilege which exists wherever the British laws and constitution extend, the violation of which has always been held in abhorrence—it is the liberty of printing. The intention of destroying it, in any part of the British dominions, should not be lightly imputed to the Legislature; but that they intended to extinguish it by a side wind—that they gave the power to destroy it in an *et cetera*, as a kind of appurtenance to the magisterial power of a settlement not worthy of special notice among the legislation of drains and sewers, and tolls and scavengers—is an infamy not to be credited of them.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

HOWISON'S FOREIGN SCENES.

Foreign Scenes and Travelling Recreations. By John Howison, Esq. of the Honourable East India Company's Service. 2 Vols. Crown 8vo.

THIS very entertaining production blends with the amusement it is intended to impart, no inconsiderable share of instruction, and will be read with advantage by all who may be preparing to depart on a distant voyage, and particularly by those who are about to visit the East. In detailing the numerous petty vexations and minor grievances to which the voyager is under common circumstances subjected, the author performs a real service by preparing, in some degree, the young adventurer for the trials he is likely to encounter; and thus inducing him to lay in, with his other sea-stores, a sufficient stock of patience to carry him through the voyage in comfort to himself, and manly with his fellow-passengers. To effect this, the sketch entitled 'Life at Sea,' is well adapted, and the visitor to India will also feel considerable interest in the 'Two Days at the Cape of Good Hope.' 'Life in India' will, however, present to him a yet more attractive title, and the scenes which it exhibits, though occasionally rather strongly drawn, are such as he must prepare himself to meet with. Should these, on his becoming personally acquainted with them, assume a less annoying aspect than that with which they are here depicted, it will still be fortunate for him to have anticipated them as worse than they really prove to be, as this comparative improvement will tend materially to reconcile him to the country in which many, if not all, of his succeeding years must be passed.

It must not, however, be concluded that these sketches exhibit the feelings of a querulous and discontented mind: on the contrary, the amusements and varied nature of the scenes occurring in an eastern life are equally well displayed, and the volumes thus become useful to the fire-side traveller, being adapted to furnish him with that kind of homely information, if the term may be allowed, which it is below the dignity of professed travel-writers to impart. 'The Cantonment of Serooti,' and the 'Journey in the Deccan,' afford further insight into Indian manners and scenery, and are fraught with much interest.

The remaining sketches, which relate chiefly to Havanna and to West India scenery and society, are less within our scope to notice; but we may safely recommend their perusal. The volumes are indeed, altogether, of a very lively and amusing description.

• THE TRAVELS OF THE THREE SHERLEYS.

The Three Brothers; or, The Travels and Adventures of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert, and Sir Thomas Sherley, in Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, &c. With three Portraits. Crown 8vo. pp. 204.

A volume like the present, comprehending within a narrow compass, the History of the Lives and Travels of three very eminent, but now almost forgotten individuals, whose characters and fortunes were singularly and deeply tinged with the spirit of romance, can hardly fail, we should think, of winning its way to popularity. The topics which it embraces are perhaps, of all others, those which most strongly interest the feelings of every class of readers, and afford at the same time the largest share of rational instruction and innocent gratification. And when to these recommendations we add, that the adventures it relates, from the authenticity of which, the air of romantic chivalry with which they are invested by no means detracts, are referable to a period when the scenes and countries delineated were almost entirely new to European travellers, we can only regret that the various relations from which it is compiled are not more ample and circumstantial in their details.

To those who are conversant with the history of Persia, the names of the two younger Sherleys, Sir Anthony and Sir Robert, cannot fail to be familiar, from the circumstance of their having resided for a considerable length of time at the

court, of the great Shah Abbas, and of their having been successively employed by that Monarch in the quality of ambassadors to the principal European powers; and, to add to the singularity of this appointment, having even been received in that capacity at the court of their native country. After a sketch of the adventurous life of Sir Anthony Sherley previous to his departure from Venice, in 1599, on his mission to Persia, undertaken in concert with the Earl of Essex, with the double object of exciting the Persian Prince against the Turks, and establishing commercial relations between the two countries, the Editor proceeds to the different accounts of the expedition, which are four in number; viz. Sir Anthony Sherley's relation of his travels, published in 1613; a brief sketch by William Parry, one of his followers; another by an anonymous author; and finally, a narrative, which had hitherto remained in MS. with the exception of a portion transcribed in a late number of the *Retrospective Review*, written by George Manwaring, a gentleman who attended on Sir Anthony during the journey. Of these accounts, Manwaring's is by far the most circumstantial and amusing, Sir Anthony himself being rather too fond of moralizing, in a prolix and pompous style, on the events of his journey, and appearing rather to have in view the display of his own superior talents and profound sagacity, than the information of his readers on the minor points of his route; while the two others enter very little into detail. The most interesting portion of the volume is consequently occupied by Manwaring, whom the author accompanies from the embarkation of Sir Anthony and his suite of twenty-six persons, at Venice, to his quitting Persia on his European embassy, where this narrative terminates. This portion of the travels is occasionally illustrated by reference to Sherley's own account of the transactions in which he was engaged; but we cannot help expressing our regret that the Editor has not thought fit to reprint in full the knight's own relation; inasmuch as it contains some singular adventures not adverted to by Manwaring, and many valuable observations, calculated to throw a light upon the views then entertained in Europe with regard to different countries of the East, which would have fully compensated for the dry and tedious disquisitions with which they are accompanied. An extract from Parry's account describes the Ambassador's reception in Russia; which, if the reader will take the trouble of comparing it with Lieut. Holman's statement of the manner of his removal from that country, will show that the Russian Government, whatever other improvements it may have made of late years, remains stationary at least in its mode of treating suspected foreigners. The anonymous production before mentioned is then referred to, for the further progress of the Ambassador through Germany, Italy, and Spain, where he was appointed to command the Spanish armament destined to act against the Turks, a singular employment for an Envoy from a foreign court. Here we lose sight of him for a while, but we soon meet with him again in an extract from Purchas, which gives a truly romantic account of his Embassy from the Emperor of Germany to the King of Morocco, in 1604. From this time till his death, which took place in Spain in 1630, a dreary blank occurs, broken only by a slight allusion in a pamphlet published in that year, which speaks of him as living at the court of Spain about 1625, with a pension of 2000 ducats yearly.

Of the youngest brother, Sir Robert, the notices are shorter and more incidental. He accompanied his brother to Persia, and remained there as a sort of hostage for his good behaviour. He was employed by the Persian Monarch in his wars against the Turks; and a flaming account of his wonderful prowess is given from a MS. fragment, where obtained the Editor has neglected to state. In 1609 we find him succeeding his brother in the post of Ambassador to the Prince of Christendom; and of this period of his life some account is derived from a pamphlet published at London in that year, from Purchas, &c. He arrived in England in 1611, and was received at Court with every demonstration of favour and respect. For the particulars of his stay in this country, and return to Persia by sea in 1612, the Editor is indebted to honest Stow; but he has for-

gotten to notice one curious circumstance connected with this embassy, which is supposed to have enriched the English language with one of its most expressive terms. It seems that Sir Robert had despatched a special messenger, or *chiat*, as these eastern envoys were then called, to England, to make some preliminary arrangements previous to his own arrival, and that this honest precursor contrived, by some means or other, to choose the Persian merchants resident in London out of 4,000*l.*, with which he made off, unconscious of the importance which future etymologists would attach to his name.

With respect to the period intervening between this and Sir Robert's second embassy in 1623, we are left completely in the dark; but the Editor has extracted from the *Philoxenis* of Sir John Finnett, the Master of the Ceremonies, some very curious details relative to this visit, as well as to a controversy in which he was engaged with a Persian, who subsequently arrived in the same capacity, and asserted that Sir Robert's claims to that distinction were fictitious and unsanctioned. To put an end to this dispute, the King ordered them both to be conveyed back to Persia, and despatched with them Sir Dormer Cotton as Ambassador to the Shah; but before their arrival in that country, the Persian put an end to his existence by poison. The narrative of the ill reception which the Englishmen subsequently met with from the favourite of the Persian Monarch, and which had such an effect upon Sir Robert's mind that he survived it only a few months, is derived from the *Travels* of Sir Thomas Herbert, who accompanied the embassy.

The exploits of the eldest brother, Sir Thomas, being of a later date and less striking character, naturally occupy the concluding portion of the volume. In his youth, he had distinguished himself in Holland; but he afterwards settled quietly for some years on his paternal inheritance in Sussex. Stimulated, however, by the example of his brothers, he at length roused himself from his indolent life, and determined to do something which might render his name as famous as theirs. Accordingly, in the year 1602, he equipped three vessels, with which he undertook a crusade against the common enemy, the Turks. The history of this ill-fated expedition occurs in a black-letter fragment in the British Museum; from which it appears, that in consequence of the mutiny and desertion of his men, he was made prisoner by the Turks, from whom he underwent many cruelties, until, after nearly three years' confinement, he was liberated by the intervention of King James. The rigour of his imprisonment appears effectually to have cooled his passion for adventure: for we find no further mention of him as engaged in any such enterprise.

On the whole, the Editor has shown considerable judgment and research in the collection and selection of the various detached pieces of which the volume is composed, although he has passed over in silence a few interesting points. There is, however, one omission for which he is not responsible, and which he thus notices in a note, when speaking of Sir Thomas Sherley:—"His observations on Turkey and other countries, which he visited in this expedition and on his return, are recorded in a manuscript in the Lambeth library. An application was made to the Librarian for permission to transcribe this MS., which was refused on the ground that a bookseller must have an object of profit in view in making such a request." Such an act of illiberality might have been anticipated at the Escurial or the Vatican, although recent instances have shown a different disposition in the pious guardians of those vast depositories; but that the Archiepiscopal Library of the province of Canterbury should be placed under so absurd and revolting an interdiction, we can scarcely bring ourselves to believe. Our incredulity, too, is further strengthened by the statement that this permission was refused on the very ground which, to all liberal minds, would be the strongest argument in favour of its being granted; viz., that the application was made with a view to publication.

NEW EDITION OF ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY.

The Ancient History, by Charles Rollin, late Principal of the University of Paris. With a Life, and Notes: By JAMES BELL. Glasgow, 2vo. VOL. I.

A work so well known and so generally esteemed as the present, requires from us no commendation; and in noticing the neat and cheap edition, the title of which is quoted above, our object is rather to call attention to the Notes by which it is illustrated, than to the production itself. That those who peruse the more detailed accounts of the History of the Ancient World, and who study for themselves the writings of the great men who flourished in or near those times, the events of which they relate, should have previously prepared themselves for the understanding of their authors by the acquirement of the necessary geographical information, is fairly to be presumed. With the readers of Rollin's Ancient History the case is, however, different. In addition to the standard character which all allow it to deserve, this excellent work possesses also a popular cast, which renders it attractive and amusing to those even who have not undergone that previous course of study which is required for its thorough comprehension; and to this class of readers the edition now before us will be found peculiarly valuable, as it embraces, in the form of notes, much essential information. These are chiefly geographical, and are compiled from the best authors, compared with the recitals of modern travellers. For the account of the site and ruins of ancient Babylon, Shushan, Ecbatana, Persepolis, &c. a recourse has been had to Rennell, Kinnier, Frederick, Rich, and Kerr Porter; and the younger De Luc has furnished materials for a new and condensed memoir of Hannibal's celebrated march across the Alps. The ancient and modern geography of the classic land of Greece is also admirably illustrated at considerable length; and particular attention is given to the establishing of the site of the memorable Carthage. Other notes are of an etymological character; and among these that which discusses the origin of the name of Carthage deserves particular mention. The notes will indeed be found extremely useful throughout; and some interest will probably be excited by the information that they are the production of one of those humble yet talented individuals who reflect the highest credit on our country, and more especially on its northern division. The Editor, James Bell, is, we understand, a poor man, living in a thatched cottage, of only four pounds yearly rent, at the distance of about ten miles from Glasgow; highly respected for the talents which he has assiduously cultivated in obscurity. His intellect is most powerful, and his memory extraordinarily retentive; and though now rather beyond the middle age, he has but just commenced his literary career as a contributor to the press.

The present volume, printed in double columns, in a clear and legible type, comprehends the first five volumes of the original edition, with very copious additional notes; and we have no hesitation in declaring our opinion that, in consequence of the introduction of this new feature, the edition of which it forms the commencement, bids fair to be not only the cheapest, but, what is of much greater importance, the best that has yet issued from the press.

DUNCAN ON PROSECUTIONS FOR OPINION.

Remarks on the Legality and Expediency of Prosecutions for Religious Opinion. To which is annexed, An Apology for the Furies of the Lower Orders: By JONATHAN DUNCAN, Esq. 8vo. pp. 253.

It has often been remarked, as a singular circumstance, that India should produce so many friends of liberty from among the English residents there, who see around them daily nothing but despotism and slavery. It is perhaps because of this very familiarity with the minute details of tyranny, that they learn to hate it so cordially; and feeling (as all men in the India service occasionally do) the evils of being enslaved, they pant the more ardently to taste the happiness of being free. This is certainly the state of feeling among a large portion of the British residents in India; nay, it may be said to extend its influence to all, ex-

cepting only those few who are at the immediate head of the Government; who, on the same principle that makes slaves the most tyrannical of masters, revel in the exercise of despotism over others, because they were, for a series of years before, subject to be tyrannized over themselves. Be this as it may, it is beyond all dispute, that in the British Society of India generally there is a greater extent of liberal principles and liberal views, than in any society of the same limited number to be found in any other country. There is enough of corruption at the apex of the pyramid; but the base, and by far the greater part of the superstructure, is sound and undecayed.

Mr. Duncan, the author of the work before us, is the son of the late Governor of Bombay, whose name he bears; and though he has passed through all the scenes of a Cambridge education, he continues as warm a friend of unlimited freedom of opinion as if he had never been within the walls of an university. It was our wish and intention to have given such an extended notice of his book as its merits fairly entitle it to; but this must be postponed to a future day. We cannot, however, suffer it to pass through our hands, without saying something, however briefly, on its scope, tendency, and character.

The aim of this volume is in perfect unison with the motto prefixed to it:—"Liberty, absolute liberty, full and perfect liberty, is the thing that we desire;" and such is the freedom which the author advocates in all matters, whether religious or political. In inquiring into the legality of prosecutions for religious opinions, he regards the incessantly repeated dictum of Sir Matthew Hale, that "Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land," as forming the basis on which all the modern proceedings against blasphemers rest; and he thence takes occasion to inquire whether that great lawyer possessed a mind sufficiently enlightened and free from the prejudices of the comparatively dark and ignorant times in which he lived, to induce us in the present age to pay to his authority implicit obedience. In support of the negative of this question, he quotes at length the trials of the witches at Bury St. Edmunds, before Sir Matthew Hale; and deservedly holds up to contempt the gross ignorance and superstition displayed by him on that occasion, of which even an old woman of the nineteenth century would blush to be guilty, and thus fairly destroys the foundation of the modern practice of courts of law in cases of this nature. He next proceeds to argue triumphantly against the existence of any such offence, as forming part of the common law; and then places Lord Chief Baron Hale's observation in a novel point of view, by remarking, that the crime against Christianity should be rather taken to consist in infractions of the rules that are delivered in the books on which our religion is founded. Under offenders in this manner against Christianity he ranks the dignitaries of the church in general, and warns them to beware, lest in enforcing this favourite dictum to the letter, they should themselves be found guilty of offending against its spirit.

The author next proceeds to expose the inexpediency of such prosecutions, in the most forcible and able manner. The impossibility of drawing a definite line between free and forbidden discussion; the inadequacy of penal means to produce uniformity of belief; and the tyranny, in a free country, of interfering in matters of religious opinion, are strongly and incontrovertibly insisted on. The utility of such interference forms the subject of a separate chapter, and is illustrated and supported by historical evidence, deduced from the most remarkable prosecutions that have taken place in those countries which have embraced the Christian faith; and several very powerful arguments are subsequently brought forward, to show the inconsistency and impropriety of a Parliament, professedly Protestant, legislating in cases of religious opinion.

The apology for the imputed vices of the lower orders, which concludes this bold and masterly volume, traces their moral degradation to the influence of bad example, the aristocratic character of the ecclesiastical system, and to the defective nature of our civil and criminal jurisprudence. Under these heads, the author enters into much valuable discussion on the numerous vices and errors of our civil and ecclesiastical policy, and animadverts strongly on the laxity of the

later; with respect to spiritual discipline, as subversive, at once, of the virtue and the happiness of the country.

We conclude by earnestly recommending Mr. Duncan's volume to all those ardent our readers who feel an interest in the happiness of their fellow-men.

FREE COMMERCE WITH INDIA.

A Letter addressed to the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Trade, with reference to the late Propositions in Parliament for the Improvement of the Colonial Policy of Great Britain: By a MADRAS CIVIL SERVANT. Kingsbury and Co. 1825.

THIS pamphlet treats of the restrictions which fetter the commerce between India and England, maintaining that since British goods are all admitted into that country almost duty-free, the heavy prohibiting duties laid on the importation of East India commodities with Great Britain, amounting in some instances to fifty or sixty per cent., ought to be abolished, on the common principles of justice, of reciprocity, and of free trade, often acknowledged, and in various cases acted upon by our present Ministers.

True and undeniable as this position is, the writer (if he had neither been a Company's servant nor otherwise obliged to be careful what sentiments he promulgated through its booksellers) would probably have fortified the abstract principle with many striking facts, bearing strongly on the question, which he leaves entirely out of view. While his Honourable Masters continue to draw a tribute of millions annually from their eastern territories, as surplus revenue, and collateral causes raise the wealth every year drained from India to double or perhaps triple the amount, is it just in Great Britain to swell this tribute still higher, by levying an enormous duty on the trade by which it is transferred to England? The removal of these, particularly the duty on sugar, are urgently demanded, to save that unfortunate country from complete exhaustion. But even this would not be enough to give full vigour to the commerce between the two countries. Colonization is necessary, both to awaken the resources of India, and to give an impulse to the introduction of British manufactures among its inhabitants; but while these are kept in the lowest stage of wretchedness by the Company's taxgatherers, and European skill and talents are banished from the country, Acts of Parliament about its external commerce will be of comparatively little avail. That little which could be done without offending the Company, (viz. the removal of the duty on East India Sugar,) is left undone by Ministers, in compliment to another equally respectable body, the West India Slave Owners. What are the interests of India and England, with their hundred millions of inhabitants, when they come in competition with those of a handful of Slave Owners or Monopolists?

LAW, REVENUE, AND FINANCE OF INDIA.

Observations on the Law and Constitution of India, on the nature of Land and Tenures, and on the System of Revenue and Finance, as established by the Mohammedan and Moghul Government; with an Inquiry into the Revenue and Judicial Administration and Regulations of Police, at present existing in Bengal.—Kingsbury and Co. 1825.

A VOLUME has just issued from the press on the 'Law and Constitution of India, System of Revenue and Finance, Landed Tenures, Judicial Administration,' &c.; on which we may probably offer some remarks in a future Number. But lest we should never have occasion to recur to it again, we cannot dismiss it at present without a few observations. The author might, perhaps, think it no bad *ruse* on advancing into the field, to begin with abusing the most distinguished that have gone before him; and the school to which he belongs is sufficiently indicated by the reverence he inculcates for his "Honourable Masters," and the nicknames and vulgarity he employs in speaking of those who oppose their doctrines. It would be well for them if arguments could be

refuted with the same facility as their advocates can call an opponent a "reading animal;" his reasoning "dogmatical radicalism," his judgements contemptible, "vulgar errors,"—a style of writing which shows the author to be some very inferior political partisan, who is content to adopt, at secondhand, the slang phrases which are now almost entirely exploded in Europe among gentlemanly politicians. Mr. Canning, the author of nicknames in his days, when a mere subaltern, has, now that Lord Castlereagh is gone, and he himself is become Prime Minister, put an end to "radicalism;" but the leavings and slough of his sarcastic wit, are fit enough to be taken up by the satellites and secondary persons of the old party—the "Quarterly Reviewers," "John Bulls" English or Indian—or when scouted, everywhere else to be served out among the hanks of the monopolists. Whether the principles of the work on Colonial Policy, which this writer would "cry down," be right or wrong, facts can never be changed. Is it true or not:—1st. That the whole nett produce of the earth in the Company's territories is swept into the public Exchequer in India: the Zameendar's pittance of one-twentieth of the gross produce as middleman, being rather an expense of realising, than a deduction from the gross produce. 2dly. That the proportion of nett to gross produce is one half. 3dly. That this metayer cultivation for half produce goes on without improvement, or likelihood of any. 4thly. That there is no rent, nor, therefore, any property in the soil; the Company having made itself in fact Universal Landlord, (in the true sense of the term,) and as such levying all rent, which it calls "land tax." Are the rulers of India better in this respect than their Mahomedan predecessors or the Turks? 5thly. That in consequence, any accumulation whatever of capital or savings from the lands is rendered impossible, and has never taken place; hence a universally poverty-stricken and redundant population exists, wherein the agricultural are out of all proportion to the non agricultural inhabitants. 6th. That the lowest imaginable natural standard of wages, as distinguished by late accurate Political Economists, from the occasional market rate of wages, prevails among this wretched people. They are satisfied with the interest pittance of rice and salt, to support with difficulty life and the continuance of their race. This writer may probably think little of such things; but philosophers regard low wages and contentment with barest subsistence, as indicating the lowest condition of social or *sou-disant* civilized man. It may be seen in Ireland in great perfection, but not more so than in India; such a people are always too numerous for what they have to eat and divide among them, and are therefore always miserable. What, indeed, is the real share of produce or proportional found in India, which falls to the lot of the population at large? 7th. That besides this grinding impost on land and labour, the mere salt they eat comes to them at 500 or 600 per cent. on the natural cost of production; Government taking *all the rest*, except the difference between its wholesale and the merchant's retail prices. Yet, notwithstanding this, and also the opium monopoly, which involves a gross violation of the rights of landed property altogether, this writer asserts, that "with the exception of the dues on the land, there is absolutely no other tax in India that affects the agriculturist!" This may serve, in the meantime, as a test of the value of his assertions. Doubtless, this author thinks the system "*works well*" for him and other place-men, comfortably sharing in the exorbitant revenue of nett produce, and accumulating all they can to bring away with them from the capital of the country; and leaving it when they are gorged, without one sympathy or bond of union with India or its people; whom he would fleece annually of millions of their wealth for the benefit of a Company of monopolists, but quarrels with those who call it by the ungentle name of "tribute."

VARIETIES IN LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART, CONNECTED WITH THE EAST.

[IN consequence of our formerly confined limits, and the constant pressure of other subjects on our space, this department of our work, as well as that containing a review of books, has fallen much into arrear. We embrace the present favourable occasion for renewing it; and hope to continue it in future with as little interruption as possible.]

Loo-choo Islands.—M. Klaproth has published in a late number of the 'Nouvelles Annales des Voyages,' a description, taken from Chinese and Japanese works, of the important Archipelago, lying between Formosa, Japan, and Corea, and called by the Chinese Lieou-Kieou, which the Japanese pronounce sometimes Ru-Kiu, and sometimes Loung-Khieou. The name given to them by the Natives is Oghin. It was only in the eighth century of our era, that the Chinese began to frequent these islands, which are governed by kings who pay tribute to the Emperors of China and Japan. The Archipelago consists of thirty-six islands, the most considerable of which, bearing the name of Ta (Great) Lieou-Khieou, is situate between the 26th and 27th degrees of N. lat. and in longitude 125° 50' E. from Paris. The Japanese accounts estimate its greatest length from N. to S. at five and a half days' journey, or sixty ris; and its greatest breadth at one day's journey, or from twelve to fourteen ris. It is divided into three provinces; the burying-place of the kings of the Middle Mountain is in that of Tchoung-Chan. Na-pa-Kiang is the principal port, and the best frequented; but that of Ou-ting or Vou-tchling, in the same province, is more safe and commodious, and contains the only elevated peak on the island, the form of which, being conical, serves as a guide to mariners. The religion of Lieou-Khieou is that of Fo or Buddha, introduced by the Chinese more than ten centuries ago. As in China, the greatest respect is shown to the memory of the dead, and the families are distinguished by names and surnames. The King, who can only take a wife from among the three principal families, is the richest proprietor. Independent of the produce of his domains, and of certain taxes, he has the monopoly of the sulphur, copper, tin, and salt mines. From these revenues he pays the salaries of the public functionaries and maintains his court. The payments are calculated in sacks of

rice. The eldest son of the King has the title of Vang-tsu, that is to say, Prince Royal. His younger brothers are equal in rank, and belong to the first class of nobility. The *grandees* are obliged to reside in the capital; the King provides for the administration of their estates, and remits to them their incomes, which are reduced, by the charges of administration and other expenses, to about a third. For some time past they have adopted the manners and customs of the Chinese; heretofore they rather followed those of Japan. The mildness of the climate and fertility of the soil prevent the existence of pauperism. The principal productions consist of native sulphur, red copper, zinc, pepper, excellent tobacco, *cartamus* flower, salt, &c. The *ku-king-lieou* is a tree, the wood of which, of a golden colour, is strong and durable, and of a very sweet odour. It is employed in cabinet-work, and is also used to make blocks, on which to rest while sleeping, according to the custom of Japan, and several provinces of China. The wild animals are bears, jackals, and wolves; they keep a great number of pigs and fowls, and the surrounding sea is very full of fish. The mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell of Lieou-Kieou are much sought after. Almost all the travellers who have visited this Archipelago represent its inhabitants as a very mild, good, and happy race. No information is given with respect to their number.

Chinese Literature.—M. Abel Rémusat has lately published at Paris, a work under the title of 'Éléments de la Grammaire Chinoise, ou Principes Généraux du Kou-Wen, ou Style Antique, et du Kouan-hoa, c'est à dire de la Langue commune généralement usitée dans l'Empire Chinois.' M. Klaproth has published a notice of this work, in which he traces the history of the various grammars of the Chinese language which have appeared both in Europe and Asia, and points out the deficiencies and imperfections

which attach to each of them. With respect to that published by Dr. Morrison in 1818, at Serampore, M. K. asserts, that "it contains a multitude of faulty examples fabricated by the author, intermixed with some others derived from the classic books of the Chinese; so that the former are in the modern and the rest in the ancient style, thus producing a confusion, which renders his work, already very *mediocre* in its conception, utterly useless. It appears, moreover, that Dr. Morrison has not the smallest idea of these two styles, which form entirely different languages, for they are incessantly confounded in his dictionary." After this sweeping condemnation of the work of our learned countryman, which we cannot help suspecting to be the off-spring of some petty pique, rather than the dictate of sound criticism, M. Klaproth proceeds to the consideration of the grammar of M. Rémusat, which he declares to be exempt from all the imperfections which he had attributed to all the previous ones. He asserts that the study of Chinese, far from being so difficult as it is imagined, requires only the assistance of a grammar and dictionaries, to be within the reach of every man of a naturally studious turn of mind; and, after appealing, in proof of this fact, to the progress made by the pupils of M. Rémusat at the Royal College of France, he proceeds as follows:—

"In the prolegomena, M. Rémusat gives a general idea of Chinese writing; of the composition of the characters, and of the different styles or manners of forming them. He treats of the Oral language or of the radical monosyllables, on which the Chinese is founded, and of the accents or intonations of these monosyllables, of which he has formed an alphabetical table, arranged according to the French and Portuguese orthography. The grammar, properly so called, is naturally divided into two parts: the first containing the rules of the ancient language, such as it is preserved in the classic books of the Chinese; and the second containing a grammar of the modern language, spoken by all the Chinese whose intellectual cultivation raises them above the mere populace; for the lower orders of each province have their *kiang-tan*, or particular dialect, which differs considerably from the true Mandarin language, both in words and construction. Although in M. Rémusat's work, all the rules are exceedingly clear and

precise, and the examples selected with discernment and taste from the best original authors; his *grammaire* shines principally in the exact definition of the value of the particles, and the indication of the place which they ought to occupy in the construction of the sentence. This doctrine is altogether founded on his own discoveries. None of his predecessors, not even the learned Father Prémare, have ever suspected it, and we should look for it in vain in their works. Besides the great clearness which reigns in the work before us, the author has contributed much to render it convenient to those who make use of it, by numbering all the paragraphs, and indicating, wherever it was necessary, the numbers of the paragraphs, the contents of which bear any relation to the rule in question. Each of the Chinese characters is accompanied by its pronunciation and the accent which it takes; and all the characters which are scattered through the work are united in a table, arranged in the order of the keys or radicals, with a reference to the pages of the work where their signification may be found. This table concludes the volume, which is one of the most valuable presents that has been made to Asiatic literature in Europe; and the merit of which is equal to the utility of the language which it is intended to make known. It will serve, besides, to convince the incredulous English who study the language of China in the country itself, that a truly learned man may not only attain a profound knowledge of Chinese in Europe, but that he may even make such astonishing progress, that the pupils of the Chinese Bachelors of Canton and of Macao will in future be compelled to study the rules of the grammar with which he furnishes them, in order to raise themselves by their knowledge to the height which he occupies.

Arabic Grammar.—M. Tychsen has published at Göttingen, a "Grammar of the Written Arabic Language for the Use of Beginners, with Extracts from the *Coran*." In this work, which is founded on the *Grammar* of Erpenius, so distinguished for its perspicuity, he has derived considerable assistance from the writings of M. M. de Sacy and Rosenmüller on the same subject. The *Grammar* is divided into five sections. The first of these treats of the manner of reading, writing, and pronouncing Arabic; and

the methods laid down by the author appear easy and appropriate. In the second he treats of the verbs, and gives rules for their conjugation and for the formation of the tenses, at the same time pointing out the difficulties which might embarrass beginners. The third section contains the nouns and pronouns; the former of which are divided by the author, according to the system of M. de Sacy, into simple nouns, and nouns *in statu constructo*, and their derivation, flexions, and declensions, are afterwards explained. The fourth relates to the particles and their uses; and in the fifth, the author gives the rules of Syntax, all the paradigmata of which are shown by examples taken from the Coran. The extracts from the Coran inserted at the end of the Grammar, accompanied with the vowel points, will be found very useful by young translators.

Turkish Grammar.—The study of Oriental literature appears to be making a rapid progress among our Continental neighbours. In addition to the numerous works on the languages of the East, which we have before enumerated, we have now to notice a Turkish Grammar, published at Paris by M. Jaubert, of which M. Klaproth speaks in the following terms:

—'M. Jaubert has done a great service to literature by the publication of his Grammar. The most esteemed works of this description were those of Meuniski, Holdermann, Comidas, Viguier, and Preindl (printed at Berhu in 1789). The first of these, which was intended to serve as an introduction to the *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium*, contains the general principles of the mixed idiom which is written and spoken at Constantinople; but its learned author is justly reproached with having united, in one single Grammar, the rudiments of three languages essentially differing from each other, as well with reference to their origin as to their idioms, their genius, and their construction. This inconvenience, which was very generally felt, determined the production of the Grammar attributed to Holdermann, printed at Constantinople in 1730, without the name of the author. Although it was merely an abridgement of that of Meuniski, deformed by shocking incorrectness of style, and, in consequence of having been intrusted to unskilful workmen, its typographical execution far from being commendable, the simplicity of Holdermann's method ensured its success;

nearly all the copies were distributed over the Levant, and it has become so rare as to excite a general desire for its republication. This is far from being the case with those of Comidas and Viguier; whether it be that in these Treatises, in other respects deserving of praise, the elementary principles are developed with too much prolixity, or that Comidas, and more particularly Viguier, thought they perceived, in the mechanism of the Turkish language, difficulties which had no existence, or that they exaggerated the importance of the anomalies that did exist, it is certain that their Grammars are so much the less read, so much the less consulted, as in the one (that of Viguier) the use of the Oriental characters, so necessary to be well known by those who wish seriously to learn the languages of Mahomedan Asia, has been almost entirely neglected; while in the other (that of Comidas), rules of pronunciation have been given which could apply, at the utmost, only to Spaniards and Italians. This last consideration has determined M. Jaubert to follow, in his new Grammar, a regular and easy transcription of the Turkish words into European characters; and he is so much the more to be praised for this, inasmuch as he has avoided the rock of pedantry on which so many of the transcribers of Oriental alphabets have wrecked their frail embarkation.

'Rules well weighed, examples chosen with discernment and great clearness, distinguish the work of M. Jaubert from those of his predecessors. The Tables containing the paradigmata of the conjugation of the verb in the different phases, are particularly useful, and present, at a glance, a general view of its changes. An Appendix contains, 1st, a Collection of Turkish Proverbs; 2dly, the Relation of the Burning of the Turkish Fleet at Tche-meh, in the original, lithographed under the direction of M. Bianchi; and 3dly, a French Translation of these pieces, forming a little Chrestomathy. M. Jaubert has also inserted in his work an Ougour Alphabet, extracted from the MSS. of the Miradj and of the Teskece Eolia, in the King's Library, together with two original passages, taken from these MSS., and accompanied with a literal version. We hope that M. J. will soon complete his Grammar by the addition of a volume of Syntax, illustrated by numerous examples, with a large quantity of which the reading of Turkish books must have supplied him.'

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A meeting of this Society was held at Freemasons' Tavern, on the 30th April. On this occasion there were present,—H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, as Chairman; Lords Teignmouth, Milton, Calthorpe, and Nugent; Sir H. Baring, and Sir J. Sebright; Messrs. Brougham, Denman, Powell, Buxton, Evans, W. Smith, Dr. Lushington, Messrs. Spring Rice, R. Martin, Bennet, and several other Members of Parliament.

The business commenced by Mr. Samuel Hoare reading the annual report. It enumerated the ineffectual legislative steps taken by the local authorities in the Colonies, and enforced the necessity of bringing public opinion in this country to bear on a question so vitally interesting to humanity. The report went on to state the peculiar circumstances of the West Indian trade, its monopoly, competition with free labour, and the necessity of an alteration in the sugar duties.

LORD CALTHORPE, in moving that this report be adopted by the meeting, urged on the Society the necessity of persevering to lay before the world the horrors of slavery, for the purpose of mitigating, if not suppressing so baneful an evil; one, indeed, so repugnant to the principles and dictates of humanity. He defended this and similar institutions from the imputations that have been so unsparingly thrown out upon them, of leading away the public mind, by exaggerated statements of the state of West Indian slavery; all the glaring facts of which were now admitted and detailed in their report, by the reluctant testimony of the agents of their infliction. It was not right to state, that because these facts were horrible, they were therefore untrue; and that, because they excited no horror in West Indian society, they ought not to credit it in England. The noble lord then referred to some of the details in the report, to show, that no statement could exaggerate the evils of slavery, or paint its enormity in stronger colours than they were admitted to be by the confession of the planters themselves. He eloquently contrasted the public conduct of the legislature at home and in the Colonies, and the disgraceful proceedings of the latter in all matters connected with the amelioration of their slaves; which amounted to an open confession of the great evil inseparable from so odious

a system, and the utter impossibility of correcting them without British interference. His lordship conjured the meeting not to leave undone the great work which Mr. Wilberforce had begun, and to put the finishing stroke to the superstructure which his talents had reared.

LORD MILTON rose, and expressed his warm admiration of the objects of this Society. If the great leaders of the cause thought they had obtained their object, without the abolition of slavery itself, they little calculated on the real duty they owed to society and their Creator. The West Indian mind deduced itself on this question; and he believed, that many very well meaning proprietors of West India property, who reside away from their estates, were the unknowing cause of disseminating false intelligence as to the real state of things upon their plantations.

MR. W. SMITH heard with the greatest pleasure, the coincidence of opinion expressed by the last noble lord, who possessed an hereditary claim upon their attention, as being the successor in the representation of the county of York, of Sir George Saville, one of the earliest of the abolitionists. He recollected an anecdote of Sir George, who once visited a slave-ship at Liverpool, and becoming shocked at the preparations before him, was asked if he was ill? Sir George shook his head, at the consciousness of the different feelings which actuated him and his mercantile companion; and said, "No, I am not ill; but while you are contemplating the profits of this voyage, I am wishing the vessel may never see the end of it."

MR. W. WILBERFORCE presented himself to the notice of the meeting, and expressed his sense of the difficulty under which he laboured in attempting to address them. It would be some consolation to his father, when he deplored his absence from the last field in which they probably would be called upon to contend, to learn that His Royal Highness was surrounded in that hour, by those valued friends who for forty years had combated by his side, and that those who fought were about to enjoy the triumph. That hour of success could not be distant. He thought so from the condition of their enemies; and still more, from seeing at the head of their phalanx a member of the House

of Brunswick, from whose settlement on the throne they had derived those principles which had rendered this country the envy of the world.

Mr. BROUGHAM said, It gives me great satisfaction to have an opportunity of addressing my brethren of this Society on the present occasion. It is true, as an hon. gentleman has observed, that nothing, absolutely nothing, had been done on either side of the Atlantic. Yet I cannot but feel confident of ultimate, and not long-deferred success, from one single statement, namely, that nothing has been done. We were told not only for the second, but for the hundredth time, that when we last pressed forward to lay the axe at the root of the poisonous tree, under whose shade our fellow-men have so long withered and perished, that ours was not the task to fell the trunk—that ours was not the task even to prune the branches; that the evil must gradually be coped with in the West Indies; and that the time for withholding nourishment from its culture, for ceasing to water its roots, or for pruning its luxuriances, could only be judged of by those on the spot, who knew the soil, and the climate in which it was cultivated. We were told, that by various means, slow and gradual, and almost imperceptible to the naked eye, our object would be accomplished *without that interference, which could only mean warfare and destruction. We were told, in short, to let them alone, and they would do every thing effectually for us. Now we did not believe, and we told them so; and what did they say to that? Why, that we were vituperative, uncharitable, and inhuman, to the West India planters; and if we only waited a little while—a month or two at most—we would see the whole of our wishes speedily and surely effected by the West Indian legislature. What has been the result? Unbelieving we did wait, and what have they done? Why, I say again, absolutely nothing. And here I beg it to be borne in mind, that I mean to follow them up by something of a parliamentary notice on this occasion, and compel them either to abide by their contract, or take the consequences which must surely and inevitably follow any longer neglect. I never expected to live to feel such a weight of obligation to the whole West India legislature. What has Trinidad done? Why, much. It has resisted, from the very moment it was promulgated, those Orders in Council which were formed

in consequence of our efforts, and only yielded, at last, in obedience to the strong arm of authority. But in that simple resistance, the planters have done more to advance our cause than we have done in a quarter of a century. The legislature of Trinidad has declared, that to interfere with the discipline of the cart-whip, was to cut off at once what every one knew was the very emblem of West Indian slavery. In Barbadoes, they demolished the Meeting-house, because it had been devoted to the unhappy objects of your protection! But that was not all: they burnt the house of the Missionary, and drove him with ignominy from the spot; and when a successor was appointed, they actually warned him off the island. I have stated thus much, in order to preface that which I consider my most imperative duty to propose,—that this Society should at once give notice on the ground of former failures, and tell the West Indian Proprietors, ‘If you continue to pursue your present course, and allow one small portion of the session to pass by without adopting those measures which have been pressed upon you, and which you have pledged yourselves to carry into execution,—the very first week of the ensuing Session of Parliament shall see a bill brought in to do that for you which you refuse to do yourselves, and set this question at rest for ever, not only for the benefit of the Negro slave, but for the ultimate advantage of the short-sighted master.’

Mr. RUTS proposed that the present Meeting should declare a general resolution, not merely to abstain from West India sugar, but from the use of all sugar, if it were necessary, to lay at once the axe to the root of slavery, by a mode which, while it would admit the inmate of the palace to contribute largely to this work of humanity, would also enable the dweller in the humblest cottage to throw in his mite.

[Some objections were made as to the proper time for proposing this Resolution, but none that met it fairly on its merits; and it was accordingly not persisted in; though it is undeniable that no mode could be so effectual for the speedy and total abolition of slavery, as a universal bond between those who desire its destruction, not to taste of the fruits of its labours. The want of consumption for West Indian sugar would do in a year what the most eloquent orations of ages could not effect.]

Dr. LUSHINGTON stated, that an hon. friend of his having occasion to visit his West India property, took with him a sister to Jamaica; and upon his arrival there, endeavoured, in concert with her, to effect some alteration in the state of his slaves, and instil into them some rudiments of religious instruction. Would the Meeting, however, believe it? The gentleman and his sister were assailed with the most murderous threats for these exertions, and actually libelled in the newspapers in terms too gross for him to read to that assembly; but if God gave him strength, he would read it in his place whenever the question came to be agitated.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, he was induced to address the Meeting from selfish feelings: he was himself a slave. The cry of the West Indian Negro brought the Irish howl to his ear. Man was born free in every country, no matter what his colour or his creed: his right of freedom was inherent in his nature, and no country could be really free where the slave existed. He, therefore, pitied those who went on a religious crusade to the West Indies, and forgot the white bondsmen at home. He implored them to unite their exertions and voices in this great cause of freedom and humanity. Let public feeling be united in this cause, and expressed through the great bulwark of British liberty,—the press of England, and “the slave will grow too big for slavery, his chains will burst from around him, and he will stand regenerated and disenthralled.”

The following Resolutions were passed before the Meeting dispersed.

“That this Society, deeply impressed with a sense of the misfortune they have recently sustained, in the retirement from public life of their late incomparable leader, Mr. Wilberforce, hasten to discharge, in the most solemn and public manner, the imperious duty of acknowledging, for themselves and the African race, the inestimable obligations which they owe to that friend of mankind. Eminently endowed with every talent necessary to ensure his own individual advancement, and in circumstances peculiarly favourable for its attainment, the Society will recollect that, with a self-devotion of the most rare and unequalled description, he preferred the endeavour after widely-extended usefulness, in a course unproductive of wealth or power, to the certainty of becoming politically great; and sacrificed the brilliant prospect of

mixing on equal terms among the statesmen of Europe, at the shrine of justice and humanity.

“That while we recognize with applause the motives, equally pure and generous, which led to so disinterested a choice, we must more immediately direct our thanks to the conduct which they produced—the ardent zeal, the undeviating steadiness, the undaunted courage, and the inflexible perseverance, exerted and maintained through a long, laborious, and often discouraging contest; at the conclusion of which he attained the true and never-fading glory of freeing his country from her foulest stain—the traffic in man; and has entitled himself to the eternal gratitude, not only of his country, but of his species.

“That this Meeting feel themselves called upon to express their deep regret and disappointment, that so little progress should hitherto have been made in carrying into effect the benevolent intentions of his Majesty's Government, the unanimous resolutions of Parliament, and the wishes and prayers of the nation at large, for the mitigation and eventual extinction of colonial slavery; that the threats of determined resistance on the part of the colonists to the proposed measures of reform, appear to destroy all rational hope of relieving their bondsmen from the evils which press upon them, except by the direct interference of the Supreme Legislature, which, they trust, may be induced, without further delay, to enact and enforce such measures as shall effectually meliorate the condition of the slave-population of his Majesty's colonies, and raise them to a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.”

“That deeply convinced of the moral guilt, as well as of the political inexpediency of colonial slavery, this Meeting further laments the continuance of those commercial regulations, which, by imposing a much higher duty on sugar, the produce of free labour, than on sugar grown by slaves, force the latter into consumption in this country, almost to the exclusion of the former; that in thus giving a large bonus to the holders of slaves in their competition with free labour, this country is pursuing a course which, while it is at variance with all just maxims of commercial policy, powerfully and fatally tends to aggravate the miseries of the slave, and to perpetuate the evils of colonial bondage; and

that, therefore, they earnestly recommend to all the friends of their cause to employ their best exertions to put an end to a state of things which makes the people of this country the real and efficient, though reluctant, supporters of that system of slavery, which they unequivocally reprobate as immoral and unjust, as inconsistent with the principles of British law, and highly injurious to the national interests.

"That it be most earnestly recommended to the friends of this Society, in all parts of the United Kingdom, to employ their strenuous efforts in forming Anti-slavery Associations, for the

purpose of diffusing information respecting the state of slavery; of exciting and keeping alive a feeling of strong interest in the unhappy lot of our colonial bondsmen, and of producing a suitable impression among all classes, and especially among the young, of the paramount obligations attaching to us as men, as Britons, and as Christians, to leave no means unattempted for alleviating their condition, and for raising them from their present state of mental darkness and brutish subjection, to light, liberty, and the hope of the Gospel."

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT CONNECTED WITH INDIAN AFFAIRS.

House of Commons, Friday, May 13, 1825.

BURMESE WAR.

Mr. HUME seeing the President of the Board of Control in his place, wished to know whether any fresh advices had been received relative to the Burmese war?

The answer of Mr. WYNN was heard very indistinctly in the gallery. We understood him to say that no ships, and consequently no advices, had recently arrived from India.

EAST INDIA JUDGES' BILL.

The House resolved itself into a Committee on the above Bill.

Mr. HUME adverted to a provision which was contained in the 4th page of the bill, by which the Recorder of Prince of Wales's Island was liable to be removed from his situation at the pleasure of his Majesty. He wished to know why the person appointed to the recordership should be placed in a situation different from any other Judge? Other Judges held their appointment for life, unless they behaved improperly in office; and so, he contended, ought the Recorder of Prince of Wales's Island.

Mr. WYNN said, the provision in question was not a new one, but was strictly in conformity with the act or charter under which a Recorder had been originally appointed. The salaries of the Madras Judges had formerly been paid in pagodas, at 8s. the pagoda. That mode of payment had for some time been discontinued, and the salaries were paid in rupees. But it

was found that the quantity of silver to be obtained for the rupee was not equal, in proportion, to that which could be obtained for the pagoda, by which the Judges sustained a loss. A memorial stating that fact, and calling for an alteration, was laid before the Indian Government, who, having submitted it to the proper authorities, determined, on their report, to make the alteration. It was also thought better to pay the salaries in the local currency, rather than in British currency.

Mr. HUME said, he objected to the appointment of a Judge who was removable at pleasure. Such a system was most dangerous, since it tended to shake the independence of Judges. The House, perhaps, was not aware that Indian Governors had sometimes punished even jurors because they had done their duty. In one case, because a jury had acted contrary to the feelings of Sir G. Barlow, that individual had displaced every man who sat on it. It would not be forgotten that at a former period Sir H. Gwillim had been removed from Madras, in consequence of a dispute between him and the Government. That individual was not allowed to state his opinion as to the law of the land. But, from that day to this, the custom of removing at pleasure was not, he understood, permitted.

Mr. WYNN said, that the words of the act or charter of 1807 were followed in this bill. That charter, which appointed a Recorder for Prince of Wales's Island, provided that the in-

dividual should hold the situation during his Majesty's pleasure.

Mr. HUME said he would be satisfied if the right hon. Gentleman would state that this bill made no alteration in the general law, and that the Indian Judges were to be placed in the same situation as those of England.—("No, No.") Then, he contended, it was a question which called for the most serious consideration. The system of intimidation was carried to such an extent that no man that differed from the Government could hope to escape proscription; and the degree of despotism to which the executive power in India had arrived, was unexampled even by that of the Stuarts. Many persons had been banished, and within the last month two indigo planters had arrived in England, having been deported from India without notice or trial. It became the duty of the House to consider whether such a system ought, or could safely, be allowed to endure. The half-castes were not allowed to sit on juries, and yet they were allowed to hold land; while Englishmen, who possessed the former privilege, were wholly precluded from the latter. It was quite necessary that some system should be established for securing the independence of the Judges in India, and interposing the protection of a jury between British subjects and the public authorities.

Mr. ROBERTSON said, that any alteration in the law, as far as regarded the Judges, appeared to him unnecessary.

Mr. WYNN said, he would be quite ready to give his attention to any measure which should propose a practicable remedy to the existing defects.

Sir C. FORBES said, it was impossible that the people of India, having the knowledge they had of the blessings and spirit of the British Constitution, could long endure the tyranny of their Governors.

Mr. SYKES said, nothing could be more objectionable than that any confusion should exist between the executive and judicial authorities.

Dr. PHILLIMORE said, if any alteration were necessary, it must be provided for by another bill; but that now under discussion contemplated nothing but a change in the Judges' salaries.

Mr. HUME had no objection to the Judges' salaries being raised, but he complained that the most important interests of India were neglected, while

such paltry considerations as these occupied the attention of the House.

Mr. WYNN had no wish to prolong the discussion, but he would tell the hon. Gentleman that the Judges of India were as honourable and independent as any of those in this country.

Mr. HUME had no doubt of the ability of the Judges in India, but they ought to be as independent as they were able. He suggested the appointment of a temporary Judge in cases of vacancy, in the same manner as was provided in case of vacancy among the Members of Council.

Mr. WYNN saw several objections to the proposed change. He had never heard of the case of the indigo planters to which the hon. Gentleman alluded.

Mr. H. M. objected to the clause empowering the authorities of India to transport offenders to Prince of Wales's Island, or any other place to which they might at present be sentenced, because the climate of that island was such as to ensure the death of almost any European who should be condemned to hard labour there.

Sir C. FORBES proposed that the salaries of the Judges should be raised from 18,000 to 60,000 rupees, and moved an amendment to that effect.

Sir C. CORRI seconded the amendment.

Mr. WYNN said, the late loss of life rendered it necessary to offer every temptation to persons properly qualified to fill these offices. The proposed alteration amounted to not more than 200*l.* per annum, and he therefore thought it was not worth while to adopt it.

After a few words from Sir C. FORBES and Mr. T. COURTENAY, the amendment was carried.

On the clause which enacted "that one year's salary should be given to the family or next representative of a Judge dying in India."

Sir C. FORBES proposed, that if a Judge should die on his passage out, his next representative should be entitled to a full year's salary.

Mr. BROUGHAM approved of the amendment. He also thought that Judges should be entitled to a pension after seven years' service, instead of ten years, as was the practice at present.

After a few words from Mr. H. SUMNER, the CHAIRMAN, at the suggestion of Mr. WYNN, reported progress, and the Committee was ordered to sit again on this day to-morrow.

**APPEAL BEFORE THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL AGAINST
THE LAWS FOR THE PRESS IN INDIA.**

On Monday, May 23, 1825, came on to be heard before the Right Honourable the Privy Council of His Majesty, the Appeal of James Silk Buckingham, Esq. late of the City of Calcutta, but now of Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, against a certain Rule, Ordinance, and regulation, made and issued by the Governor-general in Council of Fort William in Bengal, on the 14th day of March, 1823, and which Rule, Ordinance, and Regulation, received the sanction of the Supreme Court of Calcutta on the 4th day of April in the same year.

The Counsel for the Appellant were Mr. Denman and Mr. John Williams;—those for the East India Company were Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet, Mr. Serjeant Spaunkie, Mr. Henry Brougham, and Mr. Tindal.

The Lords of the Privy Council having assembled at half-past ten o'clock,

Mr. DENMAN proceeded to address their Lordships. He had the honour, he said, of attending before the Council on the part of Mr. Buckingham, who was the Appellant, against a regulation issued by the Governor-general of India in Council, on the 14th of March, 1823, and confirmed by the Supreme Judge on the following month of the same year. The appeal came on to be heard under the provisions of the 13th of George III. cap. 63. sec. 36, which enabled the Governor-general to make such regulations as appeared proper for the management of the Affairs of India, and gave to any person the right of appeal to the King in Council, who was empowered, if he thought fit, to set aside any such regulations. It was necessary that notice of appeal should be given at the India House, in addition to some other formalities, all which had been complied with by the appellant, in the present case. It might be proper here to state that the Act of Parliament did not limit the right of appeal to any persons supposed to have been aggrieved by the rules and regulations promulgated by the Governor-general. It gave the right of appeal to any person without requiring that individual to show that he has suffered any particular grievance; although, if it were necessary in the prosecution of the pre-

sent inquiry, it would be very easy for the appellant to show that he had not only been personally aggrieved by the order, but that the consequences to him had been absolutely ruinous to his prospects and fortune. The appellant had been reduced from a state of considerable affluence to a state of comparative poverty;—he had been driven to maintain himself in England by his own resources, and to undertake new labours for his subsistence, which, had not this ruin been inflicted on him by the Government of India, would have been unnecessary. However, any person who appealed under the general authority of the Act of Parliament was competent to lay before their Lordships not only every circumstance he could bring forward, but every argument which could be urged to show that the regulation of which he complained ought not to have been promulgated. His object was to show that, in the first place, the regulation ought not to have been adopted as being "repugnant to the laws of England," (which was one of the restrictions on the power of making these regulations); and secondly, that if it could not be held to be strictly "repugnant" to the laws of England, nevertheless it was in the highest degree inexpedient that such a regulation should exist amongst the subjects of the Government of England in India; and he trusted that their Lordships, acting as persons having control over the subject, would be of opinion that no such regulation should have been issued, and would therefore direct it to be rescinded. The case came before their Lordships under circumstances of peculiar interest. Not only did the Appellant consider the regulation of an injurious tendency; but a large body of the Natives of India, who had been, by the disposal of Providence, placed under our sway, had submitted to the King in Council the grievances which they felt to have been imposed upon them by this interference with the plain principles of English liberty and justice, by which they fondly believed that they were protected in the enjoyment of their property and their rights. He held in his hand a Memorial to the King, consisting of a variety of repre-

sentations on the part of the Natives of India.* He would not enter into detail with respect to that memorial, but the latter part was so striking, that he could not refrain from reading a passage from it:—"Your Majesty's faithful subjects, from a distance of half the globe, appeal to your heart by the sympathy which forms a paternal tie between your Majesty and the lowest of your subjects."

Mr. BROUGHAM, approaching Mr. Denman from behind, and observing that the memorial of the Natives of India to the King was in a printed paper, not included among those laid before the Council as part of the case, objected to its being read as a part of the proceedings; when

The EARL OF HARROWBY (the President) observed that it was not competent for the learned gentleman to read from the memorial, as it had not yet been presented to the Council in an official manner.

Mr. DENMAN resumed. He thought the memorial was very material to the question before their Lordships; but since it would be improper for him to read from it, he would content himself with stating what he conceived to be its nature. That memorial proved that it was the feeling amongst the Natives of India that they had been deprived of their liberty by the regulation in question, and that they were looking with the deepest anxiety to the result of the appeal before their Lordships. If the King's subjects, at the distance of half the globe, "appealed to his Majesty's heart by the sympathy which formed a paternal tie between his Majesty and the lowest of his subjects;" if they "appealed to him by the honour of this great nation not to permit the millions of his subjects in India to be trampled on;" if, finally, they "appealed to him by the glory of his crown, on which the eyes of Europe were fixed, not to consent to the degradation" of the Natives of India;—if these were the sentiments of millions of his Majesty's native subjects in India, he trusted that their Lordships would remember the great and important duty which they had to perform—the most solemn he declared before God that, in his opinion, had ever been imposed upon a public body in this country—involving the fate of millions in a degree unparalleled by the most

important proceeding ever submitted to the consideration of any tribunal.

The Regulation which formed this subject of appeal did not present itself in any very favourable colours at the outset. It had not originated with the Company at home, or with the Board of Commissioners who had the right of control over the affairs of India. It was not the act of any Governor-general sent out with authority from this country to legislate for the King's subjects in India. It was not the act of that illustrious nobleman (the Marquis of Hastings) whose rule in India was perhaps the greatest and most glorious, and most beneficial to the subjects committed to his charge, that had ever been known. His administration was one of unparalleled prosperity, and the wisdom of his councils was in no instance more distinguished than when he declared that the press in India should be free from all the fetters which had previously been imposed on it. The noble Marquis was of opinion that the laws of the land were sufficient to check any abuse of the press, and that to them alone the Government ought to look for protection. He relied upon the good feelings of those whom he governed, rather than on the strong hand of power which had previously oppressed and degraded the only means by which public opinion could be expressed in those distant regions. The Regulation was not the act of Lord Wellesley, for though he imposed a regulation respecting the press, it was one infinitely less objectionable than that which their Lordships were called upon to consider. Nor was it the act of a Governor-general, who, in the exercise of a long course of rule, had become conversant with the mode in which India ought to be governed. It happened that in the short period which intervened between the conclusion of Lord Hastings's government, occasioned by his retiring from India, and the arrival of his successor, Mr. Adam, in the brief authority with which he was almost accidentally invested, being the senior member of the Council, issued this Regulation, which was at war with the permanent prosperity of India and the principles of English justice. The regulation therefore did not come before them recommended by great names. It was not supported by the authority of the Tydides, the Ulysses, or the Achilles of India. The Council would have to consider only the act of an individual, Mr. Adam, who how-

* See the last Number of the *Oriental Herald*, p. 503—515.

ever respectable in many particulars did not come before them recommended by this authority of statesman-like wisdom which belonged to measures directly the opposite of that which he had adopted.

One check upon the power of the Governor-general in the issuing of regulations was to be found in Calcutta itself, and in a quarter where confidence might be placed, namely, in the decisions of an English lawyer, placed in the highest judicial situation in India. The regulations issued by the Governor-general could not have the authority of law till they were registered with the consent of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. It was therefore necessary that Mr. Adam's regulation should be submitted to the consideration of Sir Francis Macnaghten who happened then to be the only judge at Calcutta, and who therefore constituted the whole court to whom the appeal was made. It was a matter of satisfaction that the Lords of the Council were furnished with the grounds on which Sir F. Macnaghten expressed his conviction that he was bound to register the regulation. They were not left to guess at the reasons which had influenced the decision of the learned judge, but had them stated in his own words, and might with all proper respect review them, in order to see whether they could legitimately lead to the conclusion to which he had unfortunately come.

Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Turton, two barristers then at Calcutta, having been heard in the Supreme Court against the registering of the regulation, Sir F. Macnaghten stated that he had maturely considered all the bearings of the question, and that he had no hesitation in fully expressing his sentiments without further deliberation. He (Mr. Denman) trusted that he should not be guilty of disrespect towards a person placed in such an eminent situation, when he stated that after the most deliberate examination of the sentiments delivered by the learned judge, he was of opinion that they were not consistent with reason or with law.

His Lordship in giving his decision stated that he had no hand in framing the regulation. Whilst it was before the Council he said he was applied to to look at it, but he refused; he was applied to a second time, and again refused; he was applied to a third time, just before it passed through the Council, to look at it, in order to see

whether it was drawn up in a proper manner so that the registration of it might not be defeated by any technicalities. Then he said, that without, in his opinion, compromising his duty, he ~~did~~ look at the regulation, and stated that it was one of which he would approve. He (Mr. D.) could not but lament that the learned judge had taken that step; for after having promised that he would approve of the regulation, it could hardly be supposed that he brought so free and unbiased a judgment to the consideration of the question as its immense importance demanded. The learned judge proceeded to say that he suspected the regulation, and, at his suggestion, six words were altered, and he then stated that "he would give it his approval." He added that he "was ready to take upon himself all censure and blame which might be supposed to attach to its enactment." In point of fact, his Lordship gave his sanction to the proceeding before it was brought before him in the Supreme Court for his opinion. Taking into consideration that Sir F. Macnaghten was the only judge at that period in Calcutta, and that he constituted the whole of the Court, it might be said that the question was decided before it came to be heard, and that the arguments of Messrs. Fergusson and Turton against the regulation were thrown away.

In the course of the speech in which Sir F. Macnaghten explained the reasons on which his decision was founded, it happened rather singularly, that he stated some objections to the measure as it now stood. It was very singular that the regulation which the Judge intended to be conditional, had turned out to be absolute, and made to apply to a case to which, if Sir F. Macnaghten had known that it was meant to be applied, he expressly stated he never would have given his sanction to the regulation; for his Lordship said "that there was no intention to refuse a license to any paper, now printed in Calcutta. He spoke only from his own opinion; but if any person entertained any apprehension that the license would not be granted under such circumstances, he would not consent to register the rule until it should be granted." He proceeded to observe, in reply to an observation, "that the regulation was loosely worded," that he "wished any lawyer would take into his hand, and say whether the fine of 400 rupees, imposed as a penalty, could be repeated to the end of time. The regu-

lation" he added "confided power to those who he was sure would not abuse it;" and he went on to say "that if any persons should complain of any such abuse, he would forward their complaints with zeal and energy."

He (Mr. Denman) might perhaps be considered guilty of an omission, in not having read to their Lordships the regulation of which his client complained; but it was already, no doubt, too well known to their Lordships, to render it necessary for him to trouble them by going minutely into its details. Their Lordships would recollect that the license to be granted in the first instance to all papers, might be revoked; and then the paper would stand as if no license had ever been granted to it. According to the wording of the regulation, it was doubtful whether it applied to any paper then existing at all; and it was probable that that was Sir F. Macnaghten's opinion, when he stated that he would withhold his consent from the registering of the regulation, until licenses had been granted to all the existing papers. The words contained in the regulation were as follows:— "And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that every license which shall and may be granted, in manner and form aforesaid, shall and may be resumed and recalled by the Governor-General in Council," &c. It would seem, from the wording of that clause, that the power given by the regulation was intended to be of a *prospective* character. As Sir F. Macnaghten refused to register the regulation till a license was granted to every existing paper, it was perfectly fair to infer that he never contemplated that the regulation could be hereafter applied to any such paper. That, however, was not now the question. Their Lordships were not called upon to consider whether the license of the Calcutta Journal had been legally revoked. He merely put the case to show the insufficiency of any security against the acts of arbitrary power. With what surprise must Sir F. Macnaghten have been overwhelmed, when he found the license of the Calcutta Journal revoked within a little more than a few months from the period in which he had expressed his determination not to register the regulation till a license had been granted to every existing paper. Sir F. Macnaghten had expressed his belief that the powers of the regulation would not be abused. But could there be a greater abuse of these powers, than had been exhibited in the mode in which the

Calcutta Journal had been treated? The Appellant was now before their Lordships in person, and prepared to state that his property had been ruined by the revocation of his license; and yet, though two years and a half had elapsed, he did not find that Sir F. Macnaghten's "zeal and energy" were awake; or that he had taken any steps, or made the slightest effort, to remedy the "abuse" of the powers of the regulation which he himself has passed. There were several other points in Sir F. Macnaghten's judgment, on which a few observations might properly be made; but as they would naturally come into the general consideration of the subject, he could as well allude to them afterwards as at that time.

In addition to the opinions of Sir F. Macnaghten, their Lordships had before them a statement of the East India Company, in which that body assigned *their* reasons for sanctioning the regulation. This paper, in the first instance, gave a short history of the foundation of the Company, and recited the several charters of William III., George I. and George II., by which their privileges were protected; but in all those acts, the power of making regulations for the government of India was accompanied by the restriction, that "such regulations must be consistent with reason, and not repugnant to the laws of England." The statement of the East India Company proceeds thus:—"It is matter of notoriety that from the first introduction of printing, and particularly of the publication of newspapers, in the different Presidencies, it has been the practice of the different governments to exercise a direct control over the persons engaged in such undertakings. The proprietors and conductors of newspapers being at that time Europeans, resident in India by permission of the Company, a perseverance in a course of publications of a dangerous character would have been deemed sufficient evidence that the parties implicated were unworthy of the protection of the Government, and deserving of being removed by virtue of the powers with which the East India Company are invested by the legislature. Few instances, however, occurred at an early period, requiring the interposition of authority. In consequence of some exceptionable publications, the Governor-General in Council, at Fort William, (Marquis Wellesley,) found it necessary, in 1799, to promulgate the following regulations for the control and guidance of the proprietors and

editors of newspapers published in Calcutta. First, every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper. Secondly, every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary of Government. Thirdly, no paper to be published on a Sunday. Fourthly, no paper to be published at all, until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorized by him, for that purpose." This last regulation certainly contained the direct appointment of a censor, and not that only, but the censor was to have the power of appointing a deputy. It did not appear that any appeal had been made against that regulation; if there had, it would have been somewhat difficult to maintain, in an English court of justice, that the appointment of a censor, with power to nominate a deputy, was consistent with any principle of English law, acted on in any time deserving of the least respect. These regulations continued in force until 1816, when they were rescinded by Lord Hastings, who substituted others in their place, by which the editors of newspapers were prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads:—"First, animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration; or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Secondly, discussions having a tendency to create alarm, or suspicion among the Native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances. Thirdly, the republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India. Fourthly, private scandal and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissension in society." The latter were, of all things, what certainly should be avoided. The only question was, whether the avoidance of them ought not in the first instance to be left to the discretion of the publisher, who might be punished by law if he was guilty of any impropriety? But by these regulations, politic disquisitions were to be excluded, which was much the same thing as saying, that no press should

exist at all; for if the objection to the discussion of political topics applied to newspapers, it applied with still greater force to pamphlets. The regulation of which the Appellant complained followed next in chronological order. It was, as he had before stated, registered, and obtained the force of law on the 4th of April 1823. After reciting this regulation in their statement, the East India Company submitted, that no appeal against it is given by any Act of Parliament, and that no person is entitled to be heard in the character of Appellant, and that their Lordships ought therefore to dismiss the appeal which had been made. One would have supposed from this, that it was intended to have prevented him from being heard on the merits of the case; but the right of appeal was so clear that he supposed the intention had been abandoned. The East India Company proceeded to state their reasons why they thought the regulation should not be set aside. The first was, because the "regulation was made by competent authority." The authority of the Governor-General to make regulations was not questioned; only it was necessary that they should not be repugnant to the law of England. But it was added, that the regulation "was rendered necessary by the abuses to which the unrestrained liberty of printing had giving rise in Calcutta." One would have expected to find in the paper some grounds, some facts to authorize such a statement as that; but none were there to be found. At all events, the statement could have no reference to the Calcutta Journal, for that paper had been tried for libel only once, and then acquitted; and though some observations upon that trial had been construed into an offence, and made the subject of a second prosecution, the prosecutor had never yet proceeded to trial, but kept the cause suspended over the Editor's head. He was, therefore, entitled to say, that the Calcutta Journal had not been guilty of abuse in any one instance, and had a right to assume, that the abuses which the East India Company had stated to have existed, could not be proved to have existed; and that no inconvenience had resulted from the unrestrained liberty of printing. But the Hon. Company bring forward a kind of proof, which, if it were possible to receive, it would make short work with what their Lordships had to do. They observe, that "the pre-

amble of the said rule, ordinance, and regulation states, that matters tending to bring the Government of Bengal, as by law established, into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, had recently, before the making thereof, been printed and circulated in newspapers and other papers published in Calcutta." The preamble proved nothing but the fact of the assertion being made. He should have wished to have seen the passages alluded to extracted from the newspapers. But the Company went on with their "reasons:" "The effect of such publications, in a country where the British rule confessedly depends upon the opinion entertained by the Natives of its power, is too obvious to require any comment: prevention alone can obviate the evil; punishment by process of law comes too late." Here, again, nothing like proof was offered. No evidence that any thing which had been published in the newspapers had excited tumult or disturbance; although, if any thing of the kind had occurred, nothing was more easy than to come at the proof of it. No fact, however, was attempted to be proved. When he questioned the preamble, he was referred to the preamble; and when he doubted the reasons, he was referred only to the reasons: "The effect of such publications, in a country where the British rule confessedly depends on the opinion entertained by the Natives of its power, is too obvious to require any comment." What comment did that passage call for? Was it not stating, in so many words, that our empire in India did not depend on the opinion which the Natives entertained of the justice, but of the power, of the Government? He was inclined to doubt that the Company had given a true description of the Indian Government. He should rather think that it depended on the opinion which the Natives entertained of the mode in which it was administered. It was never from the promulgation of speculative opinions that a government was brought into danger, but generally from a sense on the part of the governed, arising from what they feel, not from what they may be told, that they are not governed well. It was said, that "prevention alone can obviate the evil." In the absence of all evidence on the subject, he begged leave to question the correctness of that assumption. Prevention would

not obviate the evil, but would obviate all the good that resulted from a free press. By a parity of reasoning, it might be contended, that it would be wise to mutilate the intellect for fear its offspring should prove mischievous. It reminded him of the old argument respecting a redundant population. Because the branches of a tree were too luxuriant, was it necessary that the root should be absolutely grubbed up? Such an argument as that which the East India Company had advanced in support of the regulation was unworthy of the great principles on which a country ought to be governed, and he trusted that their Lordships would reject it. If once the principle should be established it would be impossible to limit its application. The entire prohibition of printing must ensue. The Company proceeded with their reasons: "The inevitable consequences, even of rash and injudicious though well-meant discussions, in daily and other newspapers and periodical publications, circulated (as was the case at the time the said rule was made)," assertion again without proof, "not only in the English language, but in the Persian, the Bengallee and other Native tongues, of all subjects of government and administration, civil, religious, military, and political, could not fail to afford matter of irritation to Native powers, to disquiet and unsettle the minds of his Majesty's Native subjects, and thereby to endanger the serenity of the British establishments in India." Let the facts stated in that passage be proved, and then he would go to the consideration of whether the remedy proposed for such evils, namely, the regulation which formed the subject of the appeal, was a proper one. But in the absence of all evidence, it was really the most preposterous assumption that even a great corporate body had ever made, to take the facts stated in the preamble of the regulation to be true, and upon those facts to attempt to justify the regulation itself. The next reason which the Company assigned in support of the regulation was really one of extreme singularity. It was this,—"Because the nature and circumstances of the British establishments have required, and the Royal Charters and Acts of Parliament, under which they have been regulated, have sanctioned a control over the conduct and a restraint of the freedom of British subjects while resident in the territories subject to the government of the East

India Company, unknown to any other foreign dependencies of this country. Even the resort of British subjects to India, and their right to reside there, have with few exceptions been placed in the discretion of the East India Company."

It would appear from that extract that restrictions were considered good for their own sake, and that in order that the good old custom of imposing them should not be lost, the East India Company felt it necessary from time to time to keep them hard in, by enacting regulations which should affect the liberty and rights of every person residing in the East Indies. Because they possessed the power of revoking the license of a British subject to reside in India—a power of a most alarming description—the inference they drew from the fact was, that it was proper to extend their authority in other matters to the Natives of India. The statement proceeds as follows:—

"That the restrictions imposed by the rule, ordinance, and regulation, which is the subject of appeal, were called for by the state of affairs in the Settlement of Bengal, and were adapted to the exigency of the case, and that they were not injurious to his Majesty's subjects in the said Settlement, is to be inferred from the concurrent judgment of the Supreme Government of the East India Company and of the Supreme Court of his Majesty. It is incumbent upon the appellant who impeaches the regulations to manifest the impolicy or injustice of them, to the satisfaction of his Majesty in Council."

The appellant could only do this by proving a negative. He would undertake to show that there was nothing in the state of society which authorised the imposition of the regulation; that there had been no abuse of the public press, and so far as the Calcutta Journal was concerned, he was prepared to prove by a reference to the columns of that paper, from the first to the last number, that it did not contain any censure or stricture on any public act, which was not merely paralleled but *surpassed* by what had appeared in the London papers of this very day. But he apprehended that he was entitled to call upon the other side to show what particular passages they relied upon to justify the promulgation of the regulation. It was not for him to set about the review of voluminous papers to prove that a fact did not exist. He challenged the other side to

point out any thing in the Calcutta Journal that would not bear comparison with what proceeded from our own press, which all persons admitted to be not only the safe-guard of liberty but of good order in society. The burthen of proof was improperly cast upon him. It was for his learned friends to show that libels had appeared in the papers which had actually produced mischievous results before it was possible to have recourse to a proceeding at law against them. It was to be inferred that the restrictions imposed by the regulation were called for "from the concurrent opinion of the Supreme Government of the East India Company, and of the Supreme Court of his Majesty." But if the opinion of Mr. Adam and his co-adjutors was to be taken in favour of the regulation, the opinion of the Marquis of Hastings and his council was to be taken against it. The regulation in question was adopted a few weeks after the departure of the Marquis of Hastings from India. When they looked at the general conduct of Lord Hastings, that experienced Governor-General and honourable man, when they remembered his declaration that the press should be free, and his acceptance of addresses on the account of that declaration—it was impossible not to conclude that he never would have consented to the restrictions which were imposed on the press the moment he had turned his back. Those restrictions had, it was true, received the sanction of the Supreme Court; but he questioned the effect of that sanction, because it had been promised by the judge beforehand, and it could not therefore be supposed that he came into court with an unbiassed mind. The sanction of the judge had, however, been given on a condition which had been violated; and though he had promised to be the first to forward any complaint of the abuse of the regulation, his zeal had lain dormant when the greatest abuse had been committed, by extending the regulation to a newspaper which he himself had excepted from its operation before he consented to give it the force of law. The next reason advanced in the Company's statement was this:—

"Because the said rule, ordinance, and regulation had become more particularly necessary to the good order and civil government of the Presidency of Fort-William, in Bengal, in consequence of the removal of the practical security against the systematic abuse

and licentiousness of the press, which had existed while printing was exercised only by British subjects of his Majesty residing in India by permission of the East India Company and its governments, and by the censorship to which the publication of newspapers had been subject. That security ceased, when it was discovered that the ostensible conduct and legal responsibility of such publications might be transferred to persons of a different description, Natives or others, not liable to the restraints imposed by law upon the British subjects of his Majesty in India."

A state of law such as that described in the paragraph which he had just read, which placed the British subjects in a country under the control of their Sovereign on a worse footing than the Natives or foreigners, was an anomaly which stood alone in the history of British jurisprudence. What! was it possible that the government of India should say, "we will receive the American, the Dane, or the Spaniard with open arms, but the Briton, who comes here to carry on trade, shall not be allowed to reside here." With the exception that the Natives of India could not be sent out of the country, he believed that they were placed on the same footing as British subjects in India. It had never been imputed to them that their attachment to the government of England was not of the most devoted nature. But it had been considered necessary to issue this regulation because they were not subject to the provisions of that odious law by which a British subject might be sent from India, to travel through God knows what regions, to be tossed for years on the ocean, and to set his foot at length on his native land, an outcast, having the only consolation of knowing that he had been punished for his virtues rather than his vices. But to proceed to the last of the reasons by which the East India Company endeavoured to prove the necessity of continuing the regulation which was appealed against:—

"Because the restrictions in question are not repugnant to any law of the realm upon the subject. The Legislature of England has often interfered by imposing restraints upon printing, more or less rigid. Some are now in existence: and by virtue of the statutes empowering the Indian governments to make regulations, they may provide for cases unprovided for by the laws of

England, as the welfare of the settlement may require."

"They may make ordinances not *contra*, but *præter legem*, provided they be reasonable; and their reasonableness must depend upon the circumstances and situation of the country to which they are applied."

It was not, perhaps, worth while here to question the doctrine relative to the circumstances of the country; but, as much importance appeared to be attached to the presumed analogy of the law and practice of England, with that laid down in the regulation, he would enter into a short examination on that point. Sir F. Macnaghten said, in the speech to which he had before alluded, that there was scarcely a trade carried on in England without a license; and then, he asked, "Can a clergyman preach without a license?" There was no analogy between the case of a printer and that of a clergyman. The reason of a clergyman being obliged to have a license was this, that he occupied the church of a bishop, who was bound to see that he was fit for the duties of his office, a man of good doctrine, and of manners and presence fitting. Again, Sir F. Macnaghten asked, "Can an attorney act, or a barrister plead, without an authority amounting to a license?" What the learned Judge here alluded to were merely the regulations of the Inns of Court, which were now, in a great degree, superseded. Barristers were formerly subjected to an examination as to their moral character, and their fitness to discharge the duties of their profession, but the practice was every day falling into desuetude. With respect to attorneys, it was well known that the regulation which applied to them was intended chiefly for the benefit of the revenue. The learned Judge went on to say, that hackney-coachmen, publicans, livery-stable keepers, &c. could not carry on their trades without a license; and, therefore, he inferred that it was not repugnant to the law of England. The publican certainly could not carry on his business without a license. From the peculiar nature of his business he had the means of affording facility to the commission of crime, as well as to injure the morals of the lower classes, by his own acts; and, therefore, to guard against those evils, magistrates were empowered to refuse him a license if they should think fit. In the other cases to which the learned Judge had alluded, the license was merely

a source of revenue to the state. It would seem that the East India Company did not attach much weight to the opinion of Sir F. Macnaghten on this particular, for they had not adopted it. Sir F. Macnaghten had observed, that if a free constitution existed in India, he had never been able to find it. Why this was the very doctrine of Thomas Paine, in the Rights of Man, who asked where the free Constitution of England existed? It existed in the right of doing any lawful act, and in the knowledge that the doing of nothing could be made unlawful, unless the manifest benefit of the public required it to be declared so. Sir F. Macnaghten had asserted the Government of India was a despotism—an assertion which Mr. Burke had so indignantly answered when he brought his charge against Warren Hastings. That eloquent speaker, on that occasion, went through all the records of the Presidencies of India, to show that the habit and the practice of the Government was any thing but despotic. His words were, "Wherever the English law exists, and it does exist, wherever British subjects are to be found, arbitrary power cannot prevail without imperious circumstances require it." But the circumstances of India had nothing to do with the question. When the question was, whether a certain regulation made by the Indian Government was repugnant to the law of England, could any thing be more futile than to refer to the state of India? It was incumbent on his learned friends to prove that there was something in the English law analogous to the regulation which had been framed by the Indian Government. It was observed in the East India Company's statement, that the Legislature of England had imposed restraints upon printing. That was true. The Legislature had rendered a license necessary for printing. But what were the times in which this had happened? In the reigns of James I. and Charles I., and continued during the Commonwealth, when Milton poured forth his extraordinary torrent of eloquence against the practice. The licensing system was continued under Charles II., and finally suffered to expire under the reign of William. But on account of those precedents was he to say, that the system of licensing printers was not repugnant to the law of England? That would lead to strange consequences indeed. Upon the same principle it might be contended, that the

writ *de hæretico comburendo*, which was taken away by the statute of Charles II., and the process of the Star Chamber, were part of the law and practice of England. These, however, were shameful exceptions to the law of England; they were in direct violation of its principles, they were utterly inconsistent with its spirit, and yet, such as they were, they were quite as good in proving the propriety of the commission of any act of arbitrary power, as in proving the propriety of this licensing. There was once a statute in this country which made the king's proclamations of equal force with the law of the land. In the reign of Henry VIII. an act of Parliament was passed, authorizing the King, in case of emergency, to issue proclamations with the power of law, and thus enabling him to get rid of any statute that he found inconvenient. Yet even for that act necessity was pleaded as a justification. He contended, that a Governor-General who required that printers should take out a license from time to time, and renew it from year to year, until his dread of the evils of an unfettered press had passed away, was, by his rule, proclamation, by-law, or ordinance to that effect, virtually doing away the laws of the colony over which he presided, and that the East India Company would be as much justified in defending his conduct by the act of Henry VIII., as they now were in defending it by the licenses of printing which formerly existed in England. Besides, it ought never to be forgotten that all those licenses rested upon a supposed necessity, and that they were all preceded by long lamentations on the state of things, which made them expedient. Every statesman, who had come forward with enactments to fetter the press, had said, that he did so upon an urgent necessity, of which he either tendered, or declared himself ready to tender, evidence to Parliament; and from that circumstance he had inferred, that the press of England had been at all times free, except so far as an alleged paramount necessity had tended to restrict it. Now he must again press on their Lordships' recollection, that no necessity for restricting the press in India had as yet been made out by the East India Company. They said, indeed, that their restrictions were warranted by certain acts passed in the last year of the reign of our late beneficent monarch—but

they seemed to have forgotten, that even when the tumults which were urged as a reason for passing them were most dangerous, there was no instance in which such acts were resorted to in England; and that since that time the ancient law of the country had been found amply sufficient for the security of the subject, and the tranquillity of the state. He mentioned that fact as a general argument, to show that we ought to trust to the old established laws of the realm, not only in times of calmness and moderation, but also in times of commotion and violence. The first duty of a wise statesman was to enforce the existing law; and he ought not to think of altering it until upon enforcing it he found it insufficient. It was a singular fact, that one of the Six Acts to which he had before alluded, had infixed a more severe punishment upon blasphemous libels. No man would contend, that since the year 1819, when that punishment was first enacted, no blasphemous libels had been published; and yet the second and severer punishment had never been inflicted in any instance. Many of the laws, which were passed about the same time, had since been allowed to expire, not because they had been productive of good in the emergency which seemed to call for them, but because the returning prosperity of the country had renewed the attachment of the people to those institutions, from which adversity had, in some cases, unfortunately weaned them. The learned gentleman then alluded to the acts of the 38th and 39th of the late king, requiring every printer to register his name and place of abode, because he conceived that they might be relied on by the other side. Those acts were, in his opinion, necessary to the liberty of the press, and did not inflict any restrictions upon it. For if the name and abode of a printer were not known, how would it be possible for any person, who was unjustly attacked by him, to find a remedy against the party so injuring him? The liberty of the press could not exist without the means of controlling its abuse, and that control could not be exercised, unless there were means of ascertaining the name and abode of each individual printer. These acts, therefore, did not interfere with the liberty of the press, but with those abuses of it, which, if left unpunished, would soon destroy the liberty of the press itself. He then noticed the argument of Sir F. Mac-

naghten, who asserted, that even in England, printers, on their first entering into business, were called upon to give security to a certain amount for the payment of damages that might be given against them for libel, and said that the argument was of little weight, as there was not an instance of a single surety having ever been called upon to pay damages for his principal, since that alteration had been made in the common law of England. He again repeated, that it was not by enactments of a restrictive nature that the Legislature did any good in times of danger, but by showing that they were at their post; that they were not inattentive to the circumstances of the country; that they were anxious to prevent disturbances, and that they were ready to punish them should they break out into violence and insurrection. He allowed that it was only natural to enact precaution against apprehended danger, however uncertain it might be whether such precaution would produce any effect; but he contended, that under no circumstances ought restrictions on general liberty, passed at a season of general danger, to be considered as a justification for other restrictions passed in a time of general peace. He reviewed his former argument at some length, and insisted that there was nothing in the reasons of the other side which showed that this enactment was not repugnant to the law of England. He maintained, that it was in direct opposition, not only to its letter, but also to its spirit; because the law of England provided a remedy for every abuse, whereas this enactment prevented the abuse in the first instance, on the ground, that punishment by process of law would come too late to remedy it in the second. If it were a principle of the law of England that you could only prevent the commission of offences, by punishing them when committed, it was a principle common also to the law of British India, and the assertion of the contrary doctrine would destroy the liberty of the press in England, as it had already destroyed it in India. Thus much for the law of the two countries. He would now proceed, after reminding their Lordships of the opinion of Blackstone, who claimed a liberty for every British subject to do every thing which was not prohibited by some positive law, to the great and material question, whether it was not inexpedient, even supposing some analogy could be found to show that

this regulation was not repugnant to the law of England, that it should exist as part of the future system of government over the natives of India. He trusted that their Lordships would give him credit for sincerity when he said, that he approached this subject with considerable alarm and anxiety. He confessed that he hardly saw the extent and magnitude of it, till he came to consider, not only the cause which he had to plead, but also the tribunal before which he had to plead it. No cause could be more dissimilar to those which it was the usual practice of an advocate to undertake, no question more different from the ordinary municipal questions which it was his daily habit to discuss. And if Mr. Burke, with his great and transcendent talents, had thought it necessary to warn the House of Lords, when he pleaded the cause of India at its bar, not to regard it as a question of mere municipal law, and had declared himself appalled by the difficulties which surrounded him on every side at the commencement of it, how much more difficult must the task of an advocate, with his humble powers, be on such a question, when he discovered that he had not to discuss the principles of that law, which he had made his peculiar study, but those more general principles on which the law of nations depended, and with which their Lordships' experience as statesmen rendered them more particularly acquainted. The question he had then to argue was the same, as if no pretence for this regulation had existed; and the question which they had to decide, was whether it was fitting for all time, and under all circumstances, to deprive the Natives of India of all the benefits of a free press. The East India Company, coming before their Lordships either as a sovereign power, or as a corporation of merchants,—and he did not know in which capacity it now appeared— withheld from them every fact material to the issue. He therefore assumed, as he had a perfect right to do under such circumstances, that the colony of Bengal was in a complete state of tranquillity when the Marquis of Hastings quitted Calcutta, and that this regulation was enacted on the broad and general principle which he had just stated to their Lordships. That being the case, he was driven back to examine the great leading principles on which all governments ought to be administered, and which had guided

their ancestors in framing the constitution of England. For it was founded on those principles, that the press, nay, that every action of a British subject should be entirely free, unless it contravened some direct and positive law. There was something painful and disgusting to the mind in being compelled to prove elementary propositions; but he was afraid that upon this occasion he must submit to that painful and disgusting task, as he was met at every turn with the argument, that there was a necessity that arbitrary power should be placed in some quarter for the government of India, whilst the existence of that necessity was not proved, but taken for granted on the testimony of the parties who exercised that power. On this important question he should not refer to Milton's immortal defence of unlicensed printing, because he conceived that all their Lordships were acquainted with that work. Their Lordships must be aware that he could have quoted several sublime passages, in which that illustrious writer, in language worthy of gods and angels, pleaded with resistless eloquence the great cause of the liberties of mankind. Indeed, there was not a page in that great work in which its Author did not avow the doctrine of man's natural right to liberty in the most eloquent words which ever fell from the tongue of an inspired man,—in which he did not claim the right of unlicensed printing as one of the rights of Englishmen, because it was one of the rights of mankind—in which he did not declare, that any attempt to restrain the freedom of the press could not be productive of good, but must be productive of harm—in which he did not announce, that instead of guarding governments from danger, it exposed them to it,—in which he did not maintain, that, instead of reconciling, it exasperated contending factions,—and in which he did not again and again inculcate upon Statesmen the duty of holding their hands from the press, except some paramount and undeniable necessity compelled them to interfere with it. Yet here and there in that immortal work, were scattered observations of a more familiar nature, and some of them he would call before their Lordships, because they applied to the objections raised against permitting the liberty of the press in India. He states in one passage, "This is not the liberty which we can hope that no grievance should

ever arise in the Commonwealth; that let no man in this world expect: but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of liberty attained that a wise man can expect;"—and then he went on to say: "This I know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident—for what magistrate may not be misinformed, and much the sooner if liberty of printing be reduced into the power of a few? but to redress willingly and speedily what hath been erred, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement more than others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a virtue (honored Lords and Commons) answerable to your highest actions, and whereof none can participate but greatest and wisest men." It was to that feeling he appealed in order to get rid of these restrictions, which would otherwise bind in intolerable slavery thousands of individuals, who were then imploring from their Lordships, as an act of justice, that they should be repealed and annulled for ever. He would call their attention to another passage, in which Milton met that observation which, during the war, was often urged in foreign newspapers on the meetings held at Westminster, and elsewhere, in condemnation of the measures of the ministry, when it was stated that the shield of Britain was split in pieces, and her power paralyzed by the dissensions of her subjects. The learned Gentleman here read an extract, of which the substance was as follows:—"The adversary again applauds and waits the hour; when they have brought themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties, and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root out of which we all grow, though into branches; nor will he beware until he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill-united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude, honest perhaps, though over timorous, of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end at these malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to persuade me." He then enters into those reasons, but as they were of too general a nature to apply to this present question, he (Mr. Denman) would decline to read them. There was still another passage, which he

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wished to quote to their Lordships. The learned Gentleman here read a paragraph to this effect:—"There have been not a few since the beginning of this Parliament, both of the Presbytery and others, who, by their unlicensed books, to the contempt of an *omnipotent*, first broke that triple ice about our hearts, and taught the people to see day. I hope that none of those were the persuaders to renew upon us this bondage, which they themselves have wrought so much good by continuing."

He hoped upon this occasion, when he saw the distinguished names that were subscribed to the reasons of the other side, that they did not proceed from the convictions of those who had to urge them. He hoped that his learned friend who was the constant adviser of the East India Company, did not really sanction their proceedings in this instance. [Mr. Sergeant Bosanquet here intimated that he did.] He (Mr. Denman) could not believe his learned friend to be in earnest; but if he were so, he should like to know by what English law he defended them. His learned friend, Mr. Sergeant Spankie, had been instrumental, at Calcutta, in drawing up these restrictions, and would consequently defend them at present. Their Lordships would therefore have an opportunity of judging whether any necessity could be made out for them by his learned friend. If there were any facts to prove that necessity, his learned friend must know, and consequently would be able to state them. The next name,—he alluded to that which stood third in the list,—was the name of an individual whom the people of England would have expected to stand first in it. The illustrious name of Brougham was placed beneath that of the two learned Sergeants, but it had been placed there to grace—no, not even to grace the cause. By the rules of their Lordships' court, they could not hear his learned friend's voice lifted up in support of arbitrary power. His learned friend was brought there, not for his eloquence, but for his silence; he was retained by the East India Company, that he might not perform the duty which had now devolved upon him (Mr. Denman), and which, but for that circumstance, he would have performed much more ably. He rejoiced that his learned friend's station at the bar was not now that which it once had been. He rejoiced that his learned friend could not

break silence upon this question, because, if he could, he would give a colour by his transcendent talents to this cause which it could not derive from any other quarter. His name was the only advantage his learned friend could give to it, and, upon this occasion, he was glad that it would be merely "*nominis umbra*." He now followed in a list, in which he ought to follow; but Mr. Denman trusted that in the list of those, who were opposed to arbitrary power, and were determined to resist its invasions on the rights and liberties of mankind, the name of his learned friend would always be found, as it hitherto had been, first and foremost. Last, but not least, did his learned friend Mr. Tindal appear in support of these restrictions; and if any industry or ingenuity could find an analogy for them in the law of England, he was sure that it was the industry and ingenuity of his learned friend. His learned friend, however, was condemned to silence, and would not be able to address their Lordships in explanation of any such analogy. He again repeated his hopes that his learned friends were not the supporters of the opinions to which their names were attached. If they were, and if he must enter into the discussion, how far arbitrary power was to be tolerated, there was one consideration which he could not allow their Lordships to overlook, and that was the certainty that such power must be abused from the manner in which it must necessarily be exercised in regard to the press. Let their Lordships reflect, first of all, upon the evils of a censorship itself, and then let them turn their view to the still greater evils of a delegated censorship. Let them recollect that a delegated censor was not a responsible officer, but the mere tool, minister and servant, of the person who appointed him. A censorship was therefore, under any circumstances, a great mischief, but great as it was, it was not so great as the license now established, to enslave the press of India. Under a censorship, something at least found its road to the government; but under a license which every man held on the mere tenure of the Governor's will, nothing could reach its eye, which was not calculated to give it pleasure. It was quite evident that under such a system, persons interested in the press would never insert any thing which could give offence, and that therefore all their information would consist of panegyrics on the measures of the

individuals in power. Under a censorship, he again repeated, that the Government must be informed of what was actually passing around it; and as was seen from the blanks which every now and then appeared in the French papers, it was not of slight advantage to the public to behold a blank in the place where political reasoning had previously been inserted. The very appearance of that blank excited suspicion, and suspicion always excited inquiry; in point of fact, the blank was itself information that some information had been suppressed. The licensing system however destroyed all inquiry, and wherever it existed naturally led to the extinction of the mind of man, and to the destruction of its reasoning faculties. In short, there must be an end to the liberty of the press wherever the revocation of a license to exercise it would ruin a man's fortune, and destroy that property which he had been some years in forming. There was another evil, arising from arbitrary power, to which he wished to call their Lordships' attention; and it was this, that the parties who were most open to censure would be liable to enjoy under it the greatest favour. He would put a case to illustrate his meaning: he would suppose that a journal, the *Calcutta Journal* for instance, should have been so conducted for some years as to have been only accused twice; that on one of these occasions it had been honourably acquitted, and that on the other it had not been brought to trial, and so had not enjoyed an opportunity of vindicating its innocence. He would then suppose that there should be a paper in England; that it should be base, sordid, and unprincipled; that it should live on slander and calumny; that its object and its food should be the pain it gave to others;—that its principal prey should be female characters;—that, pandering to the base passions of those in power, it should select for its victim an illustrious individual, and should use every mean and dirty artifice to accomplish her exile, banishment, and perhaps death;—that it should hold the terror of its calumnies over the head of every lady of rank who felt inclined to visit her;—that it should be repeatedly assailed with prosecutions for the most gross and scandalous libels, on both the living and the dead; that those prosecutions should be regularly brought to a successful termination, and that nothing should be more extraordinary in them than the extreme

lenity displayed in punishing the offenders. He would suppose such a paper got the credit of the government, and that the conductors of it, unlike vulgar libellers, who ordinarily attacked power, crouched submissively under its influence, and should obtain protection under its authority. If such a paper were to exist in this country, they knew from experience, the melancholy results to which it must lead, and the detriment it must inflict on the general interests of society. Now he would suppose such a paper were to be established in the Colonies, and that some speculating adventurer went with a printing-press to Calcutta, to superintend it; that he there opened his slander and abuse, not against the Government, but against the private character of individuals; that he should see that the success of the Calcutta Journal depended on the character of the person who conducted it, and that he should therefore determine to write that down in order to destroy his paper. He would suppose too that the editor of this newspaper should be brought into a Court of Justice for his misconduct, and that, when the publication of the alleged libels was proved against him, Sir Francis Macnaghten, the presiding Judge, should say, that they were so atrocious, that no man could read them without horror; that a fine of thousands of rupees, was a trifle when compared with the damage they were calculated to inflict; and that thereupon the editor of the Calcutta Journal should say that he cared not for the amount of damages, since all he wanted was the vindication of his honour. He would suppose that this had happened not once, but twice; and that after all, this slanderous-paper went on, with the President of the Marine-Board, with a son of one of the Directors, with the Master of the crown-office, who was to impanel the special Jurors to decide on libel, nay with one of the Governor's Aides-de-camp also as its leading proprietors and contributors. He would suppose all this to take place, and he would say that it was a mere matter of course, that such a paper, so edited, conducted, and supported, would receive the aid and patronage of the Indian Government. Such were the natural consequences of arbitrary power; such was the peculiar nature of favoritism; such were the necessary results of the dread of private slander: and supposing that their Lordships should find that when the Calcutta Journal was suppressed, another paper, called the

Indian John Bull, a worthy copy of its infamous prototype, should have been circulated, and protected by the Government, they would only find that one of the consequences, which it was reasonable to expect would follow from arbitrary power, had absolutely taken place. This liability to abuse, which resulted from the possession of arbitrary power, was not only a proof of the inestimable value of freedom, but also of the impolicy of allowing such power to be exercised in any part of his Majesty's dominions. The learned Counsel then apologized for the great length at which he had addressed their Lordships, and shortly restated the leading points of his argument. He contended, that this regulation was not in conformity with the spirit of English law, that the English-law gave it no countenance, that the English law never interfered with the press, except in cases of necessity; and that, in the present instance, no case of necessity had been made out by those who abused to their own ends the limited power given them by an Act of Parliament. For these reasons, and because it deprived British subjects of their natural rights, because it was subversive of their property, because it tended to produce arbitrary power, and to give the Government of India the means of committing acts of injustice with impunity, he asked their Lordships to decide that the regulation registered in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, on the 4th day of April 1823, should be forthwith declared null, void, and illegal.

Mr. J. WILLIAMS followed on the same side. It was his duty, he said, to address their Lordships shortly in furtherance of the argument, which had been already so ably and irresistibly urged, in favour of the appellant, by his learned friend Mr. DENMAN. He trusted that it was already clear to their Lordships, that this appeal must be regulated by the course of law which prevailed in England, and that it was unnecessary for him to argue the meaning of the Act passed in the 13th of Geo. 3 c. 63 s. 36, or of the other Act of the 49th & 50th of Geo. 3. c. 79. s. 18, which, though referred to in the statement of the East India Company, was not at all material to the present issue. The 36th section of the Act of the 13th of Geo. 3. c. 63, stated, that "it shall be lawful for any person or persons in India to appeal therefrom to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, in Council, who

are hereby empowered, if they think fit, to set aside and repeal any such rules, ordinances, and regulations respectively ;' and from those words he conceived that this appeal must be made to his Majesty, and must be decided upon by the principles of law admitted in England. The appellant, therefore, on coming before his Majesty, who was bound to dispense the law according to the statutes and customs of the realm of England, was not to be answered by any general statement of Indian policy. Such statement would be no answer to his appeal, but would proceed upon wider principles, which, if considered at all, ought to be considered separately, and ought not to be brought into discussion on a point with which they had no sort of connexion. If then the appeal were to the law of England as it now existed, the sole question for their Lordships' consideration was this—is the regulation against which Mr. Buckingham appeals authorized by the law of England, statutory or otherwise, as it exists at the present moment. He admitted, that by the very same section which gave the right of appeal to his Majesty in Council, the Governor General and Council had a right to make any regulations for the government of the settlement of Fort William which they should deem fit and reasonable, provided that such regulations were not repugnant to the law of England; and from that admission, he argued, that if the present regulation were not according to the law of England, there was an end to it at once, and this appeal against it must be held good and valid. In considering this regulation as a regulation which respected the press of India, and in examining the power of the local Government to issue it, he should confine himself to the consideration of what the law of England was at the present time; for any abuse, which had ceased to exist, any statute, which had been repealed, was no more the law of England, than it was the law of Turkey or Arabia, upon this point,—he meant the state of the law respecting the press of England,—he was driven to deal somewhat in negative; for, by all the authorities who had yet written on the subject, it was agreed that the freedom of the press was that which our statutes had left untouched, and not that which they had given and originated. There were no statutes recognizing the freedom of the press, and it had excited no little astonish-

ment in the mind of an intelligent foreigner who had written upon the constitution of England, to find that in a country where the freedom of discussion was not only generally tolerated but highly prized, there was no statutory regulation in favour of it. His astonishment would, in all probability, have been still greater, if he had been told, that all the regulations which were to be found in the statute book regarding it, were not in extension, but in restriction of it. For without adverting to these temporary laws, which had passed away with the emergency that gave rise to them, he would as-ert that there were Acts of Parliament which restricted, in a very extraordinary manner, the freedom of the press; and here he must be permitted to observe, that though it made little or rather no alteration in his view of the present question, he differed, in point of principle, very widely from his learned friend, as to the operation of the Act of the 38th and 39th of the late King. His learned friend had told them, that he did not consider that act as restrictive on the press; but he begged to remind his learned friend that it was most evidently restrictive, as it called upon every printer, in registering his name and abode, to furnish certain evidence against himself. The 48th of the late King was also an act restrictive on the press—for it rendered it competent to hold a printer to bail, on a criminal information being filed against him. That was a novelty in the law of England, till the passing of that act; and that he might not be thought tedious on a point of such little practical importance to the present appeal, he would shortly say that he was not aware, that among all the statutes in the statute book, there was one to be found, except it were the 32d of the late King, generally called Mr. Fox's act, which entitled the defendant of libel to have a verdict entered in his favour. He was aware that a great authority had held, that the law was such before the passing of that act; but if it were so, it had been frequently departed from in practice, and was not at all admitted as such by the profession at large. At any rate the act of Mr. Fox, in declaring that the right of the people of England, was the only act which he knew that at all furthered, by express enactment, the liberty of the press. Why did he make this statement? To show that when the restrictions on the press were fully stated,

all that remained was the free right of every man in England, and must continue to be so, till it was further restricted by some act of the legislature. He would not waste the time of their Lordships, in showing, that in this country no order in Council, much less the order of any private man, could impose on the right of publication any restriction which did not exist at present by law. Therefore, the laws of the realm, as declared in Acts of Parliament, were the laws now existing in England to restrict the press; and the right of every man to print up to those restrictions was unalterable, except by a solemn act or decree of the legislature. The first point of the adversary's case proceeded on the assumption, that the restrictions on the press in India were according to the law of England. Now he contended that there was no power to license the press in England; and therefore, the license against which his client appealed, was not in the law of England, and was in consequence repugnant to it. He said that if the opposite side would find out any law now existing in England,—he did not speak of former times, but of the present,—which authorized the granting of a license to print, *dicta est causa*, the appellant's case was at an end, and the argument on the side of the East India Company was complete and unanswerable; but if he was right, that the restrictions on the press did not go to the extent in England, which was contended for by the other side, then *dicta est causa* for the appellant, and this regulation against which he appealed was not according to the law of England. The defensive statement, however, adverted to other grounds on which this regulation was to be justified. It was stated, that it was by the charters of the East India Company that the power of making such a regulation was given; and here he alluded to the power given to the Governor-General in Council, to make laws and ordinances for India. The opposite side rested that power on their several charters: and in proof of it, had set out three of them at length. The first, which was to be found in the first page of the defensive statement, was granted in the 10th year of the reign of William the Third, and was totally immaterial to the present question; for it merely provided for the transfer of territory to the East India Company, and gave them authority to regulate their own factories. Then came the charter of the 13th of

George the First, which gave to the Governor-General and his Council, the power of making, constituting and ordaining certain by-laws, rules and ordinances, for the good government and regulation of the several corporations and presidencies erected in consequence of it; but they would find that such power was accompanied by the following proviso: "Provided, that all such by-laws, rules and ordinances, and all pains and penalties thereby to be imposed, be agreeable to reason, and not contrary to the laws and statutes of England." Their Lordships would remark, that the words used were "and not contrary."—Those words contained a conjunction, not a disjunction—the regulations were not only to be agreeable to reason; they were also to be not contrary to the laws of England. He contended, that if the regulations were not according, they must be contrary to those laws. He could not enter into the *apices metaphysicæ* between *placet legem* and *contra legem*; he left them for men of nicer discrimination than himself; he trusted that their Lordships would do so too. After again pressing these points on the attention of their Lordships, he proceeded to advert to the charter of the 26th of George the Second, which, though it extended the power of the East India Company, in some particulars, contained nearly in the same terms the same proviso, that the regulations they made for the Governor of India should be both according to reason and not contrary to the law of England; so that these charters, which, it was stated, gave to the East India Company the right of making laws, restricted that right in a very important particular. He submitted, that the term "reason," used in the two charters meant reason, according to the law of England, and reason formed, constructed, and regulated by it. That was the only reason which the learned Judges of the land recognized on the bench; that was the only reason which his Majesty could notice, who was bound to know the law which he had to administer, that was the only reason which any individual ought to admit as the foundation of his decision, when we was called upon to settle a point of English law. He was sure that their Lordships would excuse him for intruding on their notice a definition of reason, which had been given by one of the highest authorities upon English law; he referred to Lord Coke.

That learned individual had had the honor of incurring the displeasure of the monarch who then sat on the English throne, because he had firmly, but respectfully informed him, that he (the King) had no right to determine causes in person in any of his Courts. It appeared in the 12th part of Lord Coke's reports, that certain archbishops had informed the king, that he had a right to go into the courts of law, and decide a question of prohibition which was then pending before them. The archbishops, no doubt, were of opinion, that as the case was one in which they were interested, they would find in the King a more favourable judge, than in Lord Coke. On the King's intimating his purpose to that great Judge, Lord Coke told him that the King had no such power as he was then claiming. Then the king said that he thought the law was founded upon reason, and that he and others had reason as well as the judges; to which (says he) it was answered by me, "That true it was that God had endowed his Majesty with excellent science and great endowments of nature; but his Majesty was not learned in the laws of his realm of England; and causes which concern the life or inheritance, or goods or fortune of his subjects, are not to be decided by natural reason, but by the artificial reason and judgment of the law, which law is an art which requires long study and experience before that a man can attain to the cognizance of it, and that the law was the golden metwand and measure to try the causes of the subject, and which protect his Majesty in safety and in peace." Whereupon, continued the report, the King waxed exceeding wroth, but was afterwards pacified on being assured, that there were only two things superior to him, the laws and God. He therefore trusted that when their Lordships came to consider the meaning of the term "reason," they would consider it as legal reason to be framed and limited by law, and that they would apply to it the same signification which Lord Coke in another part of his works declared to belong to discretion, namely, "*discernere quid sit justum per legem*." He repeated the words *per legem*, that being the only rule on which they could properly decide in this realm of England. The introduction of the word "reason" into the charter of the East India Company gave to it no enlargement of power. The phrase "agreeable to reason" was to be construed in reference to the

phrase "not contrary to law"—and even if the adverse party could make out that this regulation was on certain general abstract principles reasonable, still they would fail to make out their case, unless they could also show that it was not contrary to the principle of the English constitution, and the positive and acknowledged law of the land. Now he challenged, and he challenged with all respect, any learned person on the other side, to produce a single authority, or to show a single statute, which could legalize in England, that which had been done by the servants of the East India Company abroad? If that could not be done, then the other side had nothing to plead which could authorize their license, nothing to urge in defence of the power on which they had so illegally acted. He had not troubled their Lordships with authorities to prove that, which he believed that they would one and all admit to be true, that the liberty of the press, as it existed in England, was that residue of freedom, which was left unrestricted by the statute-book. He would, however, lay before their Lordships one or two extracts from high legal authorities, to show that that residue had been highly estimated by such authorities in all times, as well in those that were past as in those which were then present. As the observations of an humble individual like himself might have no weight with their Lordships, he trusted that they would permit him to state in the language of others, the value which the law of England placed upon that which it was pleased to denominate the liberty of the press. In the case of the *King v. Perry*, which was tried in the year 1793, the learned Judge who presided, a great authority then, and a still greater authority now, did not hesitate, after giving a description of the blessings conferred on the people of England by their constitution, to say, "These blessings have in a great measure grown out of the properly regulated liberty of the press; and in maintaining that liberty unimpaired, chiefly depends our security for the continuance of those blessings." Nay, Lord Kenyon did not upon that occasion let slip the opportunity of adding his opinion, that the freedom of the press stood high in the estimation of lawyers, for he said, "The liberty of the press has always been an object of favour with the law of England—it is placed in the foreground of the constitution as a sentinel to alarm us,

when any danger threatens it." In the case of the *King v. Perry*, tried in 1810, Sir Vicary Gibbs, who was then Attorney-Gen., and who was not considered a very strong friend to popular privilege, admitted that any attempt to control free, fair, and open discussion through the press, would be highly improper and grossly unjustifiable. He mentioned these facts, surely not as novelties, surely not as matter of information for their Lordships, but for the purpose of proving to them that the law of England, and the most celebrated professors of it, did hold in high esteem that quantity of freedom, which the Legislature had left to the subjects of the realm of England, a freedom which consisted in not being subject to any such regulation as that which the appellant impugned to-day, on the ground that it was not agreeable to reason, and that it was contrary to the law of England, by both of which it ought to be supported, if it were to be sustained as valid and binding. Standing, therefore, upon the legal part of the case, he maintained that he had distinctly proved that this regulation was contrary to the law of England at the present day; and if that were so, there was an end of it, as far as it rested on any charter which he had yet seen; for if it was pretended to defend the regulation on the ground that it was agreeable to reason, it must be that kind of reason only, which admitted of the explanation he had already given to their Lordships. He contended, as a lawyer, that the way in which he had shaped this question, was more simple and confined, than that in which it had been shaped by the other side. He saw that in their fourth defensive statement, they had defended this regulation on the ground of its being only *præter legem* and not *contrà legem*, and had claimed a right to make laws depending on the circumstances and situation of the country to which they were to be applied. He submitted with all deference to their Lordships, that no reason of a different description from that which he had defined, no analogy drawn from different times and from different places than the present, no general and abstract arguments on the best method of governing India, could meet him on the point, that this regulation was contrary to the law of England. He was not ignorant that, in their second defensive allegation, the other side stated, that the restrictions imposed by the rule, ordinance and regu-

lation, which is the subject of appeal, were called for by the state of affairs in the settlement of Bengal, and were adapted to the exigency of the moment. He was not ignorant, that they talked much about a necessity, that word so much used to get rid of every objection to every species of misrule, and about a policy, which though we might not understand it, had rendered such restrictions highly expedient. He would repeat once more, that such necessity, and such policy, even if proved, afforded no answer to the present appeal, if the regulations were in themselves contrary to the law of England. Yet lest it should be said that the appellant was afraid to meet the East India Company upon the reason of the case, he would, instead of restricting himself to the narrow limits within which he had first intended to confine his observations, proceed to consider that part of the question also, though it was totally unnecessary, as in point of law the opposition made to this appeal by the East India Company was utterly untenable. He had also another reason for wishing to discuss the policy of this regulation. He should be sorry to let it go abroad, that that which was found to be the best remedy against misrule at home, was not according to reason in India; he should be sorry to let it be supposed, that at any time or in any place to silence inquiry and to check the progress of intellect, was advisable for the safety of England. His learned friend (Mr. Denman) had quoted several passages in support of his argument from Milton's *Areopagitica*, and his (Mr. Williams's) only surprise was, that his learned friend, after he had once begun to quote from it, had not quoted more than he had done. To the passages which his learned friend had read to their Lordships, he would venture to add a passage more. It was that passage where Milton, speaking of the application of reason, said, "It would be wret had, indeed, if that reason, which can find the means to degrade and oppress mankind, should not be able to discover means to improve and exalt it; and if that power, which can furnish arguments for the destruction, should not be able to furnish arguments for the defence of human liberty." He (Mr. Williams) agreed with that sentiment. He should indeed be sorry, if here alone reason should fail, after experience had proved its success elsewhere; he should indeed be sorry

if that freedom of discussion, which had produced such admirable results in the parent state, should only be productive of misery and mischief in its colonial dependencies. And here he begged leave to remind their Lordships, that he was now speaking of a distant country, where the checks which exist in England to prevent misrule were sought for in vain, where there were no open tribunals to check its progress and make evident its ravages; where there was no Parliament to receive complaints and redress grievances, but where, if there was to be any correction at all, it must be by that best and soundest correction of all, the correction of public opinion. Surely a country so circumstanced was entitled, if any country was, to all the benefits of a free press. Without them its condition, if once made wretched, was desperate and irretrievable; with them it had a hope of relief, in consequence of its capability of communicating its sufferings to the legislature at home. He would not waste the time of their Lordships by showing what misrule India had already suffered; he would not quote to them the eloquent and indignant language which Lord Erskine had used upon it in his inimitable speech on behalf of Mr. Stockdale. That speech had already become the property of posterity, and he would only remind their Lordships of one sentence in it, in which that great orator said, that we were accustomed to govern India, a country which God never gave us, by means which God would never justify. Mr. Burke had told the assembled Parliament of the country, that the British rule in India was the most galling tyranny that had ever existed on the face of the globe. He need not repeat what that man had further affirmed, namely, that the protection which Britain pretended to afford to India, had been more pernicious to it than all the irruptions of the Tartars and the Arabs; for that Time, which relieved India from the miseries which the latter inflicted upon her, only sent over from England to her shores fresh birds of prey and of passage, who, after collecting fortunes there, hurried to other countries to enjoy them, so that the grey hair of an Englishman was scarcely to be found in that immense continent from one end of it to the other. He trusted that their Lordships would not forget that the territory, which was comprised under the title of India, comprehended 23

degrees of latitude; that its inhabitants were civilized, when our ancestors were yet in the woods; and that they were still possessed of great intelligence, though they were now the vassals to our power. They required, if ever men did, a constant restraint to be exercised over their governors; and as they had no open court, no public tribunals, and no parliaments, the only means of restraining those governors was by public opinion, and by public opinion communicated to the world by the medium of the press. On the benefits of such communication he had already quoted the legal opinions of certain individuals, whose rank and station would, he trusted, give them weight with their Lordships; he now asked to be permitted to add to those opinions the opinion of one who had never been deemed a friend of public liberty, he meant Hume, who had stated it to be his conviction, that absolute despotism was the *euthanasia* of the British constitution. Mr. Hume, in speaking of the liberty of the press, made use of the following observation,—"I will go a step further, and will assert, that such liberty is attended with so few inconveniences, and by so many benefits, that it ought to be claimed as the common right of all mankind, and may be granted by any Government except an ecclesiastical one, to which," added Mr. Hume, with his own peculiar temper, "it must inevitably be fatal." And here he would observe, that if the liberty of the press were a benefit, which any Government might safely grant to its subjects, if it were more particularly a benefit, as philosophers and statesmen asserted, to a Government whose institutions were for the greater part free and liberal, it was a benefit in which the natives of India had a right to participate. Why, he would ask, should they be cut off from a great good, which every people had a right to enjoy, and which the peculiar circumstances of their situation rendered more necessary to them than to any other people? For his own part, he could not discover even the shadow of a reason for it; and therefore he would say, upon the general subject, that this regulation was contrary to reason in the abstract, no matter in what sense its meaning was interpreted. There was another point of view in which he wished to place this question. It was reasonable that property should be protected, and that every man should be enabled to enjoy the

fruits of his industry in perfect security. That position he did not expect any man to deny; it was a short and comprehensive definition of freedom, and the truth of it might be illustrated by two words—England and America. Now, he wished their Lordships to recollect, that the license contemplated by this regulation was revocable at the will of the Governor-General, and revocable, too, without any cause assigned. The mischief of such a system was so palpable, that it was almost a waste of words to say any thing upon it. He would not go into the particular injury which it had inflicted on the appellant, or it might be shown that a property which produced him 6,000*l*. a year, was reduced in his hands to 3,000*l*., by the issuing of these licenses, and that the latter sum was all he could obtain for it, according to the latest accounts from India. He had, however, a right to make a supposition. He would suppose, that by virtue of these licenses an individual had set up a printing establishment in India; that he had afterwards edited and published a Paper from his own press; that he had expended upon it much of his time, and still more of his capital; that, after this, it had gone on for some time to his great emolument; his license had suddenly been revoked; and that his occupation had been rendered, by such a measure, no longer lawful and profitable. He said that a regulation liable to such abuse was a direct attack upon all the rights of property, was destructive to the exertions of industry, and was subversive of all domestic and social security. He said likewise that it was improper, unconstitutional, and repugnant to the law of England. He went still further.—he said that it was the most absurd, foolish, unwise, unjust, and tyrannical regulation, which it had ever fallen to his lot to peruse; since the license it gave might be revoked at the mere caprice and will of an individual, without any cause being assigned for such an exertion of power. If the license had been revocable upon cause assigned, the measure would even then have been strong enough; he should say that it would be a great hardship, even were the facts assigned as the grounds of revocation made the grounds of trial before some competent jurisdiction. The present regulation, however, embraced two monstrous propositions: the license it granted was revocable at pleasure, and no cause need be assigned for it; so that an individual might be ruined without

having committed any offence, and without being able to obtain any redress for the injury he suffered. He therefore maintained that the regulation was contrary to all law recognized in England, and contrary to all reason, if reason could be urged at all in legal justification of it. He had also another ground on which he denounced this regulation as unreasonable and that was, that in times of greater anxiety than the present, (as, for instance, when we were engaged in creating our empire in India, the freedom of the press was allowed there, and was not found to be prejudicial. From the first moment of our possession of a foot of ground in India, down to the year 1808, when a censorship was established for the first time, the press of India was not subject to any other restrictions than the press of England. And what was the character of the times, during which the press of India enjoyed that freedom? The answer was easy. They were the times during which we had been acquiring, not those during which we had been consolidating, our empire; they were the times of Lord Clive and of Warren Hastings, when our territory was won, but not subdued; they were the times, when we had every thing to dread from the jealousy of the Native Princes, and when we were engaged in struggles, which, though they had led to power and to glory, were frequently undertaken to preserve our existence. He had a strong wish that their Lordships should examine into the state of the press in India during the times of Warren Hastings. For at that period the walls of a neighbouring building were daily shaken by the superhuman eloquence which was then employed in accusation of the rulers of India. That eloquence found its way into the newspapers; and by the repetition so created was heard in the remotest confines of India. It, during those days, when the accusing eloquence of Fox and Burke, and Sheridan was hourly ringing in the ears of mankind, when, to use the expression of Lord Erskine, those great men were day after day surpassing each other in blazing the wrongs of oppressed India,—it during those days the publication of their inignant invectives against British avarice and extortion was tolerated in our different Presidencies, why in the name of common sense, common reason, and common justice, should not similar publications be tolerated now,—now, when we had consolidated our empire, when

we had driven our rivals from the field, when we had annihilated opposition, when we were enjoying as perfect a tranquillity as any government could enjoy, whose only foundation was in its power. He submitted these observations firmly but respectfully to their Lordships' attention. He knew that when the conduct of those who had been in authority was called in question, and was to be judged of by those who were themselves accustomed to the exercise of authority, those who had to perform an accusatory part, had but an improbable chance of success. Though he had that difficulty to contend with, he trusted that their Lordships would recollect that they were sitting in revision of an appeal against an act of oppression, which, if it were not so great as that to which the attention of the country had been called 40 years ago, was still deserving of remedy and redress. There was another topic to which he wished to call the notice of their Lordships before he concluded, and that was an argument in the defensive statement of the East India Company, of the most extraordinary and surprising nature. They justified the present regulation by the existence of the former censorship. The same argument, which was applicable to this regulation, was applicable to that censorship. It was contrary to reason, and repugnant to the law of the land; and yet it was now urged in defence of the present measure, which could receive no aid from a measure of similar illegality, but only required it from the principles of reason and of English law. To admit the censorship as a defence of the licensing system would be a more prejudicial measure than to allow a defendant to take the benefit of his own wrong; it would be like doing evil now in order to justify the doing worse in future. He therefore trusted that their Lordships would not permit the East India Company to vindicate one act of oppression by their previous commission of another. The learned gentleman then shortly recapitulated the leading points of his argument, and called upon their Lordships, for the reasons he had stated, to admit the appeal of Mr. Buckingham, and to declare the regulation which had given rise to it, to be null and void.

MR. SERJEANT BOSANQUET addressed the Council on the part of the East India Company. He set out with declaring that the Company did not appear before their Lordships as respon-

dents, as had been stated by his learned friend Mr. Denham. It would be necessary for him to bring under their Lordships' view the peculiar situation in which the appeal stood, as the matter appeared to have been a little misunderstood by his learned friends. It never, he presumed, could have been intended, when the legislature gave to any person the right of appeal against regulations made by the Governor-General of India in Council, that it should be competent for the person appealing to bring under consideration at their Lordships' bar questions of general policy and expediency, the discussion of which must occupy a considerable portion of their Lordships' time—questions certainly fit for their Lordships to take into consideration in their character of advisers of the crown, but of all things most unfit to be discussed by an advocate at that bar. (1) He had not thought fit to interfere whilst his learned friends were proceeding, because, strictly speaking, the East India Company, for whom he appeared, were not parties to any appeal. Therefore when their Lordships thought fit to hear his learned friends without interruption, he had not ventured to interpose. He trusted, however, that for the sake of precedent, their Lordships would feel it necessary to lay down some rule on the subject. His learned friends had argued the case very generally, and it was consistent with the view which the appellant had taken of the subject that they should do so. But it would be his endeavour to bring before their Lordships more particularly, that which alone he conceived to be the subject of the appeal. The legislature had entrusted to the Governor-General in Council in India, the power of legislating for the civil Government of the inhabitants of the different Presidencies, subject to the power of appeal

(1.) If there were any thing wrong in introducing the question of policy, it originated with the Counsel of the East India Company, who, in their piloted case submitted to the Privy Council, started over the question of law, as if they knew they were weak on this point, and set forth the policy and expediency of their regulation at considerable length. Indeed the regulation itself sets forth this, in its preamble, as the reason for its enactment. It does not say "Whereas it is *lawful* to restrain the press in India;" but "whereas it is *expedient*." This departure from truth and candour is, however, no blemish to the purity of a legal advocate. Such is the morality of law!

on the part of any person who might think himself aggrieved by any of the regulations framed by the Governor-General. Their Lordships would see by the statutes on the subject, that the regulations made by the Governor-General, must be registered in the Supreme Court at Calcutta. The right of appeal was given to any person in India within two months after the registration of any regulation. In the present case no such appeal was made in India. (2) The statute, however, likewise directed, that after a regulation was registered in the Supreme Court, it should be published at the East India House in London, and the right of appeal was given to any person in England within two months after such publication. (3) The appeal upon which their Lordships were called to determine, was an English appeal preferred by a gentleman in England. There was no appeal of any description from any individual in India against the regulation which had been registered in the Supreme Court. His learned friend (Mr. Denman), had made some observations which he thought might have been spared, respecting the learned judge, who he believed was the only judge at Calcutta at the time the regulation was registered. His learned friend had adverted to the circumstance of the regulation having been communicated to the learned judge before he was called upon to register it, for the purpose of making it appear that his mind had already been made up on the subject, when the question was submitted for his decision. His learned friend had certainly done the learned judge the justice to state, that he twice refused to see the regulation, whilst it was undergoing discussion in the council. All that the learned judge had done in the

third instance was, to look at the regulation, in order to point out any thing objectionable in point of form, which was a very natural proceeding. The regulation was finally sanctioned by the judge after a public discussion in the Supreme Court. That in his opinion was wrong. He apprehended that it never was intended that a popular question of this description should be made the subject of discussion in the Supreme Court. With that however, he had, probably, nothing to do. (4) It was sufficient to know that the discussion took place, that the regulation was registered, and that no appeal was made against it by any person in India. (5) The only appeal against the regulation had been made by a gentleman in England, who did not state any particular grievance that he had himself suffered from it. (6) In the petition of appeal the appellant had set forth another regulation framed for the government of the provinces of India, against which there existed no right of appeal, and which had no connexion at all with the matter before their Lordships. Their Lordships would see that the power of legislating for the provinces of India was altogether of a different nature from that of legislating for the Presidencies. In the latter case, the regu-

(4) If such discussion were not intended, why should the Act enjoin twenty days' notice to be given in the Supreme Court; and why, indeed, have a Bench of Bar at all?

(5) Any person in India appealing to the King in Council against this regulation, would, if in the Company's service, be perhaps dismissed for insubordination, if not in their service, banished for disrespect to the ruling power; and as to the help of Natives, any man who helped *them* to appeal, would have no mercy shown him. These are perhaps sufficient reasons why no appeal from India was ventured on. We hope, however, that those now in India, when they see how their silence is misinterpreted into perfect contentment with things as they are, will break that silence in future, even at some risk to themselves. The brave are only distinguishable from the dastardly, by the hazards they are willing to encounter for the attainment of their ends.

(6) The reason why no particular grievance was stated, is plain. The suppression of the Calcutta Journal, and the ruin of the Appellant, its chief proprietor, did not happen until after the appeal was entered.

(2) A Memorial of the Natives of India was presented against the regulation before it was passed, and counsel were retained to argue against it on behalf of English as well as Indo-British subjects in India. The proofs of dissatisfaction with the regulation were therefore undeniable.

(3) But for the India Company being forced by the Appellant to publish this regulation at the India House, they would perhaps never have done so at all. It remained buried in obscurity for months after it reached England, and was brought up only after hints that a writ of mandamus would be issued to compel its publicity if delayed.

lations must be registered in the Supreme Court, and might be appealed against. In the former, the regulations were registered in the judicial department of the government; and with respect to them no right of appeal was given. Copies of any regulations made respecting the provinces were obliged to be sent home to the East India Company, and also to the Secretary of State; and His Majesty was empowered to alter or amend them within two years after the period of their transmission. Two years had elapsed since the regulation for the provinces, which was referred to in the appellant's petition, had been sent to this country. The authorities here had not thought it necessary to alter or rescind it, and, therefore, it must henceforth be considered as the law by which the provinces would be governed. The appellant had no right of appeal on that subject. He, or any other person who felt himself aggrieved by the regulation, might petition His Majesty on the subject; but he had no right to argue the matter, by way of appeal, before their Lordships. The regulations for the provinces of India were most voluminous. He had a collection at home which, in point of length, might compete with an ordinary edition of the statutes at large for England. It was not competent for any gentleman who chose to appeal to their Lordships' bar to create a debate on all the regulations for the Government of India. Their Lordships were aware that the provinces of India were governed by their own laws, and that, for the benefit of the inhabitants of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, a Court was established in each of those places, in which the British law was administered. He would have their Lordships consider for a moment what was the situation of British subjects in India. What a handful of individuals they were, compared with His Majesty's Native subjects throughout the provinces. They had no abiding city. They were not allowed to travel ten miles from the metropolis. Their Lordships then would consider whether there was any thing unreasonable in the regulation of which the appellant complained, and which was intended for the benefit of the provinces. Was it possible that papers circulated in Calcutta should not find their way into the provinces? (7) The argument of

his learned friends was, that publications in India should be subject only to the same kind of restraint to which they were liable in England. He trusted it would not be supposed, that those who had instructed him, or he himself had the slightest desire to derogate from any of those principles which his learned friends had so ably advocated, as applicable to the Press in England. The question, however, was, how far those principles were applicable to the peculiar situation of India, and to the nature of the Government which the legislature had established in that country—whether the uncontrolled power of publishing any thing was or was not consistent with the safety and existence of that Government? Was it possible to maintain, that any country, in the situation in which India stood, could be benefitted by the power of uncontrolled publication? (8) The very principle on which the freedom of the press was always supported was, that it was essential to the nature of a free state; and such was the effect of a free press, that, if the state were not already free, it would make it so. (9) It was necessary either that the press should prevail, or that the press should be put down and the Government should prevail. He asked boldly, could it be contended that the Government of India

Book printed in England (where he admits that free discussion of Indian topics ought to exist) may find its way into the provinces as easily as a Paper printed in Calcutta and that letters written at the Metropolis might pass uninterrupted into the Interior To prevent the evil apprehended, men's tongues should be rooted out, and their hands cut off — nothing short of this will do it.

(8) This question has been answered a thousand times.—Every country must benefit by free discussion; and India, perhaps, more than most others, because of that mass of ignorance which it would serve to dissipate, and which nothing but discussion can effect, either now or hereafter.

(9) If the state of society in England be better than that in India; (and even Mr. Bosanquet will not dispute this) it is so because England is comparatively free, and India is enslaved. It is the constant profession of the Directors that they wish to instruct the Indians in European knowledge; this alone, would ere long, make them free: The press, according to their advocate, would produce the same effect; and yet, on this very ground, he objects to it! Such are the logical consistencies of lawyers!

(7) Mr. Bosanquet has not sense enough to discover that a Newspaper or

was a free Government, conducted on the same principles as the Government of England? What was the nature of the Indian Government? The whole legislative and executive power was vested in the Governor General in Council. The Government possessed the power of immediately sending home any person whose conduct it supposed to be dangerous to the welfare of the state. His learned friend had stated, that in this respect a British subject was placed in a worse situation than a foreigner. That was not the case. If the power of deportation has been recognised by the legislature, it was extended to foreigners by the 55 of Geo. III. cap. 84, and the Governor General in Council was invested with power to send them home to their respective countries. (10) A free press was, he apprehended, adapted only to countries the Government of which depended on the good opinion which the people entertained of its justice, and wisdom, and of the other qualities which belong to good governments. (11) It had been stated, that the Government of India depended essentially on the opinion which the natives entertained of its power. That he believed to be the case. It was quite impossible but that jealousy must exist in the minds of the natives when they saw how they were governed. They saw themselves governed by a small number of foreigners who ruled over persons who formerly possessed great

power there. The opinion that our Government in India depended on the opinion which the natives had of its power was supported by one of the most enlightened persons who had given his services to India, he meant Sir John Malcolm. The passage which he would quote from the writings of that able man was the more valuable as an authority, because it was not penned with reference to the question of a free press. The learned gentleman then read an extract in which Sir J. Malcolm observed that the Government of India was gradually approaching a crisis, which could not be contemplated without alarm. The cause was to be found in the nature of the Government, which was at variance with the habits and religion of the people; and this state of things rendered it necessary that the local officers should always be supported against the complaints of the natives, however just they might be. (12) A free press, the learned gentleman continued, was adapted only to a country where the people had some participation in the Government. If the Government of India were to enter into an altercation with individuals, its weakness would become apparent. (13) The natives were liable to receive the most erroneous impressions. The circumstance he was about to mention might appear ludicrous, but it was once firmly believed by a large body of persons in India, that the editor of a paper had been sent out by the Government here, to act as a censor upon

(10) There is this essential difference, however. No foreigner needs a license to visit India, nor is his residence there, without one, a legal offence. Every Englishman, however, must have such license, and is in the 'hourly commission of a misdemeanor at law,' if residing there without one. *He* can be banished without cause assigned the foreigner not; and in point of fact Englishmen are sent away every year, foreigners rarely or ever.

(11) This is important. A free press is suited to a country where the people have a good opinion of their rulers, and where the government is really good. A free press, according to Mr. Bosanquet, is *not* suited to India. Therefore, according to the same authority, the people of India do *not* entertain a good opinion of their rulers; nor is their Government a good one. If this had been said by any one except one of the Company's own advocates, it might have been deemed libellous. With him, however, it is an innocent, but at the same time, a valuable admission of an undeniable truth.

(12) If this be the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, or any other person, the heart that contains it is destitute of a sense of justice, benevolence, or virtue. Such men, be they who they may, should be dealt with according to the measure they would mete out to others; and when they preferred claims of any description, they should be rejected, however just they might be, till they were taught, that no man has a right to expect justice himself, till he has learnt to be just to others. The sentiment put forth by the advocate, whether borrowed or original, is inhuman and diabolical.

(13) Not if the Government were right and the individuals wrong. They have come out of such altercations with infinite disgrace hitherto, because they have been almost uniformly wrong. But is the Government of England or America weak—because its Secretaries correspond with individuals as well as with public bodies? The idea is absurd in the extreme.

the Government there. (14) They were not to suppose that their English notions, which were perfectly applicable to this country, were also adapted to the notions and sentiments which they found in India. If a matter of this nature were brought to issue before a Jury, what, he asked, would be the real question to be discussed in England? Would it not be, whether the measure taken by the individual was, or was not, criminal? Whether by a certain publication he had not invaded all their notions of what was due to public or to private character? Would not that be the subject for conviction? But the question, with respect to India, was of a wholly different kind. The only question there must be, whether every publication sent forth in that country, was or was not a discreet one? Whether it was calculated to shock the prejudices of the natives, or to inflame their passions? Whether the sentiments which such publications spoke, were likely to force on the minds of a people who were full of superstition, an idea, that the Europeans were desirous to overturn their religion? (15) Whether certain publications did or did not tend to infuse distrust and suspicion into the hearts of our dependents and allies? These were the points to be considered. Let those who contended for the freedom of the press in India, recollect what heterogeneous materials our empire there was composed of. Not a single step could be taken without hazard and peril,

—“Incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.”

(14) Is not every man, who is not every editor, in England, a censor upon his government, whenever he chooses to exercise the right? Are not Commissioners often sent out to the Cape and elsewhere, to perform this office on behalf of the Government at home? Where then is the evil of such a notion, even if it did prevail?

(15) The Government of India are themselves the first to set the example in this respect; and care nothing about its being followed by others or not. The English Parliament has declared it to be their duty to introduce religious and moral instruction among the natives: Missionaries go out under sanction of Government—discussions take place every day in India on the burning of widows, in the Government papers. It was not for this the press was deemed dangerous, but because it scrutinized too closely the English rulers in power there.

If, therefore, it was proper to protect the Government of India, as he contended it was, by using every degree of prudence and precaution, was it not right that that Government should keep a strict eye on the proceedings of the press? (16) Let it not be forgotten that our Indian empire had grown out of extraordinary circumstances; that it had increased and extended itself against our wishes. It was an empire of which he might say—*ab exiguis rebus eo crevit ut jam magnitudine laboret sua*. This being so, it was worthy of inquiry, whether those principles for which his learned friends contended, were at all applicable to such a Government? and whether it were possible that they could maintain in India, that species of Government which the wisdom of the Legislature of this great country had deemed best adapted to our eastern possessions, if they admitted the free discussion *there*, of topics, similar to those which were allowed, without restraint, to be discussed *here*? This, however, was not all. It was incorrect to say, that all discussion with respect to the measures of the Government of India was restrained. The restriction was only local. There was a restraint imposed in India—but there was abundant opportunity of discussion here. In the first place there was a very large popular assembly,—the Court of Proprietors,—who might discuss all measures connected with the Government of India; and then there was the Parliament of England, to whom all those who held situations in India were responsible for their measures. (17) One of his learned friends had put a supposed case, namely, that

(16) England has grown out of as heterogeneous materials as India. Savages, Romans, Saxons, Normans, Picts, Scots, Danes, and others: yet a free press is admitted by all to be suited to these mixed races now amalgamated into one. Why then is it not fit for India? The answer however is complete, in the often-repeated but apparently never-remembered fact, that the English press of India was practically free for five years under Lord Hastings, during which period the country advanced in prosperity, and was marked by a tranquility without parallel before or since.

(17) What that responsibility is, let those who have read the cause of Warren Hastings, in Mr. Mill's admirable History, and who have seen the still more easy escape of Mr. Adam, judge. It is a mockery to call their pretended responsibility by such a name.

the liberty or power of licensing the press might be very much abused. Undoubtedly it might. But, in case it was abused, were there no means of redress? (18) His learned friend argued that there was none—that there was no Court of Appeal in India open to the complaining party. It was true, there was no such court in India; and their Lordships knew perfectly well, that there were express legislative provisions to prevent persons in power there from being responsible to the tribunals of that country. But were they subject to no responsibility—were they not responsible here? Certainly they were as responsible to the competent authorities here, for any abuse of the power of licensing, as they would be for any other offence. (19) That the communication of knowledge to the inhabitants of India was desirable, they all admitted—they all wished it—they all looked anxiously to the period, when essential benefit would be derived from the diffusion of knowledge through their Indian empire. But how was it to be disseminated, in a country inhabited as India was? Surely, in a country like India, this was a matter that was not to be intrusted to the rash and unskilful hands of private individuals. (20) He would again refer to what had been said by Sir John Malcolm on this subject—and, certainly, he could not quote an authority of greater weight. That most intelligent officer did not proceed on speculative opinions—but he argued from experience—from what he saw and what he knew. He was desirous the propagation of knowledge in India, but he wished it to be gradually introduced. Speaking of the establishment of schools, he said, “Let us introduce knowledge by means which will not counteract the object we have in view by the sentiments and feelings which they may excite.” Speaking of other attempts to disseminate information before the minds of the people were prepared for it, he observed, “Nothing could be more dan-

gerous, at the present moment, than the extension of those principles which some individuals are desirous of inculcating. A bad impression will be made on ignorant minds by the dissemination of such principles. A considerable period must elapse before such an intercourse shall have taken place between the Natives and Europeans as will render the distribution of this species of political knowledge safe.” In another place, speaking of a work which had been recently published, he blamed “the spirit of rash innovation” which it had sent abroad; observing, that though many of the sentiments were true, they were, with respect to the influence they might have on the Natives of India, extremely dangerous. (21) In the instruction given by this most enlightened individual to the assistants and officers employed under him, their Lordships would find many more observations and statements which tended to illustrate this important subject; every sentiment of which, as it appeared to him, teemed with wisdom. He said, in those instructions which were written by him for the direction of his officers, on his leaving Central India—“My full conviction is, that, independent of the prescribed duties, which every qualified officer performs, there is no person in a situation of any consequence who does not, both in the substance and manner of his conduct, do something every day in his life which, as it operates upon the general interests of the empire through the feelings of the circle he controls or rules, has an unseen effect in strengthening or weakening the Government by which he is employed.” (22) This was Sir J. Malcolm’s observation to the officers to whom

(21) Governor Adam and Governor Elphinstone both expressly state, that there is no danger to be apprehended from the Natives taking part in any such discussions. It is the English portion of the community alone of which they are afraid.

(22) If this be true, then the Government should have laws to regulate “manners and conduct,” as well as the use of types and printing presses. But, provided a public servant is a willing slave of those in authority over him, he may lie, cheat, and be guilty of every species of crime and debauchery, without incurring a word of censure from his superiors. Such are the “manners and conduct” of many; and the influence of this on the Natives is in no degree controlled.

(18) It has been abused; yet where are the means of redress? There are absolutely none.

(19) This from an advocate who had just before disputed the right of the Appellant to come before the Privy Council with his case, and who knew that no other tribunal would entertain it!

(20) Who are the Missionaries—who the Governor-General and his council? Are they not individuals also? And what should make them less rash or more skilful than other men?

he addressed himself; and that single observation was sufficient to show with what care and caution they should proceed in all matters connected with the situation of the people of India. They all knew, that the inhabitants of India were as different in habits, manners, and sentiments from the inhabitants of Europe as any one thing could possibly be different from another. The Hindoo had been justly compared to the sensitive plant. His passions, his feelings, and his prejudices, were readily excited. They were as delicate as his external form. Trifling things affected him, which would be passed over by us without notice. (23) If this were so—if the Hindoo character was of this sensitive nature—was every person who went out to India with a license to be allowed to publish whatever he pleased, according to his English notions? And, having done so, was he to be brought before a tribunal in India regulated according to English rule and principle? This was all very right here—it was in accordance with the genius of the country and the people; but it was not a course that could be properly and safely adopted, if they meant to preserve that empire which they now possessed, in India. (24) He was conscious that he had been drawn into, perhaps he had introduced, the discussion of topics which he could not consider as really belonging to the duty of an advocate. He was led into it, however, in consequence of the subjects selected for argument by his learned friends. But, he was of opinion that their Lordships would weigh very lightly any thing that had been advanced on these points before their bar. The real question for them to consider, as judges of the law, was, whether the Appellant had suffered by an illegal act.—He then came to the legality of the regulation complained

(23) This, as far as regards their sensitiveness to any thing yet made matter of discussion in India or England, is utterly false. and if Mr. Bosanquet adopts this opinion of the sensitiveness of the Hindoo as his own, it only betrays an ignorance highly discreditable to an old servant of the Company. The truth is, there is not a more inert or apathetic race, or one more difficult to be moved to any thing, than the Hindoos; and those of Bengal more especially. Every one who has lived among them will bear testimony to this fact.

(24) Then the Supreme Court should be instantly abolished, and all its officers recalled.

of, which was the great question they had to argue on 'this occasion.' He would contend, that the Government of India had acted legally in framing this regulation. He submitted that the arguments which had been adduced by his learned friends were not sufficient to lead their Lordships to alter or vary, much less to do away with the regulation which was now under their consideration. The whole argument was this:—that, in the particular statute which gave the power of regulating the British subjects of Calcutta there was a clause which said, that such regulations as were framed for that purpose should not be repugnant to the laws of this country. This clause, he apprehended, formed part of every charter which gave the power of legislating to every one of our colonies abroad. There was not one, he believed, without this provision. Their Lordships would find, that, in the original charter of Queen Elizabeth, which gave to the first East India Company the power of making by-laws for the regulation of all their affairs, there was a clause just of this description. Now, he would take the liberty to ask their Lordships, whether it could be contended that it would not have been competent to the East India Company, at that time, to make a by-law which should have effect on board their ships, setting forth, that it should not be lawful to circulate, among the crews, papers in which the conduct of the officers was discussed? Would they not be justified, he demanded, in framing a by-law, prohibiting, in the small forts and factories which they held at the time, the discussion of certain topics, the agitation of which was considered to be dangerous? (25) He was sure their Lordships would not hold the opinion that such a proceeding, on the part of the Company, would have been illegal. Two other charters were granted, up to the reign of George II. The first of these was the 13th of Geo. I., in which

(25) Over those who are in the naval and military pay of the Company, they may perhaps extend martial law at any time they please; but no captain of an Indiaman could lawfully log a passenger as he might one of his own crew. And yet sojourners in the forts and factories of India are at least as independent of the Company as passengers on board an Indiaman are of its captain. Each having power in their own hands, may abuse it; but neither can justly set themselves above the law of the country to which they belong.

their Lordships would find the very same terms of restriction, or nearly in the same words, as those which had been since adopted; and in the charter of Geo. II. they were repeated, with this difference only—namely, that, in the 13th of Geo. I. there was this proviso: that “none of the Corporations should make by-laws, other than such as by these presents they are allowed to make,” which was omitted in the 26th of Geo. II. In 1773, the Act immediately in question passed; and that Act embodied in it, in terms not quite so full as those of the original charter, the provision on which his Learned Friends founded their argument. It gave to the Governor-General and Council, at Fort William, in Bengal, the power to make rules, ordinances, and regulations; such rules, ordinances, and regulations, “not being repugnant to the laws of the realm.” This act passed, with reference to Calcutta, in 1773. Now, he begged their Lordships to recollect, for a moment, what the state of Calcutta was at that time. In 1756, there were in that city 50,000 British inhabitants, or persons living under the British Government; and when they considered that all the inferiors in that country were Natives, they would at once see what was the amount of British individuals, to whom this provision could possibly apply. It applied, undoubtedly, to all those inhabitants who might have been attracted there. But were their Lordships prepared to say, that at that period, when every thing was restricted—when none of those alterations were made which were since adopted to throw open India, for certain purposes, (25) to all his Majesty’s subjects—when every law passed by Parliament was intended to enforce the then existing restrictions more and more:—were their Lordships, if asked, prepared to say, that, at that period, it would have been inconsistent for the Corporation, acting under two former Charters, to have made a by-law to prevent the discussion of certain subject, and to forbid their publication in India? (26) Whatever their

feeling might be, with respect to the practice in England, their Lordships must see that many cases might arise, which would render a different course peculiarly applicable to the situation of India. Very soon after the period to which he referred, the Act of 1773 was passed. Then came the question, what was the law under that Act. He apprehended that the interpretation of the clause “not being repugnant to the laws of this realm” must necessarily mean “not being repugnant to the laws of England, as applicable to India.” (28) Now, how were the laws of England applicable to India? They would find how the general laws of England were applicable to India extremely well stated in a judgment given by Sir W. Grant, in the course of which he quoted the authority of Mr. Justice Blackstone. The laws of England, he contended, were not altogether to be applied to our foreign possessions, but only in so far as they appeared to be applicable to the state of any particular country. The case to which he alluded was to be found in *Mervale’s Reports*, vol. ii. the Attorney-general *versus* Stuart. The case referred to a transaction which took place in one of the West India Islands, which had been taken by the enemy, and was restored by the peace of 1783. Sir W. Grant held “that all the laws of England could not be, and were not, applicable to this or any other colony,” and proceeded to observe, “what Blackstone says, is in a great degree applicable to the present case. That learned judge has shown to what extent the laws of England are applicable to colonies.” He then proceeded to quote the following passage from Blackstone: “It hath been held, that if an uninhabited country be discovered and planted by English subjects, all the English laws then in being, which are the birth-right of every subject, are immediately there in force. But this must be understood with very many and very great restrictions. Such colonists carry with them only so much of the English law as is applicable to their own

(25.) Mr. Bosanquet should have stated what those “certain purposes” were. They were to give British subjects a right to freedom of trade. But how can trade be free, when those who carry it on, are not free to do any thing but such as those among whom they trade may please?

(26.) As much to as to make a law to prevent men writing letters in India, *Oriental Herald*, Vol. 5.

without first showing them to the Indian Government; or a law empowering them to break open any man’s desk, and read his private papers.

(27.) Then to send a Court of King’s Judges to India was an act of folly; and still more so to confine their conduct to the rules laid down by the law of England alone. The quibble is quite worthy of a finished lawyer.

situation and the condition of an infant colony; such, for instance, as the general rules of inheritance, and of protection from personal injuries, (29) The artificial refinements and distinctions incident to the property of a great and commercial people, the laws of police and revenue, such especially as are enforced by penalties, the mode of maintenance for the established clergy, the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, and a multitude of other provisions, are neither necessary nor convenient for them, and therefore are not in force. What shall be admitted and what rejected, at what times, and under what restrictions, must, in case of dispute, be decided, in the first instance, by their own provincial judicature, (30) subject to the revision and control of the King in Council: the whole of their constitution being also liable to be new-modelled and reformed by the general superintending power of the legislature of the mother country." What the situation of the press was, and had been in India, up to the present time, was, in a great measure, stated on these proceedings. Their Lordships were aware, that, from a very early period, a power was acknowledged in the Indian Government to send home any individual residing in India without a license from the Company or their Government abroad. So far, therefore, as British born subjects were concerned, there was always a power to control their conduct; and their Lordships would find, that, by this power, their conduct had, in fact, been heretofore controlled. (31) Although in the regulation which had been laid down on the

(29) This law of licensing *inflicts* personal injuries, against which it seems there is no protection. By it, the Appellant has been robbed of 30,000*l.* sterling, without hope of redress; and this property, which he might have bequeathed to his children, is gone for ever. Is this no violation of rights? no personal injury? and could this be done in any dependency of England, except India and the Cape, without some remedy?

(30.) Not by a Governor-General in Council, but by a Court of British Judges.

(31) Not only had people been prevented from printing their opinions by threats of banishment, but every other part of their conduct had been controlled by the exhibition of this frightful power hanging over their heads: and this constitutes the enormity of it, that it may be used to make a man abandon every other right he possesses as well as that of free speaking and writing.

subject, their Lordships would likewise find, that, at an early period, where publications took place, which the Government conceived to be improper, the person issuing such publications was informed, that unless he desisted from such conduct, he would be sent to England; and instances could be adduced where this power was actually enforced; the Marquis Wellesley, in 1798 or 1799, promulgated certain rules for the government of the press, to which it was expected that all individuals would conform; and, in case of their not doing so, they were given to understand, that they would be visited by that power which was vested in the hands of the Government. This system continued to prevail for a length of time, without opposition, without dispute, and, he believed, without creating discontent. (32) Afterwards, in 1818, that regulation was made of which their Lordships had heard so much; and it was very disagreeable, on account of the names which had been introduced, to state what the nature of that regulation was. It was true, the censorship was abolished. Under that censorship, the Secretary of the Government, or a Deputy appointed by him, had the power of inspecting articles intended for publication, and of striking out such passages as appeared offensive. This system was abolished; but simultaneously with the abolition of that measure another was adopted, altogether similar to it, by which the press was made the subject of regulation in a more formal and definite way. It was quite clear that it was not intended that the press should be altogether unfettered, as it was in this country; and that offences committed by it should only be cognizable before a legal tribunal; because their Lordships would see, that the moment the censorship was abolished, a new regu-

(32) Mr. Bosanquet betrays his utter ignorance of Indian history by asserting this. Did he never hear of the case of Dr. Maclean, the now popular writer against contagion? He was sent out of India by Lord Wellesley, under circumstances of the most aggravated cruelty; and not only he, but hundreds, nay, thousands of others were discontented with this abominable system. But even had no such case occurred, if *silence* is to be taken as a proof of happiness or content, then the Turkish empire is the most contented and happy in the world, and the American and the English the most unhappy.

lation was made, to which all persons, editors of newspapers, were called on to conform themselves—and, it was notified to them, that, if they did not, the power vested in the Government would be enforced against them. (33) At that time no danger was apprehended from the press, except through the conduct of British-born subjects. But, when British subjects found the means of transferring their interest in newspapers to Native subjects, it was quite evident, that some new measure must be adopted. When, having secured the assistance of a native-born subject, any European might, through the medium of a newspaper, promulgate whatsoever doctrines he pleased—when he might set up his opinion as a guide for the measures of Government, the existing regulation became vain and futile, and it was, therefore, found necessary to resort to those powers with which the Legislature had armed the Government, instead of continuing to act on the system which was then in existence. It was, therefore, determined, that the license for printing should be revoked, if individuals continued to conduct themselves in a manner offensive to Government. (35) Under these circumstances it was that the present regulation was passed. That regulation was in full force, because it was in accordance with the powers which were vested in the Government by the Legislature—powers which had never been called in question—powers which had never been retracted—and which were now, as heretofore, exercised for the good government of the Indian provinces. The question was, whether this regulation was at variance with the laws enforced in the Indian provinces, under the peculiar powers granted to the Go-

vernment by the Legislature. (36) There could be no doubt, that if any British subject offended against the rules laid down by the Government—if he conducted himself in a manner that appeared injurious to the interests of the country—he might, under the powers granted to the Government, have his license revoked; and, very lately, a regulation was made to facilitate the sending to England persons whose conduct was offensive to the Indian Government. Their Lordships would find, that, when the trade to India was thrown open to His Majesty's subjects, this object was effected. By the 53d Geo. III. cap. 155, the benefit of trading to India was granted to all His Majesty's subjects, and a regulation was introduced to facilitate the sending to England persons who offended against the rules laid down by the Government. (37) Formerly a party could not be sent to England, except for trial for misdemeanour—and doubts had existed, whether he could, legally, be sent home for that purpose. But it was felt, that cases might arise, where there was an overwhelming necessity to remove an individual, for security, without sending him home for trial, and their Lordships would find it stated, in the answer of the respondents, that a person might now be sent home, on board ship, without the necessity of bringing him to trial. Further regulations had also been made to facilitate the sending of foreigners out of the country. It then came to this—that the Government of India had the means of enforcing those regulations with respect to all British subjects whatsoever—with respect to the subjects of all foreign states whatsoever—and with respect to the subjects of all colonies whatsoever. But their Lordships would consider, whether the law was so to be construed, as that, with respect to the Native inhabitants within Calcutta, they might publish whatever they pleased, like the inhabitants of England—a position which had been strongly contended for. He thought that such a position was not tenable. He apprehended, that it never

(33) No such thing was notified. This has been contradicted a thousand times, but is ever and anon repeated as if it were undeniable. The expressions were these: "If the Editors shall contravene these rules, they will be proceeded against in such manner as the Governor-General may deem applicable to the nature of the offence:" by which every one at the time understood, "proceeded against in due course of law," by indictment, information, action, or otherwise, as the case might seem to require.

(35) This is unqualified despotism: every thing is offensive to Governments, except praise: and if any one can be ruined for saying what is offensive, whether lawfully or unlawfully so, there is an end of all semblance of freedom, and slavery is complete.

(36) This was *not* the question: the question was, whether it was repugnant or not to the laws of England.

(37) But here a person can be more effectually ruined, than by being merely sent to England, without offending against any rule whatever: as his property may be broken up whenever the Government choose.

was the intention of the Government of England to concede to Native subjects that which they would not grant to the English inhabitants. (38) The Native subjects were undoubtedly under the control of British law—though, in many respects, they were governed by their own peculiar laws. In matters of contract, in matters of property, the Mahommedan, though an inhabitant of Calcutta, followed the Mahommedan law; and the Hindoo was governed by the Hindoo law, in the same way. Now were they to suppose, that they ought to construe this regulation in the manner laid down by his learned friend? Could it be supposed possible, that it ever was intended to allow certain native inhabitants of Calcutta, they being subject to the British law, to publish every thing they pleased throughout India? He never could arrive at such a conclusion. With respect to the clause which granted the power to frame those regulations, one of his Learned Friends said, that the way in which it should be construed was this; namely, that the word “reason” meant “legal reason,” and that the words “not repugnant to the laws of this realm,” meant, that no regulation should be framed by the local legislature, except what was borne out by something similar in the laws of England. The amount of this interpretation was neither more nor less than to say, that there was no need of any local legislature at all. For, if the mother-country had already legislated on any given subject, where was the necessity for legislating on it again? But, it did not follow that laws applicable to a country situated as England was, would be, in any degree, applicable to India. He therefore, thought the real meaning of the law was, “make regulations with reference to the situation of the country which you are employed in governing.” (39) If the

legislature of this country had legislated for India on particular subjects, he agreed in the proposition that the local legislature could not contravene what had been legislated for it in England. He would go further and say, that the Local Government could not introduce new regulations capriciously—they could not promulgate them, unless they were found necessary for the well-being of that country to which they were to be applied; and it was for their Lordships to consider, whether, in this case, they did or did not agree in the propriety of those regulations which appeared to be necessary to the Local Government; and which the Court in India (not a Court of the East India Company's creation) had adopted and registered as such. His Learned Friends said, there was a preamble, and the respondents had not proved it. They called on the East India Company to prove the preamble to a public statute enacted for the regulation of that country. If it were done in one instance, it must be done in all. This was a general appeal. It was not necessary that any particular individual should have an interest in it. But if the respondents were obliged to prove this preamble, any person might, so often as a statute was passed for the government of India, call on the Company to prove the preamble at the bar of that Court. He apprehended that this was one of the most wild interpretations ever put upon any statute, and one which it was utterly impossible to uphold. (40) But, said his Learned Friends, “this regulation is not in accordance with the law. Here we may publish every thing that is not prohibited.” He admitted this; and so a man might do in India. He might publish every thing until the prohibition came, and then he could not. (41) But he would ask his Learned Friends, whether they could

(38) It was not necessary to concede any thing. The Natives resided there by right of birth. No Government could take this right from them. The English went there with licenses, and might be banished if they had none. But the Legislature never could have intended that every Hindoo should be banished, who had no license to reside in his own country. They were therefore, from the beginning, in possession of a privilege which the English had not; and this distinction still continues.

(39) Then, if the rulers alone are to be the judges of this situation, it is in other words saying, “Be absolute—be

despotic—do whatever you deem fittest to accomplish your purposes.”

(40) It is easy to assert this, or any thing else. As the necessity of the case rests on the truth of the preamble alone, unless the preamble be true the necessity does not exist. If the preamble be true, it can easily be proved; if it cannot be, or is not proved, no case is made out, and the law ought to be repealed.

(41) A man's license may be taken away for publishing what is not prohibited as well as what is; and herein lies the chief injustice of the law, if that can so be called which sets all law at defiance.

show, that this was not a fit subject for legislation, in cases where a power of local legislation was given? If they could show, that there was any statute which provided that this could not be the subject of local legislation; which enacted, that no local regulation should interfere with it—that would be something for their argument; but nothing of that sort had been attempted. Now he would inquire, whether this was a subject which was considered altogether unfit for legislation, even in England? Was it a subject which, by any public declaration of Parliament, was to be left free and unrestricted in England and the colonies? He asserted that the very contrary was the fact. From the earliest period at which printing was introduced here, restraints had been placed, first by the Government and afterwards by the Parliament, on the press. It appeared, therefore, that it was not a subject wholly exempted from restriction in this country. He would not draw their Lordships' attention to the state of things at an early period after the introduction of printing; namely, the reign of Elizabeth. Perhaps his Learned Friends would say, that the restrictions were then imposed by a Court the authority of which was not now admitted. He allowed this, but certainly it was a court which, at that time, possessed the controlling power. When that court ceased to exist, the power was still continued; and he believed the regulations made in the time of the Commonwealth were fully as strict as any that were to be found in India. The same power of licensing every sort of work—the same power to frame various regulations for the government of the press were continued at that period—as might fully be seen in Schöb's book on this subject. It would be a waste of their Lordships' time, well acquainted as they were with this subject, to enter at large into it. It would be sufficient to state, that in 1643, 1647, 1649, and 1652, regulations were made for the government of the press; certainly by an authority which they no longer recognized, because it was during the time of the Commonwealth. But no sooner did the restoration take place than all those regulations were adopted by a statute of Charles II. That statute was in force for a considerable time; it then expired, and was afterwards revived. Ultimately, after considerable discussion on the subject, it was suffered to expire about the year 1697. But he

begged leave to ask their Lordships, whether, independent of those transactions of an ancient date, there were not existing, at this moment, consistently with the laws of England, restrictions on printing of a very high and important nature: limited, it was true, with respect to the subject, but just as much the law of the land as if they took a far wider scope. They all understood what were called prerogative printers. The Bible, the Book of Psalms, the Book of Common Prayer, proclamations and statutes, could not be printed unless with the permission of his Majesty, and by the King's printer. There were also restrictions to prevent works from being printed on certain subjects. These we call restrictions imposed consistently with the law of the land, and so imposed because they were fitting for the subject. Then he called on their Lordships to address their minds to a country so situated as India was, and to say whether these were the only restrictions which should be adopted in that country? Were not numerous others absolutely necessary? Would not such a freedom of the press as was contended for be wholly inconsistent with the safety of the state? Might it not shake our state of peace with the Natives? Might it not destroy the good-will of all the Native powers, who were either our dependents or our allies? (42) It was quite in vain to apply our notions, maxims, and ideas to the people of India. Their moral feelings and sentiments were as unlike ours as their persons. A cargo of European clothing, sent out for the use of the Sepoys, would no more fit their persons than our laws and maxims would suit the moral, political, and religious opinions of the people of India. (43) To open a free press amongst them would be like administering ardent spirits to the red inhabitants of America. The people of this country could use those

(42) Governor Elphinstone said he is a "great authority" as well as an "honourable man") says No.

(43) This is an unlucky comparison. The whole of the Sepoy regiments of India are clothed by cargoes of clothes sent out from England, by the East India Company's shop-vendors; and the regimentals, made in England, fit the native soldiers admirably well. Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet does not know so much of Leadenhall-street matters as he ought to do, being so handsomely paid for his learning.

spirits, though deleterious, without intoxication, without committing acts of violence. But, when the American partook of them, he became delirious—the stimulating draught brought all his bad feelings and passions into play; because he had not the same control over them which a man, accustomed to civilized society, generally possessed. (44) It would not, he hoped, be supposed, that any desire existed, on the part of those whose duty it was to submit to their Lordships the propriety of supporting those regulations, to obstruct the promotion or diffusion of knowledge in India, to any point to which it could be usefully extended. But unquestionably it was necessary that caution and discretion should be adhered to, when they were making regulations for a country so situated, and composed of such heterogeneous materials as India was. If discussion became intemperate in a country like our own, where the Government and the people were of the same description, it could be speedily softened down. If complaints were generally made of an obnoxious law, it could be repealed; if objections were urged against an administration, they might be done away by the removal of some individuals. Here there was no danger in discussion. But what would be the consequence of suffering this in India? What would be the consequence of making so great a change in the system by which that country was governed? Why, if their Lordships decided against the regulations in this case—if they supported a system which was inconsistent with that policy which it was found necessary to adopt, in order to preserve the Indian empire, they would lose the British Government of India for ever, and render that country a scene of contest, of war, and of bloodshed. Not only would India be lost to this country, but, instead of being transferred to those who were formerly possessed of it, it would probably fall into the hands of some other European power. (46) He

felt, as he had already said, that this subject was unfit for discussion at their Lordships' bar; and he felt equally that he was unfit to argue it. He would, therefore, enter into that subject no farther. In consequence of an observation which had fallen from his learned friend, (Mr. Denman,) he wished to make a single remark. From the situation which he had the honour to hold as standing Counsel to the East India Company, he was bound officially to attend before their Lordships; and it was quite impossible for him, filling that situation, to take any other position than that which he now assumed, however willing he was, if circumstances had permitted, to have done so; and he believed that his learned friend (Mr. Serjeant Spankie), who filled an official situation in India when this regulation was passed, could not, from the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, more than himself, withdraw upon this occasion. He, however, wished most sincerely, for the sake of the advantage which all must derive from the information and research of his learned friend (Mr. Brougham), whose name stood third on this paper, that he might be permitted to address their Lordships. Mr. Brougham did not stand precisely in the same situation as he and Mr. Serjeant Spankie did; but he felt anxious that he (Mr. Brougham) should deliver his opinion. He thought it right to make this statement, because he never would hear it said, that his learned friend Mr. Brougham, was brought here, on this occasion, for the sake of his silence, and not for the benefit of his eloquence. He hoped, if such an opinion had been infused into the minds of their Lordships, that they would condescend to hear his learned friend. Aware of the extent of knowledge which his learned friend possessed on questions of colonial policy, he was desirous to hear from him his unbiassed sense of the necessity, and his just estimate of the value of the measure which was now before their Lordships; and he hoped their Lordships would seek for information in any quarter from which it was likely to be derived. His learned friend, Mr. Serjeant Spankie, who would next address

(44) Millions of people in England cannot drink a single glass of brandy without being as drunk as an American savage; yet who is so senseless as to prohibit the free use of the article, because of that? The India House lawyers are but poor rhetoricians after all.

(46) This is begging the whole question, and appealing to the fears of the Privy Council, rather than to their reason. It was a fitter argument to ad-

dress to a party of old women, than to the advisers of a powerful monarch; but Mr. Brougham had his cue, and no doubt knew his auditors well.

their Lordships, had had much practical experience in India; and could, from his own knowledge, add greatly to their information on this subject. He repeated, that, but for the situation in which he was placed, he should have felt great pleasure in withdrawing, and suffering his learned friend, in the first instance, to address their Lordships on those topics, to which, from an early period of his life, his learned friend had turned his attention. Knowing the soundness of his judgment, and the acuteness of his reasoning, he was extremely anxious to hear him; and he did still entertain a hope, that their Lordships would not be guided, in a case like this, by any ordinary rule, which might prevent his learned friend from addressing them.

Mr. Serjeant SPANKIE followed on the same side. He was, he said, extremely well inclined to waive the present opportunity of addressing their Lordships, in favour of his learned friend, Mr. Brougham; because he *knew* he would bring to the consideration of this case, not only great research and great abilities, but a *sincerity* of feeling, which must impress their Lordships' mind with a conviction of the necessity of this measure. (48) But, as it had happened to him, (Mr. Spankie,) as had already been stated by his learned brother, (Mr. Bosanquet,) to have taken a small part in this transaction, he felt that it would not seem becoming in him, if he shrunk for a moment, from any responsibility which might be attached to his conduct. In the outset he would say, that those who had framed and given effect to this regulation, did what they did under a deep sense of public duty, under a deep feeling of the responsibility which they owed to the country; and, he

conceived, that they would have acted most blameably, had they failed to employ their power for the purpose of delivering the empire from a great calamity. He certainly did take part in that transaction—almost the last public one with which he was connected; and he did not now regret the course he had adopted. At that time, many of his friends, and, indeed, even he himself, believed that he was fast approaching a tribunal where he might be called on to answer for what he had done here. But undoubtedly he should have appeared before that great tribunal without the least apprehension on account of the part he had taken in this transaction. (49) Those who adopted this great measure, did so because they saw under their eyes the great mischief, which were daily accumulating, in consequence of the system which it was intended to correct. They saw, in the society in which they lived, the necessity of devising some control over that power, against the abuse of which the law of England afforded a most inadequate remedy. (50) Those parties reluctantly adopted this measure, knowing well what motives and feelings might be imputed to them; but an honest

(49) This is another fine illustration of the cant of the profession. Mr. Spankie's conscientious scruples, as to whether he could defend his legal conduct in India, before the bar of the Almighty, after death, is a piece of arrogant impiety; arrogant, inasmuch as it assumes that that particular part of his life would be made the subject of strict investigation in Heaven; and impious, as supposing the Almighty to keep a record of all the cases argued in the courts of law, and to judge legal advocates by the merits or demerits of their professional life. If Mr. Spankie really had this fear of God before his eyes, it would prevent his being an advocate of democracy in private, and of despotism in public. It should be known that Mr. Spankie was for years a democratic writer in the *Morning Chronicle*, too violent even for Mr. Perry to trust alone. Even during the early period of his career in India, he professed to be a Whig and a friend to freedom. It was not until he approached the Advocate Generalship of India, that he became defender of arbitrary power; and this perhaps will be sufficient with most men to account for the change.

(50) No such thing. The law of England was strong enough to inflict reasonable penalties; but these men wanted a punishment beyond the law, which was not cruel enough for their purpose.

(48) Mr. Brougham must, we presume, have permitted his learned friends to know his *real* opinions on this subject, at the time he set his signature to the reasons which were assigned in support of the regulation. If so, and they were in support of a fettered press in India, we can only say, we regret he was not heard; if they were *not* in favour of the restraints, then the lamentations of his friends are mere cant and hypocrisy. But his consenting to plead the cause of arbitrary power as an *advocate*, when his whole life is devoted to its destruction as a *man*, is such an illustration of the perverting influence of legal habits, as must strike every one most forcibly.

sense of duty impelled them to take this course; and not one of them, as he had already said, adopted it without feeling extreme reluctance. (51) This regulation had been impeached upon two grounds, he thought, chiefly:—first, that it was unreasonable; and next, that it was repugnant to the laws of England. Now, he begged leave to refer their Lordships to a species of knowledge which peculiarly belonged to that Court, and which related to the government of the colonies. There were charter-governments, with such rights as were given them in their charters of incorporation;—there were provincial establishments, where the governors acted under instructions sent out by the Crown;—and there were proprietary governments, granted by the Crown to individuals. All of these legislated for various local jurisdictions, under words almost the same as those referred to in this case, as giving the power of legislation. It did appear to him, that this very form of words, ratified as it was by custom, was the best that could have been adopted; because there was a known rule by which to proceed, and because it had the advantage of being recognized by legislative authority. He repeated, that the words were almost the same in all the charters which he had perused. The instructions sent out by his Majesty to a Governor, were to enable the Governor “to legislate for the welfare and good government of his said province, and for the well-being of other persons residing thereto; for that purpose, he was to frame laws that should not be repugnant to, but as nearly as possible similar to, the laws of the realm of Great Britain.” (52) These were, he believed, the very words contained in several of those instruc-

(51) The whole history of their subsequent career belies this. They were eagerly willing, and not reluctant; and they have not ceased in their malignant career, till they have effected the ruin of individuals whose only crime was, that they had more of the spirit of Englishmen in their hearts, than those by whom they ought to have been supported.

(52) It has been shown, again and again, that nothing can be more dissimilar than the laws for the press of India, and those for the press in England. The dissimilarity is, indeed, admitted and defended by the Company's counsel, on the ground of the dissimilarity of the countries; and yet they quote this passage in their defence:

“Their Lordships well knew the nature of legislation under an authority of this kind: under it there might be enactments, with respect to felonies, to piracies, or to any other offences whatsoever. In short, those who were clothed with this authority might proceed to exercise the highest functions that were intrusted to any legislative assembly. It appeared that the colonial legislatures exercised their authority over their several jurisdictions, just as the Parliament enforced its authority over the whole empire. Chalmers's book on this subject gave a much more copious body of information than could be found elsewhere. He did not think that any words could be more explicit than those to which he had referred as being constantly used in colonial charters and instructions. Why was such a power conferred upon the Indian Government? To be supplementary to the English laws—to guard against sudden emergencies which might arise in the colony; and to enable the Parliament of Great Britain to apply suitable measures towards India, when it legislated for the whole country. But the by-laws which were passed by the Governor General and Council, did not remain for ever. They were revised, altered, and sometimes disallowed entirely by the Government at home. This same course was followed with regard to the other dependencies of the Crown; but although they were disqualified by law from encroaching on the royal prerogative, they had legislated upon piracies, felonies, and other crimes which affected the constitution of the colony. As his learned friends had referred to several books, he would allude to the work of Sir Edward Knowles, which was well worth perusal, who had said that the legislature of Barbadoes prohibited the people to bid at auctions, under the penalty of being set in the pillory, and losing their ears. This was certainly going a great way, especially as Sir Edward told us, that so hard a punishment was imposed upon the bidders, because they had not money to pay for the goods. If such pieces of legislation had been passed by in this country, it showed what ought to be considered as the rights of a colonial Government. If, by repugnance to the law of England was meant something which should not contradict the least of its enactments, a monstrous absurdity would ensue. The Indian Government would, on the strength of such a doctrine, be placed

in a strange and extraordinary dilemma. Why, they could not act at all. They were not to enact any thing inconsistent with the laws of the realm, not to qualify the subject with the action, nor to apply a remedy to cases as they came about; but they were to qualify that subject in such a manner, that it should not be inconsistent with actions which did not arise. His learned friend, (Mr. Williams,) who had spoken with great ability, drew a nice distinction between legal and common reason, which he pleasantly illustrated by a dialogue between King James and Lawyer Coke. He (Serjeant Spankie) would refer his learned friend to the case of Styles, reported by Justice Fortescue, where a defendant had insisted on the doctrine of "legal reason," without effect. But he had a right to complain of the metaphysics of his learned friend,—

Tu palas—ego vapuler tantum.

There was no necessity for mystifying the question, when it could be decided by good sense and common reason. All that the legislature meant was, that plain men, in the honest discharge of their functions, should legislate for the wants and necessities of the people whom they were called to govern. That sound discretion which men exercised in their own affairs, and which was totally unconnected with metaphysics, was what the legislature could only contemplate. The "reason" was measured and corrected by the circumstances of the case. The oldest thing one knew or had read of was, that it was not always the best laws which were granted to any country: the best laws, according to the great Lawgiver of antiquity, were those of which a people were capable. They ought to be measured by the necessities of human affairs, and adapted to those necessities. All laws rested on these grounds—to make criminal, what was not criminal; to make legal that which was not legal: and to consider the laws as applicable to all circumstances without reference to their severity. Severity might be necessary: and it was unfair to predicate that of them without attending to the reasons in which they originated. It was impossible to give a *legal* definition of liberty; for as law put a restraint on actions, no one could tell the good which flowed from it. He did not stand up to advocate restrictions on the press; but he thought a lover of liberty must be pedantic indeed, who would apply the

laws of one country to a people in totally different circumstances and situations. The liberty of the press might thrive in a free government; and he would be among the foremost to extol its mighty power, if it overthrew all arbitrary Governments. But among the varied societies in Europe, how few could imbibe liberty without rocking the Government to its foundation? Ought they, therefore, wilfully to commit self-destruction by introducing it among them? And with these consequences before our eyes, were we to subject our Indian Government to the attacks of speculative men, who held that it was inconsistent with all the canons of criticism. The executive and legislative powers were united; and that must be a despotic Government. Where such happy circumstances did not exist, there, as in this country, the introduction of liberty would sap the foundations of the Government. In England we might enjoy liberty as we pleased; because by a concurrence of favourable circumstances, we were in a state in which all our great establishments were firm and solid. We had our property well secured and distributed; we had a House of Commons, a Chamber of Peers, and other sacred institutions; and we were in such a condition that all classes had an interest in protecting the state against disorder. In no other country could there be found such combined order; and while we said that the liberty of the press was good for England, we must also admit that it was not fit for France or other countries. Those persons, then, who declaimed in favour of the liberty of the press, and declared that a free Government could not exist without it, must assent to the converse of the proposition, that none but a free Government could tolerate it. As De Lolme stated, the establishment of a printing-press in Constantinople would, *ipso facto*, overturn the Government. If a person was allowed to print whatever he pleased without restraint, or was not to be subjected to punishment afterwards, what Government could stand secure? Liberty of the press and a free Government might amalgamate together; but if it were united with an absolute Government, it would speedily milder and destroy its brother. His learned friend had alluded to the state of society in the days of Milton. At that period, he believed, there existed forty-nine regulations with respect to the press,

commencing with the act of licensing, and ending with the whipping of a ballad singer. The very mode of whipping him by the constable was fixed by a provision, that he himself should be whipped if he failed to inflict the proper punishment on the poor ballad-singer. His learned friend, (the Common Sergeant) had particularly alluded to a beautiful speech of Milton's, addressed to the Governors, of that day. Those bad men who had attained immense power, and were anxious to preserve it, would not allow the liberty of the press, because they knew it would be self-destruction; and heeding not the voice of "the charmer, charm he never so wisely," they passed statutes over and over again to restrain it. In like manner, he hoped their Lordships would not pay greater attention to the speech of Milton, when dead, than his contemporaries had paid to it when living. He recollected a passage in that speech which had alarmed him when he was in India. Milton said, "books and papers are like the dragon's teeth which, being sown, may chance to spring up armed men." Such sentiments might be good if they were levelled against a crude and raw usurpation; although it was clear that all governments which were not deeply rooted in the soil, must prevent the liberty of the press. The Licensing Act of that period went a great deal farther than was necessary; but as they had some capital lawyers among them, provision was made for every possible case. Besides these penal enactments, the press was restricted by the 39th of the late King, in a manner which showed that the Legislature dreaded its licentiousness. The liberty of the press only entitled an individual to publish what he thought; but laws now existed which restrained the liberty of speech. No man could deliver a lecture without a previous license; nay a house could not be opened for debate, however laudable its objects, but those debates must have a previous license. This caution showed that when the Government apprehended any danger or mischief, it thought it convenient to anticipate it. The law did not stop there. It disturbed the security of the academic grove, even though a modern Socrates should be its presiding genius, if the lecturer attempted to charge sixpence for admission. So that it appeared, the principle of previous license was recognized in the English law. He would not search the records of courts of law, in order to see whether the de-

cisions were at focus on that restriction; he looked merely to its spirit and intent. It was enough to show that the thing was reasonable—was founded in analogy and precedent, and justified by example. He would not go into all the circumstances to justify what had taken place, but would refer to the statement of his learned friend, who had talked of India as a country where no one could remain, and where the judgment of Heaven was hanging over us for our misdeeds. If the picture which he had drawn, was any thing like the state of India, which he did not admit, then it made in favour of a license of the press. Was our whole establishment to be put at the mercy of a free press? for it tended to raise the people to a state utterly inconsistent with the establishment of the Government. Were we to have no protection in a country, which swarmed with soldiers; was our commerce, property, and trade to depend upon the forbearance of the Native powers, who had discovered the weak foundation on which our Empire rested? Were we to forego all the advantages we had acquired, and to put our lives, and those of our allies, in jeopardy, rather than restrain the liberty of the press? That restraint, he contended, was necessary to prevent rebellion, and to defend life and property in Calcutta. Were we to expose ourselves to another Mithridatic massacre of 80,000 men in one day; and to be pelted with the paper bullets of the brain? What was the case in India? Two or three daily papers grew up suddenly, began to argue with each other, and entered into all sorts of altercations. The Government, the judicial system and the magistracy were attacked. Nothing was left unassailed. If a man's gig was overturned, Government was called upon to answer for it: there was not an act done over night, for which a rule to show cause was not asked for next morning at the bar of some Newspaper. This way of proceeding in a small state, was such a feverish thing, that it operated like a perpetual blister,—like a perfect *strococo*, in fact; and it became absolutely necessary, *ex et armis* to suppress such an intolerable nuisance, and give the inhabitants the benefit of quiet and ordinary society. Many cases had occurred where the Government would have been justified in exercising the power of transportation; but it was rarely acted upon. If an individual was liable to be sent home at a moment's no-

tice, he knew 'the tenure by which he held his situation; but it was absurd to suppose that any man, who required a license before he set foot in India, was entitled to arraign the conduct of the Government—to tell it, that its actions were grievous and oppressive, and that the black people were abused. It was impossible that it could subsist, when thus attacked on every quarter. But he disclaimed that violent and intolerant tyranny, which had been attributed to it: those who were aware of its nature could alone form an accurate judgment of its proceedings. The Natives supported our Government, because it was infinitely better than the Mahometan usurpation which we had supplanted. But you could not induce the people to feel an affection for it,—you could not make them rise and take arms in its defence. The only thing you could hope for was, to prevent them from taking arms against you; and it was a strong testimony in favor of the Governors, that the people continued to boast of their riches; whereas formerly the possession of wealth was equivalent to a sentence of condemnation. If the government supported the people, it answered all the ends for which it had been instituted. They had no representatives—no political power,—they had hardly a share in the civil establishment, unless the office of constable could be called such,—and in the military department, they seldom got higher than a corporal or a serjeant. But in spite of these seclusions, they were happy and contented. (53) That state of things would not long continue if the liberty of the press was allowed. Suppose that a Native should have become the proprietor of a newspaper, the columns of which daily proclaimed the intrigues and secrets of the King of Oudes' Seraglio, at Lucknow; that it should be printed in the Bengalee and other tongues, and pretend, in common with other newspapers of the same stamp, to be actuated by a warm and zealous love of liberty. What would be the effect of such a publication upon the untutored Indian? It would not limit itself to the filthy things which took place in the Seraglio, but disseminate

all the farrago which was to be found in the English newspapers, in the Native language. (54) These newspapers had more numerous readers in India than in England; for almost all the people in the military ranks could read. (55) Let them once be circulated among the Native regiments, and they will soon excite dissatisfaction and complaint. (56) A man of an enterprising character, worked upon by the strictures they contained, would naturally contrast his miserable situation, where he was obliged to face death every day and yet be confined to the rank of a corporal, with that of other men upon whom wealth and honours had been

(54) This is not only false, but Mr. Spankie, when he uttered it, must have known it to be so. When called to his last account before the bar of Heaven, he will perhaps excuse himself for this, by pleading his duty to his clients, which, according to the notions of the lawyers, enjoin their sticking at nothing, whether true or false, to bring their cause to a favourable issue. As to the intrigues of the Native Court, they have been published in the 'Ukhbars' or written News Circulars of the Native Courts of India, from time immemorial; and any man may have them by paying a small subscription price. Yet no one ever heard of evil springing from this. But it is not true that all the farrago of the English newspapers, was disseminated in the Native languages: indeed, it would be as unintelligible to the mass of Native readers as the farrago of a Chinese proclamation generally is to the English.

(55) This also is false; and Mr. Spankie must have known it to be so when he uttered it. No Native newspaper in India ever circulated 200 copies. The very richest of the Hindoos were obliged to be *solicited* before they would consent to spend the small sum of two rupees a month on a newspaper; and none but the rich and their immediate dependants took them in at all. We venture to assert, that not one Sepoy or Native officer in all the Indian army ever took in a newspaper. The mere postage of it, charged as heavily as letters beyond Calcutta, (and there are but few Sepoys near it,) would have equalled his whole pay. If one case could have been proved of an Indian soldier being a newspaper reader, it would no doubt have been brought forward; but not one could be found.

(56) No Paper could do this if the people were really happy and contented as Mr. Spankie pretends. It is *feeling* grievances themselves, and not bearing others *talk* of them that make men revolt.

(53) If they are so happy and contented, why dread the expression of their joy, and put fetters on tongues that could only sound their rulers' praises? This question has been often asked; but it yet remains unanswered.

showered. (57) Was it fit and proper then, with a people in that situation, that newspapers should be circulated, full of all sorts of combustible matter, by the slow and silent operation of which the foundation of power would be sapped? (58) The Natives of India were particularly alive to the decencies of artificial life, and they would soon entertain a sovereign contempt for that Government which suffered itself to be perpetually assailed, without attempting to seek justice, or meet their assailants. (59) The law might be bad as applied to any other country; but for India it was indispensably necessary, under all the circumstances of the case, and was peculiarly called for to defend the Government against that species of evil. His learned friend had quoted a passage from the speech of Lord Erskine, which he (Sir George Spaulk) considered to be a piece of magnanimous folly. His Lordship snapped our empire asunder at one blow: "Ship yourselves off," said he, "forego your situation and be just." The same advice was given by Cicero to his countrymen: "We may truly say" was the language of that eloquent ancient, "it is not by our own strength, but by the weakness of others, that we

(57) But this evil really exists without a single Paper to create it; they do no doubt contrast their situation with that of their rulers; and unless Mr. Spaulk can prevent their thinking as well as reading, they will always continue to do so.

(58) We had thought that "sudden explosions" were the evils apprehended from this "combustible matter." If it be merely a "slow and silent operation," then that is what needs only a "slow and silent remedy." But there was no such combustible matter, and Mr. Spaulk knew this too, though he instigates the contrary: for he himself laboured hard enough to find matter of this description in the Calcutta Journal, but never succeeded in finding anything that a Jury of Englishmen on the spot would condemn.

(59) If the Government were unable to defend their measures, when they had an Army and a Civil Service, containing hundreds of English gentlemen, all educated expressly for the maintenance of their system, they must have been weak indeed. It was Mr. Spaulk's especial duty, however, as Advocate-General, to do this;—he tried, and failed;—and this is one easy solution of his present hostility to sentiments which he passed all his early years in defending.

continue to exist;" and then he goes on—

Ab causis ad gestatum.

If such a consummation be necessary, in God's name let it be done;—and let us give up the *causis* and the *gestatum* together. But as long as we kept the empire, the duty of the Government was self-defence, for itself; and with respect to the people under its rule, it was a sacred duty, not to abandon them. (60) Let us not imitate the treacherous conduct of the Romans towards the Saxons, who, after emasculating them, took to their ships amid the groans and imprecations of the people. We must govern the Natives to the best of our ability. Let it not be supposed that the liberty of the press would be any palliation for present evils; it presented no practical remedy. (61) The Natives could not feel the want of that which they had never enjoyed. (62) If it was possible to con-

(60) If the Natives of India had sought our protection, and wished us not to change their present condition, this abandonment might be deplored; but Sir John Malcolm, (whom Mr. Bosanquet names as the highest of all authorities on Indian affairs), himself assures us, that upon the least symptom of a reverse to the English arms, the Natives rejoice, and circulate papers among each other, calling on those who desire the expulsion of their white tyrants to cut their throats! * These men, at least, would think our abandonment of them the greatest of blessings.

(61.) This is untrue: the remedy presented by the press is the most immediate and the most practical that has ever yet been devised; as, by its speedy exposure of abuses, it remedies those which have occurred, and prevents a thousand others from happening.

(62.) This is a fallacy, too shallow for a school boy not to detect. Why, the very reverse of this position is the fact, in this and almost every thing else. Men are perpetually feeling the want of what they never have enjoyed. How many pant for riches who never once tasted their possession? how many pine for liberty who never knew what it was but in name? If Mr. Spaulk's absurd notion were true, no man born under a despotism, could long for a free government: no man diseased from his birth wish for health: and no man who never had wisdom, desire to possess it. The last may be his case: but this is itself a symptom of a diseased mind and heart.

* See Sir John Malcolm's Speeches at the India House in previous Numbers.

ceive a people unable to understand the nature of the liberty of the press, the inhabitants of India were that people. (63) They considered it as nothing but a species of overt rebellion by words against the Government. (64) If it was intended to instruct the Hindoos—to give them useful information—to break the trammels of the superstitions which weighed them down, or to make them arrive at any thing like European civilization,—it must be done by gentle and gradual means. (65)

(63) Yet, but a little before, he represents these very people as not only comprehending, but actually indulging in and enjoying, this very freedom, which he here contends they cannot understand. In one breath, their licentiousness of freedom leads them into the filthiest details of court intrigues, and comments on the measures of Government, which sap the foundations of authority. In another, they are declared utterly incapable of comprehending any thing about the matter. This is the vacillancy and inconsistency of legal pleading!

(64) But every handful of men assembled to smoke their pipes together, may be and are guilty of this rebellion by words against the Government; and this was the extent of their rebellion when words were allowed to be repeated. But what were the sort of rebellions indulged in when the press was fettered, and no man could *speak* freely? They were then rebellions of *deeds* and not words merely. Just before the press was made free by Lord Hastings, the fierce and bloody rebellion of Cuttack broke out, and took months to quell. During five years that the press was free, not a single revolt happened in all India. Mr. Adam and Lord Amherst again bound it with fetters, and in a few months afterwards a mutiny occurred at Barrackpore, where 600 men were massacred in cold blood by British hands! Would it not be better to have the press free, and the people return to "overt acts of rebellion by words only" again?

(65) What so gentle and gradual as the press, which gives its portion of information day by day? The progress of information is slow enough, at the speediest rate at which it can be given; but these advocates of "graduality" would creep slower even than the snail: they would teach the English alphabet to the father—words of two syllables to the son—words of four to the grandson; and in the course of some ten centuries bring the Hindoos yet unborn to read! Newton, when an infant, was as helpless as any Indian child. He died the wonder of the world. Ram Mohun Roy came into the world a helpless babe;

We must not administer to infancy that food which the adult manhood of a free government could hardly bear. If they were infants, they must be treated as infants;—you could not grant them all at once the benefits of that civilization which Europe enjoyed, but which Asia was many thousand years behind. (66) He stated these as the grounds on which he thought the measure justifiable. It was for their Lordships to determine whether it ought to be allowed; but he submitted, if there were errors, if there were deficiencies in this, something else must be substituted; for the very last of injuries would be to expose them to an unlicensed press. (67)

He is now a prodigy of wisdom and virtue. What was done by these men in one generation can surely be done by others: why then take ten to effect it?

(66) So we give milk to infants and strong meat to grown men; but do the Indians, any more than other people, remain infants for ever? They were a polished nation when our ancestors were living in the woods. We should like to know when they are to come to manhood, if they have not attained it already.

(67) We regret that the hurried manner in which we have gone over this report, has made our notes so brief; but we shall, perhaps, return to the subject again. We cannot close, however, without making the following observation. One of the strongest positions of those who argued against the Regulation was, that the Company or its servants had not been able to prove the grounds alleged in their preamble as the reasons for making it. They asserted therein as the only justification of their act, that the conduct of the press had rendered it expedient—to which the triumphant reply is—Where is your evidence of such conduct? If your assertion be true, nothing can be easier than to establish it by producing the Papers containing the mischievous passages? The total inability of its advocates to meet this challenge, is the more remarkable, as it was understood in Calcutta, nearly two years ago, that persons were employed to ransack the files of all the Native Papers, to discover, if possible, and collect from them, matter of a crimimatory nature to be sent to England. Since, during the interval of two years which has elapsed, nothing of the kind has yet been found, which the Company's Advocates could produce, we may well ask, why sixty millions of our Native subjects are to be deprived of the liberty of expressing their thoughts through the press, without the least evidence that any one of them has ever abused it?

Mr. BROUGHAM rose and said, as he had been taunted for his silence, and, in fact, challenged to make a speech, he wished to address their Lordships in support of the necessity and policy of the regulation before them.

The Earl of HARROWBY intimated that it was not the practice of their Lordships to hear more than two counsel on each side.

Mr. BROUGHAM said he wished to make a few observations, as he had been so particularly alluded to.

Mr. DENMAN (to the Lord Chancellor)—“Unless your Lordship would make my friend a Privy Counsellor, I do not see under what circumstances he can deliver his opinion here.”

Mr. DENMAN proceeded to reply.—He observed that his learned friends had defended the system of Indian Government and oppression with a vigor which rarely belonged to them; for it did not often happen that they appeared with so much zeal and warmth in cases of ordinary occurrence. When his learned friend (Serjeant Spaukie) said he was a lover of liberty, that did him little honor when he accompanied the declaration by deserting its cause. No one recommended a measure of oppression without having some glosses at hand, some peculiar feeling and interests to justify them in retiring from their previous opinions. But in what situation did his learned friend stand. He was Advocate-General in India when the obnoxious law was imposed. He was in that situation in the year 1818, when the Marquis of Hastings revoked the former law; and he alone could tell us whether the colony did not at that period enjoy greater tranquillity and calmness than had ever fallen to its lot. Before the time of the Marquis of Hastings, the censorship prevailed; and in 1818, he recalled that odious and unlawful regulation, and, with certain hints for the guidance of the press, left it under the control of that discretion which legal responsibility imposed. Did the Advocate-General object to the resolutions which were enacted by the Marquis of Hastings? did he object to the cordial expressions of gratitude and esteem by British subjects and Natives, which accompanied the retirement of that illustrious nobleman? or, did he not unite in that universal feeling which flowed from all quarters of India, founded on the Marquis' liberality and justice? We had it dinned into our

ears, that the power of the Indian Government was supreme over all the Natives. That was always the language which was used by its advocates—Power, power, power. The Natives were nothing—mere creatures, who have no sympathy or connexion with the Government. Although it did not strictly regard the merits of the question before their Lordships, yet, as regarded the principle of the regulation, he would be glad to learn why the native mind of India was incapable of acting upon those principles of reason which swayed the whole race of man? If it were capable of cultivation, which its foulest calumniator did not deny, no steps could be taken to enlarge the mind, or to fit it for European civilization, until the press was permitted to diffuse its blessings over the country. During five years of the government of the Marquis of Hastings, the Natives felt the warmest gratitude and attachment towards him, by his leaving the press in conformity with English law. If a people were happy and contented, did it ever happen that they overthrew the Government which conferred those benefits? What! did they dread these paper pellets of the brain, or a massacre of 60,000 men when the country reposed in tranquillity? The people of India must be different from all the people of the world, if they did not feel gratitude for the blessings which had been shed around them, or returned ingratitude for benefits received. No principle could be more false; all history gave the lie to it. Yet it was in order to prevent a man from exercising his talents that the advocates of the Indian Government outraged all experience, and were obliged to go back to that crude and raw usurpation against which Milton had lifted his voice, and which, if it had been heard as it ought to have been, would have broken the fetters which then shackled the freedom of public opinion. If the Government of that day had trusted to the affections of the people—had listened to the voice which issued from a free press, and paid reverence to those loud and indignant strains which issued from that great man, instead of oppressing and restricting the people, it might have perpetuated its influence and duration. His learned friend (Mr. Spaukie) said, that no man could leave his house without facing a libel. The same risk was felt in every situation where the press was not free. The press did not hunt down a character, or wound it by

poisoned insinuations; but it submitted that character to a great and sure test; and it was a gross delusion to suppose that it could confer any blessings without the fullest right of scrutiny. But any objection to offensive articles in newspapers came with a bad grace from his learned friend. When the odious details of courts were published in their columns, and all those particulars gleaned which could inflame the native mind, where was the Attorney-General? Had he not legal weapons at command sufficient to repress such proceedings, and bring the authors of them to punishment. If, for example, the *Calcutta Journal* contained any thing which subjected it to the visitation of the law, it was the duty of that legal officer to repress the obnoxious matter. But, since no such act had been done while he was in office, was he entitled, when he came as a legislator, to sanction an ordination for checking the licentiousness of the press, to take advantage of his own neglect? From the spirit and temper which had been exhibited to-day—as no fact or libel had been adduced by his learned friends, they must allow judgment to go by default. It was the lust of power—the meanness of a mind subject to low suspicions, which gave rise to this detestable regulation. When the Marquis of Hastings retired to this country, and an address had been voted to him, his foot was hardly placed on board of the ship which was to convey him from the scene of his glory, ere the extreme and great boast of his reign was done away with, by a Governor-General whose authority was but for a few hours. He (Mr. Denman) called for evidence of the abuse—for the facts and circumstances which justified such a stretch of power. He could not be satisfied with the mere statement, that abuses consequent on an unrestrained press demanded the regulation. He denied the fact, and challenged his learned friends to prove it; and since no proof had been given of them, he contended that he stood in the same situation as at the close of his case. His learned friend, (Sergeant Spankie) who was best calculated to do so by his local knowledge, had not stated one abuse, one libel, one necessity for the regulation which he had advised. He (Mr. Denman) had heard the law of England questioned on this subject, and heard too, with sorrow, how the mind could be changed by that distant climate. The character of an Englishman, he grieved to

say, could be altered by the possession of power; and while avowing the freedom of the press, he could tax his ingenuity to find arguments for fettering it in a colony which, of all countries on the face of earth, required its unrestricted agency. He (Mr. Denman) denied the existence of a despotism in India; our constitution was a charter of liberty to Asia. No law passed there could restrain the operation of the public principles which were lawful in this country. They had been recognised by Lord Hastings, and were so still he had quitted the country. What necessity could be shown to exist for the rule, when no proof had been offered? Produce one single paper—one single paragraph, which could tend to excite revolt or rebellion, then he would submit to the necessity; but unless that could be done, we were grasping at a shadow—we were stepping forth to meet a supposed enemy for the purpose of obtaining him, if the regulation was to be sanctioned by their Lordships. The legal rules were alone sufficient to preserve the good order and harmony of society. The argument of his learned friends was, that the rule was not repugnant to the law of England—that the licensing of the press was decreed by the Lords and Commons in 1618; and that the restrictive system continued till the time of Charles I. That was the only analogy which could bear upon the regulation; for although the power of licensing continued through the reign of James II. and part of the reign of William, no attempt had been made to impose a license upon literary men. No press could be put down and annihilated by an arbitrary mandate of Government. What security could you have if such a power was conceded? How could you meet the natives of India with language such as this?—"We will not intrust you upon your allegiance, lest you should form opinions against us; we will not let you know the power by which you are ruled; and it is indifferent to us what you think of our justice and moderation?" He asked, what effect the regulation produced, or what security it gave to the Government? Was it to prevent the native power of speech, or to check a corporal from telling his brethren, that, although he spent his blood in the service of the State, and faced death every day in the field, he could not rise to a higher rank? It was a cruel mockery to discountenance the press, because it might inflame the mind of such individuals,

and it was a still more cruel mockery to pretend that the press must be destroyed, lest abuse should arise from its continuance. With equal justice you might destroy the tongues of men, for fear of their misdeeds; such a proceeding was contrary to all the principles of a free Government; for if the people were of a sensitive character, they would be as easily worked upon, by word of mouth, as by printed papers. It was also contrary to the law of England; and although, from the acts passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth down to the 39th. of the late King, restrictions of a greater or less severity had been laid upon the press, they did not annul its legitimate influence.

Was it or was it not true, as Blackstone laid down as the result of the experience of all ages of English law, that the liberty of the press consisted in every man being free to publish, but amenable to law in case he overstepped the fair bounds in reflecting on the character of individuals, or compromising the security of Government? That was the rule laid down in the elementary book of every individual who thought he understood the least doctrine of English law. His learned friends had said, this question had nothing to do with English law; that you must take it with this qualification, that the regulation might be repugnant to English law, but was not repugnant to those laws which happened to be applicable to India. Was ever such a quibble attempted to be imposed on their Lordships? In all the colonies some charter was given. Their Lordships were told, no charter was ever granted which did not contain some qualification. He was glad to hear it. He should be glad to be shown any part of the world subject to British Government, which was not also under the protection of English law. In many places, it appeared, slavery existed in support of the custom of the place, and might be protected by Government—did it follow slavery must be enacted in India? And yet that would be the laws of England applicable to India. Suppose a Governor-General was to enact a mode of slavery in India; could that for a moment be permitted, and would it not at once be condemned as repugnant to the laws of England? His learned friend, Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet, had said, this empire was great beyond our wishes, and even against our wishes; and he wished to make use of that argument, as war-

ranting the present law. In laws there was always something to prevent their necessity; but, in this present case, there was not. He never yet met with a necessity pretended to be supported by abuses actually existing, without something like proof of something like abuse flowing from the possession of the privilege. The Marquis of Hastings had borne his testimony to the utility of the present law; he had said that the liberty of the press might freely exist, that it would only add to the security of the people, and good government and contentment of the country. It was only since he had left the country, that it was thought proper to make this enactment. It was said that speculative reform and rash innovation, were as crude as they were dangerous. He contended this regulation was a speculative reform and rash innovation; and so were all the enactments of arbitrary Governments. Said his learned friend, when our power has passed away, as pass it must, our name will be revered for the monuments we shall have erected for the happiness of mankind. No monument could be erected which was at war with the possession of freedom—the sole security for every blessing; and while striking a blow at that, you deprived the nation of that free action by which alone it could maintain its rights. Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet had also said, this is a most improper discussion for us, it is not for Advocates to consider, it is for the Legislature, Parliament and King. He wished the Legislature in making laws for India had held that language; they would then have said distinctly, it is fit and proper the press should not be free in India; but not having said it, the reverse must be understood. It was said the East India Company did not condescend to regard themselves in the character of respondents. He wondered for what purpose this clause existed; he wondered whether the East India Company were in any degree responsible. Were they beyond the control of this or any other body? They had found they were here as parties; and he hoped their Lordships would tell them, that however great and overgrown beyond their wishes, and the liberal principles of just Government, yet they were responsible to the King in Council for every regulation they made. Their counsel had protested against being heard at all on this subject, and had said there was no appeal in India by any person.

aggrieved. The fact was, the person who was aggrieved and borne down by the operation of the abuse of this regulation, was not aware of his grievance and the extent of it, till he was in England. He was shipped off some few short weeks before that time, when Sir Francis Macnaghten had declared he would not have passed the measure, unless upon condition that all the papers were to receive licenses. How was that sentence consistent with the statement we had heard to-day? The Judge said he would not allow this to become law, till he had obtained from Government a license for every paper then existing. Was it the duty of the Judge to permit those papers to continue which were a daily public nuisance, which betrayed the filthy secrets of the seraglio, and devised all manner of slanders? Had he not passed his seal of approbation on the conduct of the newspapers then going forward, when he stated he would not register the regulation, except on condition that Government would grant a license to every paper then existing? Surely their Lordships were trifled with, when they were told by the Advocate-General of India that the press was teeming with all possible mischief and abuse; and yet it was known that the Judge would not sanction the regulation without the protection of every paper then existing. But if the Government feared the truth, the sooner such a Government fell, the better;—it had no title to the affections and attachment of the people. It was said that the great mass of the population in India was natives; but it should have been remembered, that in every country the great mass was governed by a few who happened to rule it, greatly disproportioned to the rest. These people, too, were not to become men till in the course of 1,000 years; and therefore education, knowledge, literature, and the benefits of intellect, were to fail of their effect for ten centuries; and till those who had improperly obtained arbitrary power, and necessarily loved it, should think proper to repeal their own enactments, which throw off every possible regard to those principles of Government. They were constantly observed at home for the benefit of the people at large; but if you had that security, you might safely trust the feelings of human nature for the security of the Government. Their Lordships had been told of a case of Stroud and Siles, and other cases, which were pro-

duced as examples of English law. He maintained that the principle of those cases was, that no restraint was to take place without a necessity. The learned gentlemen had themselves adopted that principle in the reasons they had laid before the Council; but they had not condescended to prove the necessity, because they had ventured to believe that the power to make regulations was equivalent, forsooth, to an act of Parliament. He felt he should not be justified in trespassing at much greater length on their Lordships' time. He trusted he had proved that which he had set out with asserting, viz. that there was no proof of the necessity on account of which the East India Company had thought proper to sanction this regulation; that there was every reason to believe it to be an abuse of the power conferred on them, and the mode in which that power had been obtained. He trusted the Company were not to escape from responsibility by saying, that unless there was a direct proof of grievance, the individual was not to be heard as one of the King's subjects, to express his opinion, and show that not only his own property had been destroyed, but the property of every literary man in the world. He trusted it was unnecessary to enter into further discussion as to whether the Council had jurisdiction, and whether the applicant had a right to be here, or as to the question whether it was the law of England. He should be glad to know why it was the venerable Judges of the land were now present, if it was not to tell their Lordships, what, in this case, was repugnant to the laws of the land, and how far it was consistent with the principles of English law. If the case was put to that test, there could be no fear as to the result. The liberty of Englishmen was well understood with regard to the press—it was clearly explained in that most important law by which the rights of Englishmen were secured. The press, from its own nature, was free; it found a free atmosphere in England, it existed here without restrictions, and on the general principles of law, there was no doubt this enactment must be called unconstitutional.

The position which he would maintain, was this—admitting the doctrine of his learned friends with respect to the Natives of India,—admitting that they were unlike all the rest of mankind, that they were discontented in proportion as they were well governed, malicious in proportion as they ought

to be contented,—that they desired to overturn the Government, without any sense of gratitude or self interest,—still he would maintain, that as long as the restricting clause in the acts of Parliament remained unrepealed, the regulations made by the Government could not be repugnant to the law of England. But one observation more, and he was done. It had been asserted by his learned friends, that the Government of India was despotic, and must be so continued; and that therefore the liberty of the press could not co-exist with it. It was a libel on the Privy Council, on all the Governments of the Presidencies, on all the Supreme Courts in India, to say so. The Government of India was subject to laws and regulations; and when that was the case, the very nature of a despotism was at an end. A despotism could not exist where law existed. A despotism could seize on the property of every individual without process,—could that be done in India? He remembered an attempt being made in another place, to get rid of the particular words on which the present appeal was founded, in an act of Parliament relative to India. It was with respect to the mutiny act, he believed, that the attempt was made to get rid of the clause which restricted the Indian Government from making any regulations repugnant to the English law.

The attempt was resisted and defeated; but he recollected that it was supported, on the ground there were certain modes of the descent and enjoyment of property in India, which it was hardly possible to recognise, under the forms of the English law. The words, however, were allowed to remain in the act, and it was in all probability to that circumstance alone, that the Natives were indebted for the enjoyment of their property. It now only remained for him to apologise for having so long occupied the attention of their Lordships. He expressed his regret that the East India Company had not allowed his friend, Mr. Brougham, to be heard in support of his own opinions in favour of liberty in any part of the world. He had been reduced to silence by the Company, but the cause of liberal ideas had not suffered so much as it might have done, in consequence of the support which it received from the very able argument of his friend, Mr. Williams. The appellant's case resolved itself into this simple proposition, That the regulation in question, was inconsistent with the law of England, and the well-being of society in any part of the world.

Counsel were then, at half-past four o'clock, ordered to withdraw, and the Council shortly afterwards broke up without pronouncing a decision on the case.

AVAIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. **CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.**

BENGAL.

Fort William, Nov. 23.—Mr. A. Prinsep to be Registrar of the Zillah Court at Tirhoot.—*Dec. 10.* Mr. J. Dewar to be Dep. Collector of Sea Customs at Calcutta; Mr. F. Nepean, to be Collector of Customs and Town Duties at Patna; Mr. R. W. Maxwell, to be Superin. of Mid-

land Salt Chokies.—16. Mr. E. Currie, to be Assist. to Magistrate and Collectors of Goruckpore; Mr. H. Vans Hawthorn to be Assist. to Magistrate of 24 Pergunnahs; Mr. R. W. Walker, to be Assist. to Magistrate and Collector of Shahabad; Mr. G. J. Taylor, to be ditto ditto of Moorsshedabad.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BOMBAY.

Bombay Castle, Dec. 9.—Mr. T. H. Baber to be Principal Collector and Political Agent in the Southern Mahratta country.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Dec. 2, 1824. Lieut. H. Gordon, 27th N. I. to be Deputy Paymaster to Field Force serving on Chittagong Frontier; Capt. J. R. Colnet, 17th N. I. to be Deputy Paymaster to Field Forces serving on the Eastern Frontier.—7th. Lieut. F. George, 1st Gren. Batt. to be Interpret. and Quarterm.—21. Lieut. Col. Pollock to command Bengal division of Artillery serving at Rangoon.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—Dec. 9, 1824. Mr. G. Birmingham, Surgeon, admitted to do duty as an Assist. Surg.—15. Assistant-Surg. Clarke appointed to 1st regt. Light Cav. at Purneah; Assist. Surg. J. Colvin to have medical charge of Dinapore Local batt.—16. Mr. J. Logan, Surgeon, to do duty as an Assist. Surg.—24. Surg. Tytler to have medical charge of the Artillery at Chittagong.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Fort William, Dec. 6.—Ensign Huish removed from 2d European regt. to 67th N. I.; 1st Lieut. Macvitie of Artillery to proceed to Prince of Wales's Islands and relieve 1st Lieut. Emley, in Com. of Detachments at that Island.—9. Cornet J. Campbell to do duty with 5th regt. Light Cav. at Sultanpore, and Ensign J. Sutherland with 2d European regt. at Dinapore.—26. Capt. S. Coulthard, of Artillery, removed from 7th to 6th comp. 1st batt., and Capt. C. P. Kennedy from latter to former comp.—21. Ensign H. Foquett from 63d to 11th N. I.

MEDICAL REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Head Quarters, Dec. 10.—Ass. Surg. Jefferys to 36th Regt., and Assist. Surg. G. M. Patterson to 16th N. I.; Assist. Surg. W. Mitchelson to 2d Light Infantry batt.

FURLONGHS.

Fort William, Dec 9.—To Europe. Lieut-Col. Com. G. Pennington, of Art.; Lieut. Col. W. G. Patriekson, 13th N. I.; Surg. G. O. Jacob; Lieut.-Col. Com. J. Greenstreet, 60th N. I., on private affairs; Capt. A. Gray, 28th N. I., on Madras Estab., for health.—9. Lieut.-Col. J. Ahmuty, of Art., on private affairs; Lieut. N. C. Baillie, 56th N. I., for health.—16. Lieut. F. B. Roche, 5th L. C., for health.—23. Lieut.-Col. Com. J. Shapland, 27th N. I., for health.

To Cape of Good Hope.—Capt. R. Ross, 18th N. I., for twelve months, for health; also to visit St. Helena.

To New South Wales.—Lieut. H. Lloyd, 37th N. I., for twelve months, for health.

MADRAS.

GENERAL ORDERS.

SERVICE OF INVALIDS.

Fort St. George, Oct. 12, 1824.—The Governor in Council is pleased to publish the following notification:—

2. Officers who have been removed to the Invalids on account of age, wounds, or infirmities, rendering them unequal to the active duties of the line, will generally be stationed at invalid garrisons or posts, occupied chiefly, or wholly, by invalided soldiers, and where their duties will interfere either not at all, or but little, with those of officers of the effective part of the army; but, should they chance to be at a station for effective regular troops, it is not required or desirable, that they should be put upon a rota for general duty, or interfere with the command of such troops; and their duties should be confined to their corps, which is entitled to indulgences by the public regulations of all services; but an officer of the Invalids, or of the effective part of the army, may at any time be specially appointed to the general superintendence of troops of either or of both branches at a garrison station, should the Commander-in-Chief, or the Governor in Council, think fit so to direct.

porc Subsidiary Forces, of a daughter.—9th. Mrs. J. Stoddard, of a son.

Marriage.—Oct. 7. At Billery, Lieut. and Adj. J. Wallace, 46th Regt. N.I., to Eliza Margaret, eldest daughter of D. O'Flaherty, Esq. Surgeon of H. M. 46th Regt.

Deaths.—July 25th. At sea, off the Sumbelang Islands, in the Straits of Malacca, Col. John William Freese, Commandant of Madras Artillery.—Oct. 15. At Rangoon, Lieut. and Quart. Mast. Thomas Clemons, 11th Madras N. I. (late of 1st. Bat. 9th Regt.)—Nov. 5th. In camp, at Gooty, Capt. C. Temple, 8th Lt. Cavalry.—7th. Killed in action, near Rangoon, Capt. W. Allen, Chicacole L. I.—27th. At Trichinopoly, Cornet. W. G. C. Dunbar, 5th L. C., aged 18.—Dec. 3d. At Secunderabad, Lieutenant Tresidder, H. M. 30th Regt.—At Arcot, Selma Jane, daughter of J. Stephenson, Esq. Sup. Vet. Surg.—12th. At Egmore, Mrs. A. Clossey.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Nov. 4. At Doola, the lady of Major A. Robertson, of a daughter.—9th. At Nagpore, the lady of Captain Isaac, assist. resident, of a son.—11th. At Nagpore, the relict of the late Capt. A. Stewart, 31st. N. I., of a son.—20th. At Poonah, the lady of Capt. S. Long, sub. ass. com. gen., of a son.—23d. At Calabah, Mrs. J. E. Scott, of a daughter.—Dec. 14th. The lady of J. A. Dunlop, Esq. C. S., of a daughter.—22d. the wife of Mr. W. Macleod, Clerk to the Hon. the Gov. of a son.

Marriage.—Nov. 22d. At Girgaum, Mr. R. Mac Dowall, to Miss Eliza Watson, second daughter of the late Capt. Watson, H. M.'s 17th dragoons.

SINGAPORE.

Births.—Oct. 5th. the lady of C. R. Read, Esq., of a daughter.—27th. Mrs. J. F. Bernard, of a son.

Deaths.—Nov. 25th. J. H. Cherry, Esq., Collector of the Northern Concan.—13. At Bombay, R. Ricketh Esq., C. S.—Dec. 14th. At Surat, Lieut. G. K. Lyons, Bombay Artillery.—23d. on the Esplanade, Capt. G. Marshall, 3d Reg. L. C.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—May 6. At Edinburgh, the

lady of R. Eckford, Esq., of Bombay Medical Establishment, of a son still-born.—20th. 1st Upper Portland Place, the lady of Henry St. John Tucker, Esq., of a daughter.—In Baker Street, Portman Square, the lady of James Young, Esq., of Calcutta, of a daughter.

Marriages.—April 23d. At Newington, Mr. Howell of Pentonville to Charlotte, only daughter of the late C. Harrows, Esq., of Hon. E. I. C. civil service.—30th. At St. Pancras Church, T. R. Pye, Esq., formerly Government Agent, at the Islands of Madagascar and Rodrigue, to Mary Elizabeth, only daughter of the late M. Keen, Esq., of Golden Square.—May 12th. At St. George's Church, B. Harrison, Esq., Hon. East India Com. C. S., to Charlotte Mary, eldest daughter of the late Rev. A. E. Hammond.—At St. George's, Hanover-square, Lieut. Col. W. Munro, Madras Army, to Jane, eldest daughter of Col. Marley Dep. Qu. Mast. Gen. to H. M. Forces, at Madras.—At Mary-la-bonne, Rev. B. Poulter, Rector of Burton, Hants, eldest son of Rev. E. Poulter, to Harriette, youngest daughter of the late J. Morley, Esq., formerly of Kempshot, Hants, and Member of Council at Bombay.—18th. At Christ Church, London, Mr. J. R. Barnes, H. E. I. C. civil service, to Mrs. M. Kent, relict of the late Mr. J. Kent.

Deaths.—January 25th. On board the ship Tyne, on her passage, Mr. James Timbrell, a writer on the Madras establishment.—April 21st. At Peubedw, in Flint, in her 86th year, Frances Lady Cotton, widow of Sir R. S. Cotton, and mother of Lord Combermere, and on 26th, aged 87, her sister Elizabeth, widow of the late Walter Williams, Esq.—At Carmarthen, on the 26th of April, Capt. Levi Philipps, of Montague Place, Cheltenham, and late of the Honourable East India Company's Bombay Marine Service.—May 1st. At Rumoc n, Cheshire, Sarah, relict of Theo. Perney, Esq., formerly of Calcutta.—1th. In Curzon-street, Lieutenant G. Brown, Honourable East India Com. Service.—7th. At his father's residence near Enfield, A. G. Hogg, eldest son of Lieut. Col. Hogg, H. C. S., aged 19.—10th. At Dalkeith, after giving birth to a fine boy, Mrs. J. Walker, sister of Capt. Manning, H. C. S.—15th. In Cadogan Place, Mrs. Seton, widow of the late D. Seton, Esq., Lieut. Gen. of Surat.—Late, in Regent Street, Lieut. Gen. Trent, H. C. S., aged 81.

SUPPLEMENTARY CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

BENGAL.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Calcutta, Dec. 23d.—Mr. J. Dewar to be Superintendent of the Calcutta Lotteries.—30th. Mr. C. Mackenzie, jun. to be Member of the Board of Trade; Mr. H. Munday to be Imp. Wareh. Keeper.—Jan. 5. Mr. J. H. Morris to be Assist. to the Collector of Sea Customs at the Presidency; Mr. D. Elliot, sen. to be Deputy Sec. to the Board of Revenue; Mr. A. Robertson, jun. ditto.

MADRAS.

Fort St. George, Jan. 14.—Mr. J. Nisbett to be principal Collector and Magistrate of the Northern Division of Arcot; Mr. B. Cunliffe to be Collector and Magistrate in the Zillah of Chingleput; Mr. H. Chamier, to be Sub-Collector and Ass. Magistrate of the Southern Divis. of Arcot; Mr. W. Mason to be Sub-Collector and Assist. Magist. of Malabar.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

MADRAS.

[From the Indian Gazettees.]

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Dec. 18.—Capt. E. Cadogan, 33d Regt. N. I. removed to 2d Batt. of Pioneers.—20th. Capt. R. Allen, 41st Regt. N. I. to be Agent for Army Clothing; Capt. Gregory of the Artillery to be Commissioner of Stores at Seringapatam; Lieut. A. Grant, of the Corps of Engineers, to be Commander of Engineers with the Madras Divis. of Troops at Rangoon; Lieut. Impey, 8th Regt. N. I. to be Postmaster to the Subsidiary Force at Nagpore.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Dec. 21.—Mr. Ass. Surgeon G. H. Bell to be attached to the

Resident at Tanjore; Mr. Assist. Surg. A. Turnbull to be attached to the principal Collector and Political Agent in the Southern Mahratta country.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, Dec. 21.
10th Regt. N. I.—Senr. Lieut. G. Fryer to be Captain; and Ensign G. Tranchell to be Lieutenant, vice Richardson, dated 11th Dec. 1824.
41st Regt. N. I.—Senr. Lieut. and Br.-Capt. H. Sarjeant to be Capt.; and Senior Ensign D. Flyter to be Lieutenant, vice Calvert, deceased, dated 5th Dec. 1824.

FURLONGHS.

Fort St. George, Dec. 21—Lieut. Litchfield, 6th Regt. Light Cav. to Europe on sick certificate; Lieut. Deacon, 18th Regt. N. I. ditto ditto.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[From the Indian Gazettees.]

PROMOTIONS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, Dec. 30.

1st Regt. Foot.—Lieut. J. Smith from half-pay 27th Foot to be Lieutenant, vice Hafter, dated 20th May, 1824; Lieut. C. Combe from half-pay Royal African Corps to be Lieutenant, vice Graham, dated 24th June, 1824.

38th Regt. Foot.—Gent. Cadet G. E. Thorold, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign without purchase, vice Bagot, dated 24th June, 1824.

41st Regt. Foot.—Lieut. M. J. K. W. Logan, from Rifle Brigade, to be Lieut., vice Warren, who exchanges, dated 21st May, 1824; Lieut. W. Barnes to be Lieutenant, vice Ashe, who exchanges, dated 10th June, 1824.

44th Regt. Foot.—Ensign W. H. Dodgin, from 66th Foot, to be Ensign, vice Nixon, dated 3d June, 1824.

46th Regt. Foot.—W. Edward, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Sweetenham, who resigns, dated 3d June, 1824; Ensign R. Kelly, from half-pay 10th Regt. Foot, to be Ensign, vice Edwards, dated 19th June, 1824; Gent. Cadet C. W. Zuhleke, from Royal Military College, to be Ensign without purchase, vice Woodburn, deceased, dated 24th June, 1824.

48th Regt. Foot.—Lieut. C. J. Vander Meulen to be Captain by purchase, vice Mackay, dated 21st June, 1824; Ensign D. O'Brien to be Lieutenant by purchase, dated 24th June, 1824.

To be Ensigns:—A. Erskine, Gent. by purchase, dated 24th June, 1824; Gent. Cadet J. J. Louth, from Royal Military College, without purchase, vice M'Ken-

zie, dated 3d July, 1824; Ensign E. T. Smith, from half-pay 24th Regt. Foot, vice Kellett, dated 26th May, 1824; Ensign C. M'Kenzie, from half-pay Royal African Corps, vice Grant, dated 27th May, 1824.

54th Regt. Foot.—Lieut. W. Moore, from half-pay 24th Regt. Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Hawkins, dated 20th May, 1824; Lieut. R. Campbell, from half-pay 24th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Warren, dated 26th June, 1824.

57th Regt. Foot.—E. De L'Etang, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Doyle, dated 18th May, 1823.

Head-Quarters, Calcutta, Dec. 31.

13th Regt. Foot.—Ensign C. L. Wingfield to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Binn, dated 27th Nov. 1824; Ensign J. Kershawe to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice O'Shea, dated 2d Dec. 1824; C. W. Sibly, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Wingfield, dated 27th Nov. 1824; A. C. Hayes, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Kershawe, promoted, dated 2d Dec. 1824.

20th Regt. Foot.—Lieut. M. A. Stanley to be Captain of a Company by purchase, vice Swinton, who retires, dated 29th Dec. 1824; Ensign T. Bayley to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Stanley, promoted, dated 29th Dec. 1824.

30th Regt. Foot.—Ensign H. H. Lewis to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Tressidor, deceased, dated 4th Dec. 1824; H. B. Staff, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Lewis, dated 4th Dec. 1824.

89th Regt. Foot.—Ensign T. Forbes to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Kennedy, deceased, and C. Macan, Gent. to be Ensign without purchase, vice Forbes, dated 19th Oct. 1824.

MEDICAL EXCHANGE.

Head-Quarters, Calcutta, Dec. 31.—Surgeon W. Daunt, M.D. from 58th Foot to be Surgeon, vice Jones, who exchanges, dated 10th June, 1824.

FURLOUGHS.

Head-Quarters, Calcutta, Dec. 31.—16th Lancers, Brev. Lieut.-Col. Bell to Europe for two years on health.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Dec. 21.—Major Wetherell, of his Majesty's Royal Regt., to be Military Secretary to the Officer commanding the Army in Chief from the 12th inst.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

MADRAS.

Births.—Dec. 8. At Bangalore, the lady of the Rev. W. Campbell, of a son.—25. At Bangalore, the lady of Capt. S. J. Hodson, Brigade Major, of a son.—The wife of Mr. T. Jones, of a son.—28. At Cuddalore, the lady of the Rev. H. Allan, M.A. of a son and heir.

Marriages.—Sept. 8. At Bangalore, Lieut. W. N. Burns, Assist.-Commiss. General, to Catherine Adelaide, third daughter of the late R. Crowe, Esq. Stroudville, near Dublin.—Dec. 20. At Bellary, Mr. A. Flood, to Phoebe, only daughter of Mr. S. Clark, Deputy Assist.-Commissioner of Ordnance.—Jan. 3. At Madras, Mr. G. S. Britain, to Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut.-Col. J. Nixon.

Deaths.—Dec. 19. At Cuddalore, the Rev. A. Holzberg, acting as Chaplain to this place.—30. Mrs. J. A. Hater.—Jan.

1. At Pondicherry, F. Valley, Esq.—2. At Parsevawkun, Mrs. R. Burnett.

BOMBAY.

Births.—Dec. 13. At Tannah, the lady of Capt. T. W. Stookoe, commanding that Garrison, of a daughter.—15. The lady of Lieut. W. A. Tate, of a daughter.

Deaths.—Dec. 5. At Poona, in childbirth, the lady of Capt. S. Long, of Commissariat Department.—10. At Rutnagire, Mrs. Vieyra.

PENANG.

Marriage.—Nov. 15. At the Armenian Church, C. Galliston, Esq. to Miss W. J. Carraput, eldest daughter of the late J. Carraput, Esq. of Calcutta.

Death.—Nov. 13. At Penang, Mr. T. Scully.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS IN ENGLAND FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.	Date.
April 23	Off Plymouth..	Castle Huntley..	Drummond	China ..	Dec. 22
April 24	Downs ..	Triumph ..	Green ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 15
April 24	Downs ..	Jupiter ..	Young ..	Singapore..	Sept. 8
April 24	Off Dover ..	Nerina ..	Northwood	Cape ..	Jan. 25
April 24	Off Plymouth..	Clydesdale ..	Mac Gill ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 15
April 25	Off Portsmouth	Barossa ..	Hutchinson	Bengal ..	July 20
April 25	Off Liverpool	Beucoolen ..	Kirkwood ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 15
April 26	Downs ..	Resolution ..	Parker ..	Mauritius..	Jan. 12
April 26	Off Liverpool	Perseverance ..	Brown ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 9
April 26	Off Southampt.	Gauges ..	Tucker ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 5
April 26	Off Liverpool	Prss. Charlotte..	Mac Kean ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 15
April 26	Off Plymouth..	Marq. Hastings	Weynton ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 27
April 26	Off Plymouth..	Thames ..	Dewar ..	Ceylon ..	Nov. 10
April 27	Downs ..	Scorpion ..	Rixon ..	Singapore..	Dec. 13
April 27	Downs ..	Oscar ..	Gibbs ..	Mauritius..	Jan. 10
April 29	Off the Start ..	William Fairlie	Smith ..	China ..	Jan. 5
April 29	Off Portsmouth	Upton Castle ..	Thacker ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 1
April 30	Liverpool ..	John Taylor ..	Atkinson ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 19
May 5	Off Margate ..	Hibberts ..	Theaker ..	Bombay ..	Jan. 5
May 5	Off Weymouth	Fairlie ..	Oldham ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 24
May 5	Off Weymouth	Wellington ..	Evans ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 28
May 9	Off Port-mouth	Lady Melville ..	Clifford ..	China ..	Jan. 10
May 9	Off Isle of Wight	Marquis Camden	Larkins ..	China ..	Jan. 10
May 9	Off Isle of Wight	Marchioness Ely	Mangles ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 11
May 11	Off Weymouth	General Harris	Welstead ..	China ..	Jan. 1
May 12	Off Brighton ..	Sesostriis ..	Robson ..	Manilla ..	Jan. 7
May 14	Off Portsmouth	Tyne ..	Warrington	Bengal ..	Dec. 22
May 19	Off Plymouth	Resource ..	Fenn ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 9
May 19	Off Penzance	Princess Amelia	—	China ..	Jan. 18
May 21	Off Plymouth	Asia ..	Baldiston ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 11
May 24	Portsmouth ..	Hannah ..	Shepherd ..	Bombay ..	Feb. 5
May 24	Portsmouth ..	Cornwallis ..	Henderson..	Cape ..	Mar. 13
May 25	Off Portsmouth	Marq. of Huntley	Fraser ..	China ..	Feb. 2
May 25	Off Portsmouth	Sir David Scott	Twcen ..	China ..	Jan. 19

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Dec. 22	Bengal ..	Nimrod ..	Speers ..	London
Dec. 22	Ceylon ..	Mediterranean	Stewart ..	London
1825.				
Jan. 4	Tellicherry ..	Sarah ..	Bowen ..	London
Jan. 10	Bombay ..	Milford ..	Howard ..	London
Jan. 10	Bombay ..	Sarah ..	Brown ..	London
Jan. 18	China ..	Moffatt ..	Brown ..	London
Jan. 24	China ..	Juliana ..	Fotheringham	London
Feb. 19	Cape ..	Earl St. Vincent	Middleton ..	London
Feb. 20	Cape ..	City of Edinburgh	McKellar ..	Leith
Feb. 22	Cape ..	Monmouth ..	Simpson ..	London
Mar. 3	Cape ..	Patience ..	Kind ..	London
Mar. 8	Cape ..	Abberton ..	Perceval ..	London
Mar. 11	Cape ..	Isabella ..	Wallis ..	London
Mar. 16	St. Helena	Repulse ..	Patterson ..	London
Mar. 21	St. Helena	Ninus ..	Fowler ..	Downs
Mar. 26	Madeira ..	Madras ..	Fayer ..	London
April 8	Madeira ..	John ..	Poppewell ..	London

General List of Passengers.

DEPARTURES FROM ENGLAND.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
April 29	Falmouth	Nourmahal	King	Baravia & Singapore
April 30	Deal	Warren Hastings	Rawes	China
May 2	Deal	Buckinghamshire	Glasspool	China
May 2	Liverpool	Mary	Jefferson	Bengal
May 4	Deal	Lowther Castle	Baker	China
May 4	Deal	Bombay	Charritie	China
May 4	Portsmouth	H.M.S. Martin		Cape
May 4	Liverpool	Ganges	Mitford	Bombay
May 10	Portsmouth	Sir E. Paget	Geary	Cape, Madr. & Beng.
May 10	Portsmouth	Britannia	Bouchair	Bombay
May 10	Deal	Olive Branch	Anderson	Cape
May 10	Liverpool	Corsair	Petrie	Java
May 13	Falmouth	Royal George	Reynolds	Madras and Bengal
May 14	Deal	Maria	Thompson	Cape
May 14	Portsmouth	H.M.S. Champion		Ceylon
May 14	Deal	Simpson	Simpson	Bombay
May 15	Deal	William Miles	Beadle	Madras and Bengal
May 16	Deal	Penelope	Christie	Cape
May 19	Portsmouth	Eliza	Sutton	Madras and Bengal
May 19	Liverpool	Calcutta	Stroyan	Bombay
May 21	Deal	Guildford	Johnson	Madras and Bengal
May 21	Deal	Malcolm	Eyles	Madras and Bengal
May 22	Deal	Coldstream	Hall	Madras and Bengal
May 22	Deal	Ceres	Warren	Bombay
May 22	Deal	Commodore Hayes	Moncrieff	Madras and Bengal
May 23	Deal	Magnet	Todd	Bombay
May 23	Deal	Woodford	Chapman	Madras and Bengal

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date.	Lat. and Long.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	P. of Depart	Destination.
1825.					
Jan. 5	Off Malabar Coast.	Cumbrian	Clarkson	London	Bombay
Jan. 28	3 yds. sail fr. Calcutta.	Sophia	Barclay	London	Bengal
Feb. 11	25 S.	57 E. Alexander	Richardson	London	Mauritius
Feb. 16	11.30 S. 32.19 W.	Gen. Kyd	Nairn	London	Beng. & China
Feb. 18	25 S. 27 W.	Palmira	Lamb	London	Bengal
Feb. 28	28 S. 30 W.	Lord Suffield.	Dipnell	London	Bengal
Mar. 9	4 N. 20 W.	Royal George.	Ellerby	London	Bombay
Mar. 12	6 N. 21 W.	Kellie Castle.	Adams	London	Bom. & China
Mar. 18	1.40 N. 21 W.	Inglis	Serie	London	Beng. & China
Mar. 20	2.20 N. 21.15 W.	Farguharson.	Cruikshank	London	St. Helena
Mar. 25	Off the Cape.	Rockingham.	Beach	London	Mad. & Bengal
Mar. 28	45.26 16	Cath. Green	Fox	Bombay	London
April 16	44 20	Forster		Singapore	London
May 6	49 N. 7.55 W.	War. Hastings	Rawes	London	China
May 7	8.9 W. 47.13 W.	Buckinghamsh.	Glasspool	London	China
May 7	9 W. 47 N.	Bombay	Charritie	London	China
May 12	49 23	Driver	Neilson	Cape	Cork

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD

By the *Castle Huntley*.—From China: Capt. R. Elliot, R. N., and Master Lane.

By the *Jupiter*.—From Penang: Miss. Howarth, Misses Wallace and Redgrove, and Mr. Fournier.

By the *Louisa*.—From Bengal to the Cape: Mrs. Woods, H. Digby, Esq. C. S.; Capts. Slincock and Brown (died 16 Dec.) and three children.

By the *Asia*.—From Rangoon: Mr. Bedford, R. N.

By the *Thalia*.—From Mauritius: Messrs. Rubin and Dampers, from the Cape; Mr. Goddard, R. N., and Mr. Sallerby, of the Mauritius.

By the *Thames*.—From Ceylon: Mr. and Mrs. Bletterman left at the Cape; Major and

Mrs. Martin, 45th Regt.; Capts. Taree and Malcolm, Mrs. M. and four children; Dr. Der-nott, 1st Ceylon Regt.; Lieuts. Conrady, Murray and Henley, 16th Regt.; Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Bayley and two children.

By the *Bencoolen*.—From Bengal: Lieut. Hughes, 62d Reg. and Lady, Mr. R. Swahston, Messrs. C. & A. D'Aguiar; Lieuts. Eesty, Meredith and Read; Ensign J. T. Boyce, 44th Reg.; Mr. and Mrs. Youngs; Masters Share, Bond, Cearnis and Smith.

By the *Clydesdale*.—From Bengal: Mr. Hunter, Capt. and Mrs. French, Mr. Middleton and five children.

By the *Perseverance*.—From Bengal: Dr. Duff, N. C.; Capt. J. Harrison 1st. Europ. Regt. Mr. W. Price, and Master J. Johnson.

General List of Passengers.

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By the *Tyne*.—From Bengal: (expected) Mrs. Betts, Mrs. Bridges, A. Betts, Esq. Master Betts, and three Misses Bridges.

By the *Burasa*.—From the Mauritius: Mrs. Gillebrand and two children. Mrs. Richardson and four children, Mrs. Lawrence and child, Mrs. Macintosh and child, Mrs. Louis and three children.

By the *Marquis Hastings*.—From Bombay: Mr. McNamee 67th Foot, Mr. De Lisle and three children, two Misses Carr, Mrs. Carr (died at sea Feb. 5), three Masters Carr, Mast. McCruith, and Mrs. Clark.

By the *William Fairlie*.—From China: Mrs. and two Misses Carnegie, two Misses Caunter, Miss Anderson, and Lieut. Barker, Madras European Regt.

By the *George*.—From Madras and Ceylon: Mrs. De Latre and four children, Mrs. Cook and four children, Mrs. Hume, Mrs. Coates, Misses Cooke and Marley; Major De Latre, Mr. Deane C.S.; Mr. Stake, Collector at Ceylon; Mr. Cooke, Collector at Madras; Mr. Mylens, Lieut. Thompson 69th Reg. Ensign Gibson, Capt. Scherrer, Lieut. Childers, Dr. Whitfield, and two children.

By the *Fairlie*.—From Bengal and Madras: Mrs. Loveday, Mrs. Sargeant, Miss Timmins; Major-Gen. Loveday, Bengal N. I.; Col. D. Fowles, Madras L. C.; Messrs. McDowell and Sergeant, Surgeons, Madras Estab.; Lieut. H. Kellie, 69th Foot; and Stevenson, Deacon, and McKenzie, Madras N. I.; Mr. B. Pitcher, E. I. N. S.; Mr. Williams, Misses S. Haddow, A. Abbott, two Misses McKenzies, Misses Couran, and Loveday; Masters Moore, Loveday, Bailey, Franklin, two McDowalls, and Nepean (died at sea.)

By the *Hibberts*.—From Bombay: Mrs. Theaker and one child.

By the *Lady Melville*.—From China: Lieut. Col. Clifford, C. B. H. M. S., Major J. Smith, H. C. S. and Master C. Smith.

By the *Marchioness of Ely*.—From Bengal: Mrs. Mainwaring, Mrs. Barlow, Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Anstruther, Miss Brown, Mrs. Wilkie; Col. Littlejohn, 2d Reg. N. I.; J. W. Barlow, Esq. C. S.; G. J. Morris, Esq. C. S.; G. Gough, Esq. C. S.; H. Nesbet, Esq. C. S.; Major Dickson, 6th L. C.; Capt. Johnson, 13th L. I.; Lieut. Spiering, 16th Lancers; H. Pearson, Esq. Mr. D. Howard, Misses Nesbitt, Lindsay, Gough, Wilkie, Shum, two McKenzies, two Mainwaring's, two Anstruther's, two Robertsons, and two Morris's, five Masters Mainwaring's, two Robertsons, and Mast. Shum.

By the *Marquis Camden*.—From China: Mrs. two Masters, and three Misses Jubbetson, J. H. Crawford, Esq., from Bombay; Mrs. Crawford, and two Misses Crawford, and Mast. Hough.

By the *Claudine*.—From Bengal: (expected) Mrs. Playfair and four children, Mrs. Shaw and two children; Capt. and Mrs. Harris; Master C. A. Harris, and J. E. Matthew; Col. Frazer; Capt. Dick and Wile, Miss Schaffolsky, two Misses Thompson, two Misses Lind; Mrs. Wallis and three children.

By the *Resource*.—From Bengal: (expected) Mrs. and Miss Turner and eight children, Mrs. Cooke, Mrs. Betts and three children, Mrs. Lindeman and four children, Mrs. Twisden and two children, Mrs. Osborne, two Misses Osborne, Mrs. Tivers and two children; R. T. W. Betts, Esq.; Lieut. W. H. Wake, Messrs. Landeman and Tiver; Masters Gunter, Hooper, Cadmore, Durham and Mountjoy, and J. Bagshaw, Esq. for the Cape.

By the *Pyramus*.—From Bengal: (expected) Mrs. Brodie, Mrs. Blatterbuck and two children; Majors Burton, Marriott, and Capt. Stedman and Moncrieff.

By the *General Harris*.—From China: W. E. Phillips, Esq. late Governor of Penang, Mrs. Phillips and children; H. H. Lindsay, Esq., Mr. Knipe, and Lieut. McMahon.

By the *Asia*.—From Bengal and Madras: Lieut. Cols. Nixon and Faithful; Mrs. Faithful; Lieut. Col. Bruce; Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Wahab, Mrs. Hargrave, Mr. J. & J. W. Nixon, Mrs. Fullerton, Mrs. Boileau, Mrs. Grey, Capt. W. Bell, three Masters and Miss Faithful, three Misses Tullock, two Masters Tullock, Miss Fullerton, three Misses and Master Greig, two Masters Haigh, Master Taylor, four Misses and Mast. Gimnes, Mr. Lewis, Mrs. Murphy, Mast. McCormick, Mrs. Swayne, Mrs. Stokes, Mrs. Dermot and child, Mrs. Hall and Mrs. Woods.

By the *Marquis of Huntly*.—From China: Mrs. J. Roberts and infant, two Masters and Miss Roberts, Mrs. Ogilvie and child.

PASSENGERS OUTWARD.

By the *Lord Amhurst*.—To Mauritius: Capt. Blades, R. M. Bird, Esq. C. S. and two children. By the *Frances Charlotte*.—To Mauritius: P. Duquesney, Esq., and Lieut. Alcock, Madras Artillery.

By the *Lady Nugent*.—For Calcutta: Mrs. Caton, wife of P. Caton, Esq. Barrister, Madras, Mrs. Gardner, Miss Geary, Miss Adams, Miss E. Jones, Miss Hengues, Miss Lascelles, Esq. Geo. Rickett, Judge, Madras, P. Caton, Esq. Barrister, Madras, Capt. Butler, Madras, Capt. Swann, Madras, Capt. Harrington, Madras, Mr. Moonhouse, Mr. Martin, Mr. Rickett, Mr. All, Mr. Gadeney, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Jackson.

NOTICE.

THE lateness of the period at which the Petition of Mr. Carrell, presented to the House of Commons, came into our possession, rendered it impossible to include it in our present Number.

Several contributions of Correspondents are necessarily deferred for want of room. They shall appear in a future Number.

ERRATA.

A SUBALTERN will thank the Editor to correct the following paragraph in the last Number of the *ORIENTAL HERALD*, relative to the Brevets; beginning thus: "In the King's Army, on the contrary." It should run thus: "On the contrary, we see one-third the number of officers employed in King's regiments, doing the duties appertaining to the efficiency of 1,000 men; and we see" &c. &c.

By an oversight of the Printer, which was not discovered until too late to be remedied, the Letter from the Abbé Dubois is given with a superscription addressed to the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*. It should have been "To the Editor of the *Bulletin Universelle*," from which work it was translated for the *Oriental Herald*.

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